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*ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.*

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(NEW IMPERIAL SERIES.)

VOLUME XIV.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME II.



*ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.*

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA:

A COLLECTION OF INSCRIPTIONS

SUPPLEMENTARY TO

THE CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

OF THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY,

TRANSLATED BY ORIENTAL SCHOLARS.

EDITED BY

JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEYOR, NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

---

VOLUME II.

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MOTILAL BANARSIDASS

DELHI :: PATNA :: VARANASI

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS  
BUNGALOW ROAD, JAWAHAR NAGAR, DELHI-7  
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## PREFACE.

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AS remarked in the Preface to the former volume, this is properly to be regarded as one of the series of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and practically may stand as the fifth volume of that publication : indeed, but that I had hoped the series of the *Corpus* would be resumed at an early date, these two "supplementary" volumes would also have borne the title chosen by the late General Sir A. Cunningham.

This volume completes what I had undertaken and closes my work in connexion with Indian Epigraphy. Among other papers, it contains a new and corrected edition of the Harsha inscription, first published by the Rev. Dr. Mill nearly sixty years ago, now edited by Professor Kielhorn from excellent impressions obtained for me by Colonel S. S. Jacob, C.I.E. The Badāl pillar inscription first published by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1788 has also been anew translated by the same scholar, from Mr. H. B. W. Garrick's fresh impressions. The Pillar and Rock Edicts of Aśoka have been finally revised by Professor Bühler, who has also continued the very important series of short epigraphs discovered by Dr. Führer at Mathura, along with the extensive collection of votive inscriptions made by the same scholar at Sānchi.

The very early Bauddha inscriptions discovered by Alex. Rea, Esq., of the Madras Archæological Survey, in the brick remains of a Stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprolu in the Kṛishṇā district, have also been edited by the same able scholar. This important discovery was reported to the Madras Government by Mr. Rea on 22nd February, 1892, and his letter was printed in G. O. of 22nd April, 1892, No. 270. It will be interesting in connexion with the epigraphs to give some details of the discovery here. Mr. R. Sewell (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in Madras Presidency*, p. 77) states that this Stūpa "was greatly demolished a few years ago" (i.e. before 1882) for the "purpose of making a road ; and some of the marble sculptures were utilized in building a sluice on the Kṛishṇā canal close by, where the road to Vellatūru crosses the canal. I have it direct from the officer chiefly concerned in the demolition that the mound was between 30 and 40 feet high, of a circular shape like a dome, but ruined at the top ; that there was a marble pillar standing erect, and sculpture here and there in marble . . . He found inside the dome a casket made of six small slabs of stone dove-tailed into one another measuring about 2½ feet by 1½ feet by 1 foot. Inside this was a common clay *chātti*, and inside the *chātti* a neat casket made of 'soap-stone,' which contained a crystal phial. In the phial was a pearl, a few bits of gold-leaf and some ashes. Wishing to remove his discoveries, the stone casket was accidentally broken and the remains were left at Bhaṭṭiprolu. The *chātti* was also broken. The



'soap-stone' casket was smashed during a voyage to England and the fragments thrown away. The crystal phial was presented to Dr. Burnell."

. . . "The villagers of Bhaṭṭiprolu told me that they remember some railing or wall, which they described as about four feet high, surrounding the tope."\*

Mr. Rea found that the building had been of solid brick work throughout, and that a portion of the base of the dome and the wall of the procession-path at the south-east quadrant, were intact. From these he made out that the dome must have had a diameter of 132 feet and the base of 148 feet,—being thus about ten feet larger than the Amarāvati stūpa. Outside the basement, and 8 feet below the present surface, he found a brick floor about 12 feet broad, at the outer edge of which were fragments of marble,—probably of the great enclosing rail.

"I learned," he says, in his very instructive report, "that the casket had been found just above the summit of the remaining portion of the brick dome. I ascertained this point to be 15 feet above the level of the floor of the procession-path which surrounds the building. Although this casket had been found, I considered that, as the principal deposit is usually placed down in the centre near the foundation, or at the level of the procession-path, there was a great probability of there being another. After having found the centre of the circular brick-work, which, through the demolition, is not now in the middle of the mound but considerably towards the north, I saw that the bricks there had not been touched. In the centre was a narrow well,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, filled with earth. This hole, it appears, was open when the top of the stūpa was removed, and was then sounded with a rope to a depth of about 15 feet from the present surface. Around it were courses of eight bricks radiating from the centre to a diameter of 3 feet. These bricks I removed to a depth of 14 feet 6 inches.

"At that depth I came on a large, irregular, triangular slab of black stone laid on the outside of the excavated shaft. The two inner sides of the stone radiated from the centre, its outer side was curved concentric with the brick-work, and extended a foot into the wall of the shaft. It would have lain clear, had another ring of brick-work been removed, making the shaft 5 feet in diameter, but I did not expect to find more than one casket, in the centre. On removing it, I found a rectangular cutting on the under surface of the stone measuring 11 inches by 8 inches and  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch deep: the length was placed east and west. Below it was another similar but thicker stone with a raised rectangular rim on its upper surface cut to fit into the hollow in the upper stone. The inner sides of this rectangle slope down into a circular cavity 5 inches deep. The

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\* *Conf. Inu. Ant.* vol I, pp 153, 374, vol III, p 124; *Madras G. O.* 1st Nov 1878, No 1620, pp 33, 34.

upper surface of the lower stone is smooth, and cut on it, round the four sides of the casket chamber, are two lines of an inscription in characters similar to those of the Aśoka inscriptions" (see Nos. i and ii, pp. 326, 327)

In the cavity, was a small globular black stone relic-casket. Around the casket, and mixed with some earth which filled the cavity, were the following objects:—2 small hemispherical hollow copper or bell-metal (?) cups,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter: they fit into each other, and one bears traces of some sort of resin having been inside; on the apex of one is a gold bead,  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch in diameter; the other has had a gold bead also, which was found in the earth alongside; 1 copper finger ring and several bits of copper; 1 small bead; 2 double pearls; and the following articles in gold, weighing collectively  $\frac{1}{2}$  tola and 13 grains (i.e., 148 grains) viz., 1 single and 1 double gold bead; 7 small triangular pieces; 4 lotus flowers in thin sheets with eight bent petals, each  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches across; 2 *triśūlas* in thin plates each  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches by 1 inch; 1 hexagonal crystal with slightly convex sides,  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches by  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch, pierced with a hole through its axis. On each of the sides of the prism is lightly traced an inscription in the same character as that on the stone (see No. x, p. 329).

"The two hemispherical vessels lay on the west side of the casket; the crystal prism, gold flowers and other articles on the east. The relic-casket is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. The lid fits by a groove into the lower portion. Inside was a cylindrical crystal phial  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. It is moulded on the sides, flat on the top and bottom, and has its lid fitted in the same manner as the stone receptacle. Inside is a flat piece of bone, half an inch across, smooth on the one side and celled on the other: it seems to be a piece of a skull bor

"In the stone casket, below the phial were,—9 small lotus flowers in gold-leaf; 6 gold beads over an eighth of an inch in diameter, and 8 smaller; 4 small lotus flowers in thin copper; 19 small pierced pearls; 1 slightly blue coloured amethyst bead; and 24 small coins or tokens of a light coloured metal, somewhat resembling bell-metal. They are plain on the reverse: and on the obverse have lotus flowers, *triśūlas*, feet with a snake coiled round, and other emblems more or less legible. They were laid on the bottom of the casket—with the smooth sides down—in the form of a *svastika*, and had become fixed to the stone by oxidation. In the *svastika*, nine of the coins were in the central rectangle; three on each of the four arms, and the other three over the centre. The flowers and beads seem also to have been originally arranged symmetrically. An example of this symbolical use of the *svastika* was found in the centre of the stūpa at Pedda Ganjām.

“ At a depth of 17 feet, was another black stone, on the north side of the well, and, like the first, sunk a foot into the wall. It is roughly triangular in form, with rounded corners, and measures about 2 feet across, by 10 inches thick. On the top is a circle,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, raised half an inch. The under-side is smooth with a circular hollow 12 inches in diameter and half an inch deep. The circle is filled in with an inscription in 18 lines (No. iii, p. 327), while around it, are two others in two lines (Nos. iv and v, p. 328). All had the letters filled in with white. Below it was a stone, roughly rectangular, with rounded corners. In it is a circular cavity  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches deep,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter at the top and 4 at the bottom. Round the top is a raised rim  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad; and on the upper surface, round the hole, are inscriptions in two lines (Nos. vi and vii, p. 328). The characters are the same as those of the inscription first described. The letters were filled with *chunam*, evidently that they might show distinctly in the black stone. The cavity was nearly filled with earth and had no inner stone casket. In it was a crystal phial  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches high. Its lid is moulded like a *dāgaba*. The top and bottom were lying separate and filled with earth. There was no sign of a relic inside. Mixed with the earth in the stone cavity were,—164 lotus leaves and buds, 2 circular flowers, a *triśūla*, and a three-armed figure like a *svastika*,—all in gold leaf; 2 gold stems for the lotus flowers—one of them attached; 6 gold beads; and 1 small coiled gold ring. The lotus leaves (or petals) are of different sizes, having been fitted inside each other as in the flower itself. The beads represent the opening buds. These articles weigh collectively close on  $1\frac{3}{4}$  tolas (315 grs.). Also, two pearls; 1 garnet; six coral beads and one bit of the same material; 1 slightly blue, flat, oval, crystal bead; one pointed, oval, white crystal bead; and two green tinged, flat, hexagonal beryl drops: one is  $\frac{7}{8}$  and the other  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch in length; a number of bits of corroded copper leaf, including lotus flowers, stems, a miniature umbrella, and one or more thin sheets of silver folded flat into about eight thicknesses. The metal of the latter is much corroded and extremely brittle: it will be impossible to unfold the sheets. One side is broken but the fragments remain. The largest piece measures 2 inches by  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches, and shows some letters or symbols pricked on with a metal point.

“ At a depth of 18 feet another black stone lay sunk a foot into the wall on the east side of the shaft. It is an irregular circular stone measuring about 2 feet 3 inches across, by 10 inches thick. On its under-surface is a circular space sunk half an inch with an inscription in eight lines (No. viii, p. 328). The letters were whitened. This stone lay on the top of another, roughly square in shape, and measuring 2 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 3 inches by 11 inches thick. On the upper side is a circular cavity  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches deep

7½ inches broad at the top and 5 inches at the bottom. On the top is a rim 2¼ inches broad which fits into the hollow in the upper stone. On the upper surface of the stone, round the rim, is an inscription in one line, with letters whitened (No. ix, p. 329).

"The cavity was nearly filled with earth. In it were: 1 crystal phial of the shape of that found inside the second stone receptacle but slightly larger. It measures 2½ inches in diameter by 3 inches high. The two pieces were filled with earth and lay apart.

"Close to the phial, was found the actual relic casket with the relics inside. It is made of a large beryl measuring ⅞ inch in length, by ⅙ inch, by ⅜ inch. A cylindrical hole, ⅝ inch in diameter, is drilled in its axis, in which are the relics,—three small pieces of bone. The hole is closed by a small white crystal stopper with hexagonal bulbous top. The necking is covered with gold leaf, and another sheet of the same material is fixed outside on the bottom. This unique casket had been originally placed inside the crystal phial, but had been displaced probably by shaking of the stone when it was laid. There was also in the cavity:—1 amethyst bead ⅝ inch long; another smaller; and 1 yellow coloured crystal bead; 1 small hexagonal crystal drop of a slightly yellowish colour, and another flat one of white crystal; 1 bone bead; 6 pearls, and 32 seed pearls, all pierced; 30 lotus flowers, a bent two-armed figure, and a quatre-foil in gold leaf; a piece of seemingly decomposed quartz having the appearance of salt but insoluble in water; a few bits of copper, and an iron (?) cinder.

"The inscriptions are of importance, as, being found in connection with the relics, they must be contemporaneous with the foundation of the stūpa, and shew it to have been an early one."

This report by Mr. Rea is a model of accurate and careful detail such as is seldom met with in such papers, and throws all the light possible in the circumstances on the discovery of these early Bauddha inscriptions. The whole of the objects found have been delivered by Mr. Rea to the Central Museum at Madras.

The volume concludes with a paper supplementary to that given in the previous one by Professor H. Jacobi of Bonn University, completing his ingenious method of computing accurately Hindu dates found in ancient documents. The table of contents will show the list of other papers and the names of the respective contributors: to all of them my best thanks are tendered. To Dr. A. Führer, Ph.D., as assistant editor, I am deeply indebted for much valuable assistance in many ways, ever readily rendered.

JAS. BURGESS.

22, SETON PLACE, EDINBURGH:

*August, 1894.*

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

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## I.—JABALPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YASAĦKARNADEVA. [A. D. 1122.]

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, of which I am unable to say where<sup>1</sup> or by whom it was discovered, was engraved on two plates. Both plates were deposited in the Nāgpur Museum, where a Devanāgarī transcript of the whole inscription was made which seems to exist still and which will be referred to below. Subsequently the second of the two plates was either lost or stolen. But the first plate is still in the Museum; and, since the inscription even in its fragmentary state is of some importance, being the only one of the Chedi king Yaśaĥkarnadeva hitherto discovered, I edit it now from five rubbings and impressions which during the last two or three years have been kindly supplied to me by Dr. Burgess, Mr. Fleet, and Colonel J. A. Temple.<sup>2</sup>

The plate is inscribed on one side only, and measures about 1' 6½" broad by 1' high. At the bottom it has a round hole, about ⅝" in diameter, for a ring which has probably disappeared together with the missing plate. The writing has suffered a good deal from corrosion, and there are in consequence several *aksharas* which cannot be read with absolute certainty. But, fortunately, everything of historical importance is clear and distinct, and there is no doubt about the purport of any part of the inscription. The size of the letters is between ⅜" and ⅞". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the introductory *om om namo Vrahmaṇe* and a few words at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 24, of which 16 occur also in the Kumbhī copper-plate inscription of Gosaladevī.<sup>3</sup> As regards orthography, the letter *ḁ*

<sup>1</sup> I call the plate the Jabalpur plate, because it is so called by Sir A. Cunningham. The district of 'Jāvalipattana or Jāuli-patan' was apparently mentioned in the lost portion of the inscription. See the references in note 2, below.

<sup>2</sup> See Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd edition, Introduction, pp. li and lii; and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 87 and 88. Several of the statements which have been made regarding this inscription, on the basis of the Nāgpur Museum transcript, are very incorrect. Thus, according to one account, the inscription is one of Karnaḁeva, according to another it belongs to Gayakarna, and the transcript is said to read *Śrī-mahesa-Karna*; but there can be no doubt that the inscription belongs to Yaśaĥkarna and that, what the copyist had before him in the now lost plate, was *Śrīmad-Yaśaĥkarna*. Karnaḁeva is said to have built a fort named Karna Meru from which flowed the river Karnaḁatī; in reality Karna built a temple at Banāras, which the poet describes as Karna's Meru, and he founded the town of Karnaḁatī. The same Karna is said to have conquered Bhīmeśvara, king of Andhra, who is identified with Bhīma II, one of the eastern Chālukyas. What the inscription really says is, that Yaśaĥkarna defeated the king of Andhra, and that he subsequently presented the holy Bhīmeśvara (or Śiva) with many ornaments. [See page 7, note 48.—E. H.]

<sup>3</sup> Edited and translated in the *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. VIII, pp. 433—495; and re-edited by Dr. F. E. Hall, *ib.*, vol. XXXI, pp. 116—123. It will be seen that the present inscription, in verses 3, 6, 8, 12, 14, and 20, furnishes decidedly better readings than those given by Dr. Hall, and that in verse 21 it supplies certain words which have been either omitted or given quite wrongly in the published versions of the Kumbhī inscription.

is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is frequently employed instead of the palatal; besides, *ś* is used for *s* in the word *śārdḍham*, in line 21, and *j* for *y* in *trijāmā*, in line 15.

The metrical portion of the inscription, after mentioning, like the Kumbhī and other Chedi inscriptions, a number of divine and semi-divine beings, gives the usual genealogy of the Kalachuri (or Chedi) kings of Tripurī, from Yuvarājadeva down to the reigning king Yaśaḥkarnadeva (Yuvarājadeva; Kokalla; Gāṅgeyadeva, also called Vikramāditya; Karnadeva, who married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī; and Yaśaḥkarnadeva). And, in addition to the well-known facts that Gāṅgeyadeva with his hundred wives obtained final salvation at Prayāga, and that Karnadeva founded the town of Karṇāvatī, it only records (in verse 13) that Karṇa also built a magnificent temple at Kāśi or Benares, where evidently verse 13 was composed; and (in verse 23) that Yaśaḥkarnadeva defeated the ruler of Andhra, in the vicinity of the river Godāvarī.

Of the prose portion of the inscription only a few words remain. But from these words—‘and this...*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva,’<sup>4</sup>—it is clear that the inscription must have recorded a grant made by, or during the reign of, the king who in the metrical portion is mentioned last, *i.e.*, Yaśaḥkarnadeva. And it is fortunate that the Nāgpur Museum transcript, inaccurate as it is in other respects, enables us to ascertain the time when this grant was made, in my opinion, with certainty. We know that Yaśaḥkarnadeva was succeeded by his son Gayakarnadeva, and we possess an inscription of this Gayakarnadeva<sup>5</sup> which must have been put up towards the end of his reign and which bears a date corresponding to the 17th June, A. D. 1151. Yaśaḥkarnadeva would therefore have ceased to reign some time before, and probably at such a distance from, A. D. 1151, as would suit the relation to each other of father and son. Now according to the Nāgpur Museum transcript of the present inscription<sup>6</sup> the grant recorded in it was made ‘at the time of the Makara-samkrānti, on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Māgha.’ And during the sixty years preceding A. D. 1151, the only year which fulfils these conditions is A. D. 1122. For in that year<sup>7</sup> the 10th of the dark half of Māgha fell by the *pūrṇimānta* scheme on Monday, the 25th December, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 39 m. after mean sunrise; and in the same year the Makara-samkrānti took place 15 minutes before mean sunrise of, or for religious purposes on, the same Monday. And I have no doubt that Monday, the 25th December A. D. 1122, corresponding, with my epoch of the Chedi era, to Māghabadi 10 of Chedi-samvat 874, is the true date of the grant, and that this is a reliable date for Yaśaḥkarnadeva, whose reign probably ended shortly afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 225.

<sup>5</sup> See *ib.*, vol. XVIII, p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 218. After I had made the necessary calculations regarding the above date for my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era and found the above result, I learnt from Mr. Fleet that, according to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's calculations, in the century Śaka-samvat 1000 to 1100 (A. D. 1078—1178) the only year in which the Makara-samkrānti occurred on a Monday, which was the 10th lunar or solar day of the month Māgha, was Śaka-samvat 1044 expired (A. D. 1122—23).

TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

- L. 1. ओं<sup>9</sup> [॥<sup>x</sup>] ओं नमो ब्र(त्र)ह्मणे ॥  
जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानज(न)सूतिः ॥(1)  
अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमद्विस्तदक्षस्तदनु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवा-
2. नखिवन्सुः<sup>10</sup> ॥<sup>11</sup>—[1].  
अथ वो(वो)धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृहजामातरमज्जवान्ववस्य<sup>12</sup> ।  
तनयं जनयां(व)भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥<sup>13</sup>—[2].  
पुत्रं पुरुवरसमौरसमाप स्-
3. नुर्देवस्य सप्तजलरासि(शि)रसायनस्य ।  
आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी(शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्व्वरा च ॥<sup>14</sup>—[3].  
अ[त्रा]न्वये किल शताधिकसप्तिमेधयूपोरुद्धयमुनो-
4. क्तविविक्तकीर्त्तिः ॥(1)  
सप्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नरस(श)नाभरणाभिरामविस्त्रं(श्वं)भ[रा]सु(शु)भरतो भरतो व(व)भूव ॥ —[4].  
हेलागृहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस(श)स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य स कात्तवीर्यः ॥(1)  
अ-
5. त्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपुंसि राजेति नाम स(श)श्लक्ष्मणि चक्षमे यः ॥ —[5].  
स हिमाचल इव कलचुरिवंस(श)मसूत क्षमाभृतां भर्ता [॥<sup>x</sup>]  
सुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तैः पूतं महीप-
6. तिभिः ॥<sup>15</sup>—[6].  
तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो नरेन्द्रः पौरन्दरीमिव पुरीं त्रिपुरीं पुनानः ॥(1)  
आसीन्मदान्यनृपगन्धगजाधि[राज]निर्मायकेसरियुवा युवराजदेवः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[7].  
सिंहासने नृप-
7. तिसिंहमसुष्य स्रुमारुरूपन्नवनिभर्तुरमात्यसुख्याः ॥(1)  
कोकलमण्णवचतुष्टयवोचिसंघसंघट्टरुचतुरङ्गचसूपचारं ॥ —[8].  
इन्दुप्रभां निंदति हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते
8. चंदनसाक्षिपन्ती [1]  
यत्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्त्तिः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[9].  
मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षाः स्मिताक्षो<sup>18</sup> नगरपरिघदैर्घी<sup>19</sup>(धैर्यं) लंघय[न्तो]ईयन् ।  
[शिर]सि
9. कुलिस(श)पातो वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गाङ्गेयदेवः ॥<sup>19</sup>—[10].  
सवीरसिंहासनमौलिर[त्नं] स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः ।  
य[स्माद]कक्षादप[वर्गं ?]-

<sup>8</sup> From impressions supplied to me by the Editor and by Mr. Fleet.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>10</sup> Read °नखिवन्सुः.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>12</sup> Read °मलवान्ववस्य.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Aupachchhandāsika.

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 3—5, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 7 and 8, Vasantatilakā. As the noun *nirmātha* does not seem to occur anywhere else, I suspect it to have been put wrongly for *nirmāthi* (*nirmāthin*).

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>18</sup> This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

- Lt 10. मिच्छन्नकु[च्छ]ल[ः][कुं स्वजि?]तां व(व)भार ॥<sup>20</sup>—[11].  
 प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेस(श)व(व)न्धौ सार्द्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत सुक्तिं ।  
 पुत्रोऽस्य खड्गदलि[तारि]करीन्द्रकुम्भमुक्ताफलैः
11. स्म<sup>21</sup>ककुभोर्चति कर्णदेवः ॥<sup>22</sup>—[12].  
 कनकसि(शि)खरवेक्ष्यैजयन्तीसमीरग्लपितग[ग]नखिलन्विचरीचक्रखे[दः] ॥(1)  
 किमपरमिह कास्यां(श्यां) य[स्य] दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवल[यव(व)?]-
12. हल[कीर्त्तेः] कीर्त्तनं कर्णमेरुः ॥<sup>23</sup>—[13].  
 अग्रं धाम स्ने(त्रे)यसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदः स्वःस्रवन्त्याः किरीटं [1\*]  
 व्र(व्र)ह्मस्तंभो येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्य[ष्ठापि] क्षातलव्र(व्र)ह्मलो[कः]
13. ॥<sup>24</sup>—[14].  
 अजनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हृणान्वयजलनिधिलक्ष्मां श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां ॥(1)  
 शशभृदुदयस(श)ङ्गाक्षुब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयस(श):श्रीः श्रीयस(श):कर्ण-
14. देवः ॥<sup>25</sup>—[15].  
 [चंद्रार्कदीप]वति पर्वतराजपूर्णकुम्भावभासिनि महा[ब्धि(ब्धि)]चतुष्कमखे[1\*]  
 चक्रे पुरोहितपुर[स्कृ]तिपूत[कर्म] धर्मात्मनोऽस्य हि पितैव महाभिषेकं ॥<sup>26</sup>—[16].  
 न
15. खलु स[मदगो]ष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पातं ॥<sup>27</sup>न खलु कलुपचर्याकञ्जलो[ज्ञावकश्च?] ॥(1)  
 कलयति कलिनामन्युहमं यस्त्रिजा(या)मातमसि जयति जम्बू(म्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रदीपः ॥<sup>28</sup>—[17].  
 चिन्ता-
16. मणि[क्षय?]स(श)क्तियु[ग्म]क्रोडे स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्धं [1\*]  
 दृश्ये(श्ये)त दृशोस्तस्य दातुः सादृश्यं(श्यं) [ध]वलाक्षणेक्षणस्य । ॥<sup>29</sup>—[18].  
 यः ककुप्कुञ्जरालानस्तंभसत्र(व्र)ह्मचारिणः ।
17. [आसा(शा)न्ते]षु जयस्तम्भानुदस्तंभयदुच्चकैः ॥<sup>30</sup>—[19].  
 यो व्र(व्र)ह्मणा पाणिषु पंचषाणि दाता<sup>31</sup>निधत्ते पयसः पृषन्ति [1\*]  
 तैरेव तृष्णामवधूय ते च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयन्त्यव[ज्ञां] ॥<sup>32</sup>—[20].
18. महीभर्ता महादानैस्त्रैस्तुलापुरुषादिभिः [1]  
 गरिम्णा [मि]रुत्यर्थं कृतार्थयति योर्थिनः । ॥<sup>33</sup>—[21].  
 स्वर्गराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(शं)खसु(श)चीनि ।  
 सा(शा)ङ्गि-
19. [विष?]फणिकंचुकभांसि स्फोततां दधति यस्य यसां(शां)सि ॥<sup>34</sup>—[22].  
 अन्धाधीस(श)ग्रन्थदोर्विलसितं सच्छन्दमुच्छिन्दता  
 येनाभ्यर्चयत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमैस्त्र(श्व)रो

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>21</sup> This word is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Śālinī.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>27</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>29</sup> Metre, Bhadravirāj. The third Pāda wants one short syllable, between *drīśas* and *tasya*. I would suggest reading *tadāśya*.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>31</sup> This is quite clear in the rubbings.

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>33</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>34</sup> Metre, Svāgatā.



L. 20.

[भूप]ः ॥(1)

यस्या[व]र्ण[यदान्त?]नृत्यसहरीद्रुवस्त्रिगोदावरी

[वीर्यायु?]नदहंसनादमधुरैः स्रोतःस्वरैः सप्तभिः ॥(11)<sup>35</sup>—[23].

कुर्वन्नाहीं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसा-

21.

दरिचित्रनिव(व)र्हणः [1\*]

ब्रा(सा)र्ह परसु(शु)रामेण यः सदर्भमधिरोहति ॥<sup>36</sup>—[24].

स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रस्त्रीवामदेवपा-

. . . . .

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Brahman !

(Verse 1.) Glorious is (*the god*) whose navel is a lotus, glorious is the lotus which is his navel, (*and*) glorious is (*the god*) born from that lotus ! Glorious also is his offspring Atri, and glorious is the friend of the ocean who took his birth from Atri's eye!<sup>37</sup>

(2.) Now the king<sup>38</sup> who is the swan in the lake of the expanse of heaven begat as his offspring Bodhana, the son of (*that*) primeval king (*and*) son-in-law in the house of the friend of lotuses.

(3.) This son of the god<sup>39</sup> who is the elixir produced from the seven seas obtained, as the son of his own body, Purûravas, who had both Urvaśi and the earth here for his faithful wives, to be enjoyed by him with their hundreds of unrivalled blessings.

(4.) In this family forsooth was born Bharata, whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamunâ, hemmed in by more than hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (*offered by him*),—Bharata, who delighted in the welfare of the earth, made lovely, as by a pearl-ornament, by the girdle of the seven seas.

(5.) Highly glorious is in his family that Kârtavîrya who, though he had no need of them, wielded with ease every weapon, (*and*) who allowed the title of king<sup>40</sup> only to the Moon, the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.

(6.) Resembling the Himâlaya, the lord of mountains, that lord of princes begat the Kalachuri race which is purified by rulers of spotless conduct, as with pure round pearls.

(7.) In this family was a prince, foremost of the prudent, who purified the town of Tripurî so that it was like Indra's city,—Yuvarâjadeva, who destroyed the lords of princes blinded by passion, as a young lion does powerful infuriated elephants.

(8.) The chief ministers of that ruler of the earth placed on the throne his son Kokalla, a lion-like prince, the progress of whose armies, comprising elephants, chariots, horsemen and soldiers on foot,<sup>41</sup> was checked (*only*) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>36</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>37</sup> This first verse glorifies the god Vishnu, his navel, the god Brahman, Atri, and the Moon. Further on we are told that the Moon's son Bodhana (or Budha, i.e., Mercury) married (Ilā or Idā) a daughter of the Sun (or Mitra-Varuṇa), and that their son was Purûravas. 'The friend of the ocean' is the moon; 'the friend of lotuses,' the sun.

<sup>38</sup> i.e., the moon.

<sup>39</sup> i.e., again the moon, under the name of Soma confounded with the Soma plant.

<sup>40</sup> For the same idea, compare *ante*, vol. I, p. 313, verse 16. Dr. F. E. Hall's reading *chakrame* in the Kumbhî copper-plate (instead of *chakshame*) yields no sense.

<sup>41</sup> The original has only the word *chaturāṅga*.

(7. 9.) That lord having gone far away, his fame shows like a forsaken woman; deriding white sandal, it reproves the lustre of the moon, and is a reproach to a string of pearls.

(10.) His son was Gāṅgeyadeva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of enemies (*and*) the lord of the fortune of heroes, with a chest broad like an emerald tablet, (*and*) with smiling eyes, (*and*) with his two arms surpassing the length of a city bar.

(11.) The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he has become famous under the name of Vikramāditya; for, striving after final beatitude (*and*) free from wicked deceit, he ruled the earth which he had himself conquered all of a sudden.

(12.) When, fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig tree of Prayāga, he had found salvation there together with his hundred wives, his son Karṇadeva honoured the quarters with the pearls from the frontal globes of the majestic elephants of his enemies, cleft by his sword.

(13.) Of him whose great fame is like the circle of waves of the milky ocean, need we say more than that here, at Kāśī, there is a temple (*erected by him*), Karṇa's *Meru*,<sup>42</sup> (*so lofty*) that the wind of the flags which wave from its golden spires lessens the fatigue of the damsels of heaven, when playing in the sky?

(14.) He set up the pillar of piety, called Karṇāvatī, the foremost abode of bliss, the root of the creeping plant—knowledge of the Vedas, the diadem of the stream of heaven, the world of Brahman on the surface of the earth.

(15.) That lord of the Kalachuris begat on the illustrious Āvalladevī, (*another*) goddess of fortune produced from the ocean of the Hūṇa family, the illustrious Yaśaḥ-karṇadeva, the glory of whose fame is co-extensive with the billows of the milky ocean which rose (*when he arose*), mistaking him to be the rising moon.

(16.) Of this law-abiding (*scn*) the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed himself the great inauguration ceremony in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun.<sup>43</sup>

(17.) Glorious is that jewel-lamp<sup>44</sup> of Jambūdvīpa which sends forth its rays in the darkness of night of the Kali age, never filled with partiality for the assemblies of the arrogant, and never displaying the lampblack—base conduct.

(18.) If the milk of the cow of plenty were (*put*) within the two black shells of the gem which grants every desire, then there would be seen a likeness with the eyes of that bountiful (*king*) whose eyes are both white and red.<sup>45</sup>

(19.) He erected high pillars of victory near the confines of the regions, as companions of the posts to which the elephants of the quarters are fastened.

(20.) This bountiful (*lord*) puts five or six drops of water into the hands of the

<sup>42</sup> *Meru* denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances; *Bṛhatsamhitā*, lvi, 20), and the word is chosen here because it is also the name of the well-known fabulous mountain of enormous height, the summit of which is the residence of Brahman. A similar temple is said to have been built by Gāṅgeyadeva; see v. 9 of the next inscription.

<sup>43</sup> At an ordinary *abhisheka* water from all the oceans, golden jars, etc., should be used. To show the magnificence of Yaśaḥkarṇa's *abhisheka*, the poet says that the ceremony here was performed in the midst of the four oceans, and that the Himālaya took the place of the ordinary golden jars, etc.; and he implies that Y. was inaugurated in the sovereignty of the whole earth, bounded by the oceans.

<sup>44</sup> *i.e.*, a lamp in which jewels give out light. Jambūdvīpa is the central division of the world, including India.

<sup>45</sup> The general meaning of this verse is that the king possesses the properties of both the fabulous cow of plenty and the gem which grants every desire.

Brāhmans<sup>46</sup>; and they with these already quench their thirst, and afterwards show their contempt even for the ocean.<sup>47</sup>

(V. 21.) In weight (*like the mountain*) Meru, this ruler of the earth exceedingly gratifies suppliants by bestowing on them (*gold*) equal to his own weight and by other great gifts.

(22.) Bright like the tusks of the elephant of the king of heaven, pure like the shells of the ocean of milk, (*and*) lustrous like the snake's skin in which Vishṇu is clad, his fame has become superabundant.

(23.) Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (*even though*) the play of (*that king's*) arms disclosed no flaw, he revered the holy Bhīmeśvara<sup>48</sup> with many ornaments. The Godāvari, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.

(24.) Crushing the power of his enemies and making over the earth to the Brāhmans, he engages in a course of rivalry with Paraśurāma.

And this . . . the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, who [meditates on] the feet of the illustrious Vāmadeva . . . . .

## II.—BHERA-GHAT STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE QUEEN ALHANADEVI.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 907.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall, in 1857, at Bhera-Ghāt on the Narmadā, in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, and subsequently presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited. It is a plain block of greenstone, of a soft texture and easily cut, 2' 9½" broad by 1' 10½" high.<sup>1</sup> The inscription was first edited, with an English translation and notes, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499-532; and Dr. Hall's text was afterwards reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 107-9; and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 91-94. I now re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions and a rubbing kindly prepared for me, at Professor Lanman's request, by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 7½" broad by 1' 9" high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the end of lines 11 and 12, which are almost entirely broken away, and about half a dozen other damaged *aksharas*,

<sup>46</sup> viz., at the time when he is making donations to them.

<sup>47</sup> The word translated by 'ocean' means originally 'a mine of precious stones.'

<sup>48</sup> i.e., the god Jīva. [I take this to refer to the Bhīmeśvara temple at Drāksharāma in the Godāvari district.—E. H.]

<sup>1</sup> See the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 534; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Hall's text and translation were prepared with his usual care and scholarship. Nevertheless, a few slight errors of his were pointed out already by the Committee of Publication of the American Oriental Society while his paper was passing through the press; and I have had occasion to differ still further from Dr. Hall, as regards both the text and the translation.

the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{9}{16}$  and  $\frac{11}{16}$ . The characters are Nāgarī, carefully drawn and engraved; and they include the sign of the *jihcāmūliya* in *mahīpālah=Karṇṇah*, in line 9, and that of the *upadhmanīya* in *Hūṇah=praharsharī*, in line 10. The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the introductory *om om namaḥ Śīrāya* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse.<sup>3</sup> The language is not quite free from mistakes.<sup>4</sup> For, in line 10, we find the perfect form *chakape*, instead of *chakampe* (which would not have suited the metre), and, in line 25, the imperative *vyadhattām*, possibly an error of the writer or engraver, instead of *tidhattām* which would suit the metre equally well. Besides we have, in line 9, the wrong abstract noun *chaṇḍimatā*, and, in line 2, the adjective *calgu*, used in the sense of the participle *calgat*. And the rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed in *kim=rā*, line 2, and in *yushmān=śarīraiḥ*, line 3. As regards orthography, the consonant *b* is seven times denoted by its own proper sign, but just as often by the sign for *v*. Thus, in lines 7 and 10 we read *bibhrat*, but in line 6 *vibhrat*; in line 16 *buddher*, but in line 1 *vuddhim*, &c. The sibilants are generally employed each in its proper place; but in line 14 we have *śaṭāla*, instead of *saṭāla* as the word is correctly written in line 27. Instead of the sign of *anuscāra* the dental *n* has been wrongly employed in the word *sinha* (in the proper names *Vairisinka*, *Vijayasinha*, &c., in lines 16, 17, 21-23, and 29), in *raṇṣa*, line 20, and in *eudhānśuḥ*, line 18 (properly written *ś-dhānśu* in line 4); and even at the end of a word before an initial sibilant, in *sansatsu*, line 5, and *etān=sūriḥ*, line 28. And, generally, it may be noted that out of about 60 cases where the use of the *anuscāra* would have been optional, at the end of a word before a following initial consonant, and where it would now be usually employed throughout, it has been actually employed only about 25 times, while in the rest of the cases the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs has been used instead; and that the sign of *anuscāra* never occurs, instead of the sign for *m*, at the end of a verse or half-verse.

The inscription was composed by Śaśidhara, a younger son of Dharaṇidhara<sup>5</sup> and grandson of Maheśvara, of the Mauna *gotra*; written on the stone by his elder brother Prithvidhara; and engraved by Mahidhara, a son of the artisan Bālasimha (verses 32-35 and 37). And its object is, to record that the queen Alhanadevi, the wife (or rather, widow) of the king Gayakarnadeva, and mother of the reigning king Narasimhadeva and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, founded a Śiva temple, with a *maṭha* or cloister, a hall of study, and gardens attached to it; that, probably for the maintenance of these buildings and their occupants, she assigned the income from the two villages of Nāmauṇḍī, in the Jāulī *pattalā*, and of Makarapāṭaka, on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills; and that the management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pāśupata ascetic, named Rudrarāśī, of Lāṭa lineage (vv. 27-31). The inscription also records (in verse 36) that all the buildings, etc., aforesaid, at one of which the inscription may be supposed to have been put up, were designed or executed by the architect Pithe.

<sup>3</sup> The second half of verse 20 grossly offends against a well-known metrical rule.

<sup>4</sup> Similar mistakes are found in other Chedi inscriptions of the same period.

<sup>5</sup> Dharaṇidhara, Prithvidhara and Mahidhara are mentioned also in the Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnadeva, of the Chedi year 922. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 216, note 2.

By way of introduction the inscription, after the words "om om, adoration to Śiva!", and six verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatī, furnishes the following meagre account of the royal family into which Alhaṇadevī had married, and of her own descent:—

From a prince of the lunar family, named Arjuna (or Sahasrārjuna, v. 7), was descended the king Kokalladeva (v. 8). From him sprang Gāṅgeyadeva (vv. 9-10); and his son was king Karna who is represented as having held in check the Pāṇḍyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Kīras, and Hūṇas (vv. 11-13). Karna's son was Yaśaḥkarna, said to have become famous by devastating Champāraṇya (v. 14); and his son again was Gayakarna (vv. 15-16). Gayakarna married Alhaṇadevī, a daughter of the king Vijayasimha (a son of Vairisimha who was a son of the prince Hamsapāla, a descendant of the son of Gobhila or Gobhilaputra,) and his wife Śyāmaladevī, a daughter of the king Udayāditya of Mālava (vv. 17-23). And Alhaṇadevī bore to Gayakarna two sons, Narasimhadeva, who in the inscription is represented as the reigning king, and his younger brother Jayasimhadeva (vv. 24-26). Nearly all this is stated also in the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimhadeva, and I may therefore, for the present, refer the reader to my remarks on that inscription, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 215.

Our inscription is dated, at the end of the last line, in the year 907, on Sunday, the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha,—a date which must of course be referred to the Kalachuri or Chedi era. When writing on the epoch of that era, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, I felt inclined to accept Mr. Fleet's suggestion, based on an examination of the photozincograph of this inscription in No. 10 of the *Archæol. Survey of Western India* which alone was then available, that the figures for the day of this date were intended to be 10 (and not 11). But now my excellent impressions have shown me that the figures after all are 11, and that they are quite distinct and cannot be read in any other way. And accordingly the probabilities regarding the corresponding European date are as follows. With my epoch of the Kalachuri era, as to the general correctness of which there can now be hardly any doubt, and according to the way in which the other Kalachuri dates yield satisfactory results, our date should fall in A.D. 1155. But in A.D. 1155 the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha commenced 2 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 6th November, and ended 0 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 7th November, apparently causing sudi 11 to correspond, civilly, to the Monday. In the following year, A.D. 1156, on the other hand, the same 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha ended 1 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 25th November, and consequently, in that year, sudi 11 was, civilly, really a Sunday. Now, that the day intended by the original date is either Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, or Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156, appears to me certain; but I am not at present prepared to say confidently which of these two Sundays is the true date. Supposing all the other Kalachuri dates to cite current years, the present date might be taken to quote, exception ly, an expired year, and in that case its equivalent would be Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1156. But a more careful examination of the practice of other eras has shown that it is rather the *current* years which are quoted exceptionally. And assuming that, what is true of other eras, must hold good also of the Kalachuri era, one would rather be inclined to look upon Sunday, the 6th November A.D. 1155, as the proper equivalent of the date, and to assume that the *tithi*, in this instance,

was joined with the weekday on which it commenced, and which was almost entirely filled by it.

The two villages Nāmaūṇḍī and Makarapāṭaka, mentioned in the inscription, I am unable to identify. The Jāulī *pattalā*, which apparently was mentioned also in the lost portion of Yaśaḥkarna's copper-plate,<sup>9</sup> must have been the country around Jabalpur.

### TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

- L. 1      श्री<sup>9</sup>[॥\*] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥  
 कल्याणितामविकलां भवतां तनोतु भाले कलानिधिकला शशिशेखरस्य ॥(1)  
 एकैव या प्रमथसार्थगतां द्वितीयावु(बु)दिम्रदोषविरहेपि करोति नित्यम् ॥<sup>9</sup>—[1].
- 2 किं मालाः कुमुदस्य किं शशिकलाः किन्मर्मकर्मार्कुराः<sup>10</sup>  
 किम्वा<sup>11</sup>कञ्चुकिकञ्चुकाः किमथवा भृत्यहमा भान्यमी ।  
 इत्यन्नाकिपितकिंताः शिवशिरःसञ्चारिनाकापगा-  
 रिङ्गद्वलुतरङ्गभङ्गिततयः पुण्यप्र-
3.      पाः पान्तु वः ॥<sup>12</sup>—[2].  
 भूतं सद्विभु यद्विभाति भुवनं यद्विभ्रमाद्यज्जग-  
 न्नेत्रानन्दकरं धराश्रयरसाद्यन्यत्वहेतुञ्च यत् ।  
 यद्वन्धोदुरधाम यच्च यजते शीतं यदेकान्ततः  
 सस्ययं यदरूपमेभिरवताद्युष्मान्ग(ज्ज)रीरैः
4.      शिवः ॥ —[3].  
 शक्तिहेतिपरप्रीतिहेतुश्चन्द्रकचर्चितः ।  
 ताण्डवाड्व(व)रः कुर्यान्नीलकण्ठः प्रियाणि वः ॥<sup>13</sup>—[4].  
 विघ्नौघसन्तमससंहरणाय शक्तं मुक्तं कलंककलयया शकलं सुधांशोः ।  
 कुन्दावदाततरदन्तमिषाद्घा-
5.      नः श्रेयः परन्दिशतु वः सद्यं द्विपास्यः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[5].  
 रूपैरनैकेर्व्यवहारजातमातन्वती पातु सरस्वती वः ।  
 यज्ञेशलालित्यलवादपि स्यात्सन्तु<sup>15</sup>पुंसाङ्गरिमा गरीयान् ॥\*<sup>16</sup>—[6],  
 गोत्रे रात्रिकरस्य भूपति-
6.      रभूद्वि(द्वि)भ्रतृहृत्तं करा-  
 न्प्रत्येकन्निजगन्मनोविनयने रात्रिन्दिवं जागृद्विः ।  
 तेजोभिर्जगतीमृताम्परिभवी नाम्नाज्जुनः संस्रते-  
 र्यस्याद्याप्यधिगम्यते वसु गतन्नीतं च चाराखरम् ॥' —[7].  
 तस्या-
7.      न्वये समभवत्प्रथितः पृथिव्या नाथः कथाद्भुततमापि वृथा न यस्य ।  
 कोकिलदेव इति बिभ्रदु[दार]रूपनाम त्रिलोकसुखसंजननैकधाम ॥<sup>18</sup>—[8].  
 निर्मिल्योर्जितगर्वपर्वतभृतः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वी-

<sup>9</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>10</sup> The sign of *anusvāra* in the last word is very faint, but it is there.

<sup>11</sup> Read किं वा.

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 2 and 3, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>15</sup> Read स्यात्सन्तु.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

L. 8.

भुजः

प्राप्तानन्तयशा वभूव नृपतिर्गाङ्गेयदेवस्ततः  
पृथ्वी देन विधाय मेरुमतुलं कल्पद्रुमेण [रि]थिनां  
स्वर्गादूर्ध्वमधःस्थितापि विबुधाधारे [स?]मापादिता ॥<sup>19</sup>—[9].  
पुण्यादृतेन संसिक्ता शुद्धसचप्रवर्द्धि-

9.

[त]ा ।

यत्कीर्त्तिव्रततिः सर्व्व व्याप ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपम(म) ॥<sup>20</sup>—[10].  
तेनाजनि महीपालद्वयः स्वर्णेन कुर्व्वता ।  
पूर्णतृष्णापूर्णवानर्थिसार्थानर्थितकीर्त्तिना ॥ —[11].  
पाण्ड्यशृङ्गिमताम्भुमोच मुरलस्तत्याज गर्व्व[ग्र]हं<sup>21</sup>

10.

[कु]ङ्कः<sup>22</sup> सद्गतिमाजगाम चकपे<sup>23</sup>वङ्गः कलिङ्गेः सह ।

कीरः कीरवदास पञ्चरग्टहे हण७७प्रहर्षे जहो  
यस्मिन्नाजनि शौर्यविभ्रसभरं विभ्रत्यपूर्व्वप्रभे ॥<sup>24</sup>—[12].  
अस्मद्भर्त्तृपराभवेन सकला-

11.

भुंक्ते [सुवं] यामसौ

तामेतान्तनवासहै तनुतराकारामितीव स्त्रियः ।  
यत्प्रत्यर्थिमहीभुजान्नयनजैर्वाप्यैः पयोधीन्वप्रधुः  
स्फारान्नमहोर्मिभिः पुनरमी तं वर्द्ध[याच्च]-<sup>25</sup>

12.

किरे ॥ —[13].

चम्पारखविदारणीकृतयशःशुभ्रांशुना भासय-  
न्नाशाचक्रमवक्रभावहृदयः क्षमापालचूडामणिः ।  
तस्माज्जन्त समाससाद विशदं श्रीमान्यशःकर्णं इ-  
त्यौदार्याच्च[निकी]-<sup>26</sup>

13.

चकार विबुधान्यः प्रेक्ष्य सर्व्वानपि ॥ —[14].

तस्मादशेषशुणरत्ननिधेरगाधाङ्गवत्तमः समभवद्रयकर्णदेवः ।  
यस्य प्रतापतपनोप्यरिसुन्दरीणां शोकार्णवीदयनिदानपदं प्रपेदे ॥<sup>27</sup>—[15].

14.

द्युतिजितहरीतालः श्रीलताकल्पशालः पृथुतरगुणमालः शत्रुवर्गेककालः ।  
विमलितरणभालः कान्तकीर्त्या श(स)टालः शिततरकरवालः सोभवद्भूमिपालः ॥<sup>28</sup>—[16].  
अस्ति

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The akshara put in brackets in the last line of this verse is almost entirely broken away.

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>21</sup> Of the akshara in brackets only the consonant r is absolutely certain. What the author meant to say, was probably गर्वापर्.

<sup>22</sup> The akshara in brackets is so much damaged that only part of the letter k remains. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xviii, p. 217, line 10.

<sup>23</sup> This reading is absolutely certain. चकपे is grammatically incorrect, for चकपे.

<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 12-14, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>25</sup> The word तं of this line is quite certain. Of the aksharas in brackets only the first is partly visible.

<sup>26</sup> Of the aksharas in these brackets only the vowel i of the first remains; the rest had been already supplied by Dr. Hall.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

- L. 15. प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रन्तत्राजनिष्ट नृपतिः किल हंसपालः ।  
शौर्यावसञ्जितनिरर्गलसैन्यसंघनस्त्रीकृताखिलमिलद्रिपुचक्रवालः ॥<sup>29</sup>—[17].  
तस्याभवत्तनुभवः प्र-
16. एतत्समस्तसामन्तशेखरशिरोमणिरञ्जिताङ्गेः<sup>30</sup> ।  
श्रीवैरिसिन्धवसुधाधिपतिर्विशुद्धवृद्धेर्निधिर्न परमर्थिजनस्य चोच्चैः ॥ —[18].  
स<sup>31</sup> वैरिसिन्धोप्यनयद्रिपूणां कुलानि गम्भीरगुहागृ-
17. हाणि ।  
स्वयञ्च तेषामधिशय्य चक्रे पुराणि दूरावजितालकानि ॥<sup>32</sup>—[19].  
तस्मादजायत समस्तजनाभिवन्द्यसौन्दर्यशौर्यभरभङ्गुरिताहितश्रीः ।  
पृथ्वीपतिर्विजयसिन्ध<sup>33</sup> इति
18. प्रवर्द्धमानः सदा जगति यस्य यशःसुधान्शुः<sup>34</sup> ॥<sup>35</sup>—[20].  
तस्याभवन्मालवमण्डलाधिनाथोदयादित्यसुता सुरूपा ।  
शृङ्गारिणी श्यामलदेव्युदारचरित्रचिन्तामणिरर्चितश्रीः ॥<sup>36</sup>—[21].
19. मेनायामिव शंकरप्रणयिनी चोणीभृतान्नायका-  
दीरिण्यामिव शुभ्रभानुवनिता दक्षाग्रजानां सृजः ।  
तस्मादल्लहणदेव्यजायत जगद्रक्षाचमाङ्गुपते-  
रेतस्यान्निज-
20. दीर्घवन्शविशदप्रैख्यताकाकतिः ॥<sup>37</sup>—[22].  
विवाहविधिमाधाय गयकार्णनरेश्वरः ।  
चक्रे प्रीतिम्यरामस्यां शिवायामिव शंकरः ॥<sup>38</sup>—[23].  
शृङ्गारशाला कलश्री कलानां लावण्यमाला गु-
21. एषस्यभूमिः ।  
असूत पुत्रद्वयकार्णभूपादसौ नरेश्वरसिन्धदेवम्<sup>39</sup> ॥<sup>40</sup>—[24].  
अस्य श्रीनरसिन्धदेवनृपतेः<sup>41</sup> प्रोद्यन्त्यश्वन्द्रमा  
दिग्भिर्त्तीर्त्विदधातु व(व)सुरसुधासम्भारगर्भा इव ।  
भूर्भर्तारम-
22. वाप्य चैनमुचितं प्रीतिन्तथा प्राप्नुया-  
त्पूर्वेषाम् यथा मनागपि महाचोणीभृतां ध्यायति ॥<sup>42</sup>—[25].  
अस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिन्धदेवः<sup>43</sup> सौमित्रिवत्प्रथमजैर्जुतरूपसेवः ।  
यो मेघनादव(व)हु-
23. मायमहातिकायसैन्यं द्वियामभिभवन्नह[ह] प्रहस्तः ॥<sup>44</sup>—[26].  
अकारयन्मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलेरिदम्भठेनाङ्गतभूमिकेन ।

<sup>29</sup> Metre of verses 17 and 18, Vasantatilakā.  
<sup>30</sup> Originally °दिः or °दिः, but altered to °द्विः. At the commencement of the next line read श्रीवैरिदि°.

<sup>31</sup> Read वैरिसिन्धो.

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Upendravajrā.

<sup>33</sup> Read °सिन्धः.

<sup>34</sup> Read °सुधांशुः.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>36</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>37</sup> Read दीर्घवन्श°.

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>39</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>40</sup> Read °सिन्धदेवम्.

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>42</sup> Read श्रीनरसिन्ध°.

<sup>43</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>44</sup> Read जयसिन्ध°.

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.



सहामुना श्रीनरसिंहदेवप्रसूरावल्लणदेव्युदारा<sup>46</sup> ॥<sup>47</sup>—[27].

व्याख्यानशा-

L. 24. लामुद्यानमालामविकलाममूम(म्) ।

अकारयत्तुयं शम्भुप्रोसादालीङ्गयन्त्रिजैः ॥<sup>48</sup>—[28].

देवायाम्ने वैद्यनाथाभिषाय प्रादाद्देवी जाउलीपत्तलायाम् ।

यामन्नाम्ना नामउखीति सर्वादायैः<sup>49</sup>स्मा-

25. र्जं चारुचर्चाप्रसिद्धैः ॥<sup>50</sup>—[29].

नर्मदादक्षिणे कूले पर्वतोपत्यकायये ।

तथापरमदाह्रामन्नाम्ना मकरपाटकम् ॥<sup>51</sup>—[30].

लाटान्वयः पाशपतस्तपस्वी श्रीरुद्रराशिर्विधिवद्दधत्ताम्<sup>52</sup> ।

स्थानस्य रक्षावि-

26. धिमस्य तावद्यावन्मिमीते भुवनानि शम्भुः ॥<sup>53</sup>—[31].

मौन्या(ना)न्वये<sup>54</sup>भागववैतहव्यसावैतसेतिप्रवरत्रयाद्ये ।

महेश्वराख्याद्वरणीधरोभून्नाम्ना गरिम्णा यशसा श्रिया च ॥<sup>55</sup>—[32].

कोमल-

27. कान्तिसटालीनोच्चैःस्नेहातिभारभरितेन ।

दीर्घमनोज्ञदशेन त्रिभुवनदीपायितं येन ॥<sup>56</sup>—[33].

पृथ्वीधरस्तस्य सुतः समस्तगभीरशास्त्रार्णवपारदृष्ट्वा ।

प्रशस्तिमेतामलिखद्यदीयैर्हि-

28. डम्पण्डलो शिष्यगणैर्विजिग्ये ॥<sup>57</sup>—[34].

एतस्यावरजस्तर्कनिष्ठातोद्भुतनैपुणः<sup>58</sup> ।

प्रशस्तिमकरोदेतान्मूरिः<sup>59</sup>शशिधराभिधः ॥<sup>60</sup>—[35].

<sup>61</sup>असूत्रयदिदं सर्वं विश्वकर्माविधानवित् ।

पीथेसमभिधः सूत्र-

29. धारः पृथ्वीमृद्युर्यथा ॥ —[36].

सूत्रधारायणीवा(वा)लसिंहसूनुर्महीधरः<sup>62</sup> ।

शिलान्तथाकरोद्वर्णैर्नर्मस्तारकितं यथा ॥ —[37].

संवत् ८०७ मागसुदि ११<sup>63</sup>रवी ॥ ॥ ॥

<sup>46</sup> Read श्रीनरसिंह°.

<sup>47</sup> Metre, Upendravajrā.

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>49</sup> This sign of *visarga* is superfluous.

<sup>50</sup> Metre, Śālini.

<sup>51</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>52</sup> The correct form would of course be विधत्ताम्.

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>54</sup> The correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>56</sup> Metre, Āryā.

<sup>57</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>58</sup> Of the *akṣhara* तो the superscript line which turns d into o is rather faint, but it undoubtedly is there.

<sup>59</sup> Read °तां मूरिः.

<sup>60</sup> Metre of verses 35-37, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>61</sup> Originally चार्त्, altered to चर्त्.

<sup>62</sup> Read °वालसिंह°.

<sup>63</sup> There is no doubt whatever about these figures.

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Śiva !

(Verse 1.) May the moon's digit on the forehead of the Moon-crested (*god*) provide for you unstinted bliss,—(*that digit*) which, only one (*and the first*), ever makes the troop of Śiva's attendants, even in the absence of the evening-twilight, think it to be (*joined by*) the second (*digit*) !<sup>64</sup>

(2.) May those founts of holiness, the lines of the creeping and leaping<sup>65</sup> tortuous waves of the river of heaven, meandering on Śiva's head, guard you,—(*those waves*) about which the celestials are doubting whether they be lotus-garlands, or lunar digits, or sprouts of righteous deeds, or serpents' skins, or (*the god's*) majesty bursting into view !

(3.) (*That body*) which, being a gross element, is all-pervading ; (*that*) by whose revolution the world comes to light ; (*that*) which gladdens the eyes of the creatures ; and (*that*) which causes the diversity of savour and other (*qualities*) residing in earth ; (*that*) which is the vast substratum of odour ; (*that*) which sacrifices ; (*that*) which is characterized by cold ; (*and that*) which, colourless, is sensible to the feel ;—may Śiva with these (*eight*) bodies<sup>66</sup> (*of his*) protect you !

(4.) May Nilakaṇṭha, who fills with delight men eager to wield spear and missile, when decorated with the young moon he exults in his dance, grant whatever is dear to you !<sup>67</sup>

(5.) May the Elephant-faced (*god*) in his mercy bestow on you supreme felicity,—who, under the guise of a tusk whiter than jasmine, bears the piece of the moon which is freed from the dark digit, able to dispel the profound darkness of crowds of obstacles !

(6.) May Sarasvatī guard you,—who by manifold forms (*of speech*) brings about all intercourse (*of men, and*) by partaking of even a small portion of whose elegance in trifles (*even*), men may secure greater weight in assemblies !—

(7.) In the Moon's family was a prince with thousand hands, day and night watching to guide one by one the minds of (*the dwellers in*) the three worlds, (*and*) by his splendour eclipsing the rulers of the world,—(*a prince*) named Arjuna, by the (*mere*) remembrance of whom<sup>68</sup> is recovered even now what has been lost and carried off by thieves long ago.

(8.) In his lineage was born a renowned ruler of the earth of whom even the most marvellous tale is not untrue, bearing the name Kokalladeva, an illustrious name, eminently fit to give pleasure to the three worlds.

(9.) From him sprang the prince Gāṅgeyadeva who, by vanquishing hostile rulers

<sup>64</sup> *Viz*, because the first lunar digit, by itself, is altogether invisible. The noun *kalyāṇitā* is not given by the dictionaries.

<sup>65</sup> *Valgu*, ordinarily 'handsome, beautiful', is here used in the sense of the participle *valgat*, opposed to *ringat*.

<sup>66</sup> These eight bodies of Śiva are the ether, the sun, the moon, fire, the earth, the sacrificing priest, water, and air. It will be sufficient to refer the reader to the opening verse of Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā*.

<sup>67</sup> The two compounds of the first half of the verse would be applicable also to the dancing peacock (*nīlakaṇṭha*) which causes great delight to him whose weapon is a spear (*i.e.* to the god Kārttikeya or Skanda, also called Śaktidhara 'the spear-bearer', to whom the peacock is sacred), and the tail of which is covered with spots similar to the moon. Compare the very similar verse No. 1737 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, which will show that the translation of the word *chandrakā* by 'the young (or small) moon' is correct.

<sup>68</sup> Dr. Hall quotes a verse found by him in an extract from the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, which expresses the same idea.

supporting huge mountains of pride, secured endless fame; a tree of paradise to suppliants, who made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods, by raising (*on it*) a *Meru*<sup>63</sup> without equal.

(7. 10.) The creeping-plant of his fame, sprinkled with the nectar of his religious merit and made to grow by his stainless character, overspread the whole bower of the universe.

(11.) He who, seeking good renown, so behaved to the crowds of suppliants that the ocean of their desires became replenished with gold, begat the prince Karna.

(12.) While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pândya relinquished violence,<sup>70</sup> the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing,<sup>71</sup> the Kunga entered the path of the good, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kalinga, the Kira staid at home like a parrot in the cage, (*and*) the Hûṇa left off being merry.

(13.) When the wives of hostile princes enlarged the seas with the tears streaming from their eyes, intending as it were to reduce the size of the earth, because he had it all subjected to his rule by the defeat of their husbands, those same seas again did homage to him with large waves of precious stones.

(14.) From him took his spotless birth the illustrious Yaśaḥkarna, a crest-jewel of rulers, with a heart free from guile, who illuminated the circle of the regions with the moon of his fame which had risen from the devastation of Champāranya, (*and*) who in his generosity enriched all the learned without exception, as soon as he set eyes on them.

(15.) From him, an unfathomable ocean of all excellencies, was born the favourite of the earth, Gayakarnadeva. In his case even the sun,—the sun of his prowess,—took upon itself the function<sup>72</sup> of causing the rising of the sea,—the sea of sorrow of the wives of his adversaries.

(16.) That prince surpassed by his lustre yellow orpiment,<sup>73</sup> was a tree of paradise for the creeping-plant fortune, wore a broad garland of noble qualities, was the one god of death to the host of the enemies, adorned the van of battle, abounded in pleasing renown, (*and*) wielded indeed a sharp sword.—

(17.) Well known on the earth is the family of the son of Gobhila. Therein was born forsooth the prince Hamsapâla, who with the host of his valorous irresistible troops humbled the circle of all his foes combined.

(18.) He, whose feet were irradiated by the crest-jewels of the diadems of all the tributary chiefs prostrating themselves (*before him*), had a son, the lord of the earth, the illustrious Vairisimha, a treasure-house not merely of purified understanding, but also, eminently, (*one*) for suppliants.

(19.) That Vairisimha, too, drove the clans of his foes to seek the shelter of deep caverns, while he himself, occupying their towns, made these far surpass the residence of Kuvera;<sup>74</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See note 42 of the preceding inscription.

<sup>70</sup> The abstract noun *chandimatā* of the original is incorrect; the correct form of the word is *chandiman*.

<sup>71</sup> Properly 'his inclination to arrogance.'

<sup>72</sup> This function belongs properly to the moon.

<sup>73</sup> This is described as the seed or seminal energy of Vishnu, *Haror-viryam*, (see M. Williams' *Dictionary*); and the poet, who immediately afterwards has the word *Srī*, undoubtedly was thinking of the god Hari or Vishnu. A proper rendering of this verse in which everything depends on the sound of the words employed is impossible, at least, to myself.

<sup>74</sup> Literally 'Alaka' (the residence of Kuvera, the god of riches)

(17. 20.) From him was born the lord of the earth Vijayasimha, whose beauty was justly celebrated by all men, who by the vigour of his heroism made his adversaries' fortunes totter, (and) the moon of whose fame (accordingly) was always waxing in the world.

(21.) His loving wife was the handsome daughter of Udayāditya, the ruler of the realm of Mālava,—Śyāmaladevī, a gem granting the desires of the nobly-conducted, (and herself) a votary of Fortune.

(22.) As Menā bore to the chief of mountains the beloved of Śamkara, (and) Viriṇī to Dakṣha, the creator of beings, the wife of the Moon, so she bore to that prince, able to protect the world, Alhaṇadevī, in appearance the unsullied fluttering pennon of her long pedigree.<sup>75</sup>

(23.) Having wedded her with due rites, the king Gayakarna bestowed on her the most ardent affection, as Śamkara did on Śivā.

(24.) And she, a mansion of amorous passion, a beaker (brimful) of accomplishments, a garland of the graces, a store-house of excellent qualities, bore to king Gayakarna a son, the prince Narasimhadeva.

(25.) May the rising moon of the fame of this illustrious king Narasimhadeva richly saturate as it were the walls of the quarters with a pleasing whitewash; and may the earth, having secured in him a suitable lord, experience such delight as never to think, however little, of its former great rulers!

(26.) May victory attend his younger brother Jayasimhadeva, who in marvellous ways serves the first-born as Sumitrā's son<sup>76</sup> (did Rāma); who, behold!, when he lifts his hand, overpowers the enemies' most gigantic host, though it roars like thunder-clouds<sup>77</sup> and practises many wiles!—

(27.) That noble Alhaṇadevī, the mother of the illustrious Narasimhadeva, ordered this temple of the Moon-crested (god) to be built, together with that cloister with wonderful floors.

(28.) She too made her people construct that hall of study, (and) lay out that long line of gardens, in two ranges (adjoining) Śambhu's temple.

(29.) To make known her good report, the queen gave to this god, styled Vaidyanātha, the village named Nāmaūṇḍī together with every income (thereof), in the Jāulī pattalā.

(30.) And on the right bank of the Narmadā, in the land adjoining the hills, she gave to him another village, named Makarapātaka.

(31.) May the Pāsupata ascetic, the holy Rudrasīva of Lāṭa lineage, arrange conformably to rule for the management of this place, so long as Śiva pervades<sup>78</sup> the worlds!—

(32.) In the Mauna lineage, possessed of the triple pravara Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, and Sāvetasa,<sup>79</sup> there was born from one named Maheśvara Dharanīdhara, (a mountain)<sup>80</sup> by name; by weight, by fame, and by fortune.

<sup>75</sup> Or, 'of a lofty flag-staff (*varṇsa*)'.

<sup>76</sup> I.e., Lakṣmana.

<sup>77</sup> *Meghanāda* and *Atikāya* are also the names of two sons of the demon Rāvaṇa; and *Prahasta* was one of Rāvaṇa's generals.

<sup>78</sup> Or rather, 'is coextensive with'.

<sup>79</sup> Compare the *Āśvalāyana-srautasūtra*, Calcutta ed., p. 872.

<sup>80</sup> The word *dharanīdhara* has this meaning.

(P. 33.) Who, shedding a pleasing lustre, filled to overflowing with kindness, long enjoying a gratifying position, acted the part of a lamp<sup>81</sup> to the three worlds.

(34.) His son Prithvidhara, who has seen the further shores of all the deep oceans of learning, (and) by whose crowds of disciples the circle of the regions has been conquered, wrote this eulogy.

(35.) Of him the younger brother, the sage named Śaśidhara, well versed in logic and wondrously clever, composed this eulogy.

(36.) The architect named Pīthe, who knows the rules of Viśvakarman,<sup>82</sup> planned all this, as Pṛithu did the earth.

(37.) Mahādhara, a son of the chief of artisans Bālasimha, so wrought this stone with letters that it is like the star-covered sky.

The year 907, on Sunday the 11th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha.

### III.—TEWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 928.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this short inscription was procured by Dr. F. E. Hall at Tewar, a village about six miles to the west of Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces, and presented by him to the American Oriental Society in whose Cabinet, at New Haven, it is now deposited.<sup>1</sup> It is said to be of like character with that of Alhanadevi's inscription.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hall also first edited the inscription, with a translation, in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 512-13; and his text was subsequently reprinted in Roman characters, with a photozincograph of the inscription, in Dr. Burgess' *Memoranda, Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, p. 110, and his translation in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, pp. 95-96. I now re-edit<sup>3</sup> the inscription from an impression and a rubbing, kindly prepared for me by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven.

The inscription contains 9 lines of writing, the last of which is engraved along the proper left margin, and which together cover a space of 11" broad by 7" high. The writing is on the whole well preserved, but it is somewhat roughly and irregularly cut, and there are several *aksharas* in line 5 and one at the end of line 8, the true reading of which cannot be made out with absolute certainty. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting the symbol for *om* at the commencement of line 1, lines 1-6 are in verse; the rest of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, *ḷ* is denoted by the sign for *v* in *brahma Brahmadī*-(the only words in which *ḷ* would occur), in line 1; and the dental sibilant is

<sup>81</sup> The adjectives of this verse would of course be also applicable to a lamp; *sneha* also means 'oil', and *daśā* 'the wick of a lamp'.

<sup>82</sup> The architect of the gods. The adjective would also mean 'who knows how to execute every kind of work'.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, pp. 499 and 536; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, 2nd ed., p. 437.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, No. II.

<sup>3</sup> I merely have had to verify Dr. Hall's text, which, so far as one may speak with confidence, is substantially correct.

used instead of the palatal in *naresvaraḥ*, line 3, *Kesavaḥ* and *aisvaram*, line 6, and *Kesava-ya*, line 8; and *n* instead of *anuvāra* in *Jayasinha-*, line 4, (but not in *Narasimha-*, line 3). Besides, the text twice offends against the rules of *samdhī*.

The inscription, which opens with a verse in honour of Mahādeva (Śiva), records the erection of a Śiva temple by the *nāyaka* Keśava (the son of the Brāhman Āladeva, named Astaka (P)), a member of the Kātyāyana *gotra* and resident of the village Sīkhā in Mā[la]vaka; during the reign of the king Jayasimhadeva, a younger brother of the king Narasimhadeva whom he had succeeded, and son of the king Gayākarna. And it is dated in the year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta. Referring this date again, to the Kalachuri or Chedi era, the corresponding European date would be expected to fall in A.D. 1177. In that year, the month Śrāvaṇa was intercalary, for the solar Śrāvaṇa lasted from the 26th June, 12 h. 32 m., to the 27th July, 23 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise, and there were new moons on the 27th June, 18 h. 30 m., and on the 27th July, 2 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise. Now, the 6th of the bright half of the first lunar Śrāvaṇa corresponded to Sunday the 3rd July, when the 6th *tithi* ended 7 h. 35 m. and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Hasta up to 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and the 6th of the bright half of the second Śrāvaṇa corresponded to Monday the 1st August, when the 6th *tithi* ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise and the moon entered the *nakshatra* Svāti about sunrise. And, accordingly, there can be no doubt that the true equivalent of the date is Sunday the 3rd July, A.D. 1177, and that the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, put down in the date, belonged to the first (or intercalated) Śrāvaṇa.<sup>4</sup>

The village Sīkhā which, if the adopted reading is correct, was situated in Mālavaka or Mālava, I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- L. 1. श्रीं<sup>6</sup> [॥<sup>x</sup>] ज्ञानानंदं<sup>7</sup> परं ब्र(ब्र)ह्म ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादिसुरसंवितं । वंदेम-
2. हि महादेवं देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ॥ श्रीमन्नयाक-
3. ण्णनृपस्य<sup>8</sup> स्रुतर्नरेख(श्व)रः श्रीनरसिंहदेवो<sup>9</sup> । जिग्ये धरि-
4. त्रीमनुजोस्य सम्राट्<sup>10</sup> जीयाच्चिरं श्रीजयसिंहदेवः<sup>11</sup> ॥
5. <sup>12</sup>वि[प्रो योस्त]<sup>13</sup>कना[माभू]दालदेवस्तदात्मजः ।
6. केस(श)वः कारयामास प्रासादमसुमैख(श्व)रम् ॥
7. सम्वत्<sup>14</sup> ८२८ श्रावणसुदि ६ रवौ हस्ते ॥
8. नायककेस(श)वस्य गोत्रं कात्यायनं स्थानं मा[ल?]<sup>15</sup>
9. वके सीखाग्रामः ॥<sup>16</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For two similar dates compare the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 212, and vol. XIX, p. 36, No. 62.

<sup>5</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>9</sup> Read ०देवः.

<sup>10</sup> Read सम्राट्.

<sup>11</sup> Read ०सिंहदेवः.

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>13</sup> The reading of the *akṣaras* in these and the following brackets is not quite certain, because some of them look as if they had been partly erased and recut. The intended reading may possibly be विप्रसादकनाद्योभूदा<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Read संवत्.

<sup>15</sup> The *akṣara* in these brackets is so peculiarly shaped that it is impossible to say what it is meant to represent. I adopt Dr. Hall's reading of it, but am not certain of its being correct.

<sup>16</sup> This line is on the proper left margin.

## TRANSLATION.

Om!

(Line 1.) Let us adore (*him<sup>17</sup> who is*) knowledge and bliss, the supreme Brahma, waited upon by Brahmâ and the other gods,—Mahâdeva, the god of gods, the parent of the world!

The son of the illustrious king Gayâkarna, the illustrious lord of men Narasimhadeva, conquered the earth: may his younger brother, the sovereign lord, the illustrious Jayasimhadeva, long be victorious!

(5.) Keśava, the son of the late Brâhman Âladeva, named Astaka (?)<sup>18</sup>, caused that temple of Îśvara to be built.

The year 928, on Sunday the 6th of the bright half of Śrâvâṇa, (*the moon being*) in (*the nakshatra*) Hasta.

(8.) The *nâyaka* Keśava's *gotra* is that of Kâtyâyana, his place of residence the village of Sîkhâ in Mâ[ḥa ?]vaka.

## IV.—THREE LAND-GRANTS FROM SANKHEDA.

BY H. H. DHURVA, B.A., LL.B.

The Subâ of the Baroda or Central Division of the Gaikavâḍ's State has sent me for decipherment three detached copper-plates, two of which belong to the Gurjaras of Bharoch, and one to an unknown line of kings. The two former are only second plates of the grants, and therefore do not contain genealogical and other personal details, while the last is a first plate and contains no information as to the date, donee, object of the grant, officers, &c.

## No. I.—A Gurjara grant of Samvat 346.

This document is written on a plate, measuring about 8 inches by 3½, and is well preserved. It contains ten lines giving the usual injunctions and quotations from the *Smṛiti* regarding the inviolability of grants. The plate does not contain the name of the king or of the donee, nor a description of the object granted. But we have sufficient materials to identify the donor. The writer is the *sâmdhivigrahika* Âditya-Bhogika. *Bhogika*, Dr. Bühler informs me, is “a small man not more than a Thâkur of one or a few villages; for *bhogika* occurs frequently in the list of the persons to whom commands are addressed, *e. g.* in the Kâvî grant of Jayabhaṭa (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 110). In the *Deśīkosha* its Prâkṛit equivalent *bhoio* is explained by *grâma-pradhâna*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *I.e.*, Mahâdeva or Śiva to whom all these epithets are applied.

<sup>18</sup> Or possibly: ‘The Brâhman, named Astaka, had (a son) Âladeva; his son Keśava.’ See note 13, above.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bühler's *Pâliyaenchnâmamâlâ*, v. 104 (*gâmanî bhoio ya gâmarai*, p. 32). Dr. Bühler translates it in the glossary as “headman or lord of a village,” and quotes *bhogika* from inscriptions. The Gujarâṭi for *bhogika* or *bhoio* is *bhiyo*, and *grâmapati* or *gâmarai* is *gâmetâ*. The word *bhoga*, from which *bhogika* is derived, means *pâlana* or “protection,”—see *Amara*, III, 23, and Maheśvara's commentary on it, also *Tīrtakosha*, v. 268; *Medinīkosha*, v. 15 of words ending in *ga*; and *Trikāṇḍaśeṣakosha*, III, 120 (पालनं शब्दवहारं च निवेशे पश्ययोगितां । भोगः सुखं धनं चार्हः शरीरकषयरोरपि । Thus भोगिक according to these authorities would be an equivalent of पालक or “protector;” as an official term it may have subsequently acquired a technical meaning.

Of course such a man cannot be a great ruler." If there were nothing else to connect this grant with the Gurjaras, the title *bhogika* of the minister for war and peace Âditya would be sufficient; for this appellation of an officer is not known to have been employed by any other line of kings. Again, the characters of this grant so closely resemble those of No. II, an admitted Gurjara grant, and other published grants of the family, that there can be no doubt about it.

The date is given in words as well as figures. It is "three hundred years exceeded by forty-six" and 346. The figures are not written in the usual manner, with the symbols for three hundred, forty, and six, but as they would be now, *i.e.* with the symbols for three, four and six. As the later Gurjara kings used the Chedi era, Samvat 346 probably corresponds with A.D. 595-96. This date exactly agrees with that of Dadda III., circiter 580 A.D., as given by Dr. Bühler.<sup>2</sup> Hitherto we had no copper-plate grant or any other inscription of that monarch, which renders this plate an interesting find.

#### TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. आचन्द्रार्काणवर्चस्वितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यसुदकातिसर्गेण
2. प्रतिपादितं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृदये अतोस्य ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या <sup>३</sup>क्षिपत × करि-
3. षापयतो<sup>४</sup> वा न कैश्चिद्वापेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिराजभिरस्रहङ्ख्यैर्वा<sup>५</sup> सामान्यं भूमि-
4. दानफलमवेत्यायमस्रहायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तं च भगवता व्या-
5. सेन ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः <sup>६</sup>सागरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
6. तदा फलं ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
7. व नरके वसे<sup>७</sup> ॥ विन्ध्याटवीवतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः क्षणसर्पा भिजायन्ते<sup>८</sup>
8. ब्रह्मदेयापहारका[.] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि निर्मा-
9. ल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु × पुनराददीत ॥ लिखितं चात्र सान्धिविग्रहिकेना-
10. दित्यभोगिकेन संवत्सरशतत्रयं षट्चत्वारिंशोत्तरके<sup>१०</sup> ॥ ३४६

#### No. II.—A grant of Raṇagraha, dated Sam. 391.

The plate measures 9½ inches by 4½ and contains ten lines of well preserved Gurjara characters, resembling those of the Umetā, Ilāo and Bagumrā grants. There are two holes at the top, showing where the rings originally were. The language of the grant is faulty Sanskrit.

The donee of the grant (l. 1) is the Brāhmaṇa Adityaśarma (*sic*), the *dātaka* (l. 9) the *bhogika* Pālakaṭujñāna, and the writer (l. 10) the *saṁdhivigrahādhikṛita* Mātribhaṭa. According to ll. 9-10 the donor appears to be a son of Vitarāṭ called Raṇagraha, who is characterised as a worshipper of the sun (*Dinakarakiraṇābhya-  
chanarata*) and as "the close relative of the illustrious Dadda" (*śrī-Dadda-pādāntar-  
jñātī*); for it is his sign-manual which was attached to the grant. The date is (l. 8) Sam. 391, *Vaiśākha bahula* 15, *i. e.* the new moon of Vaiśākha.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Read क्षिपतः.

<sup>4</sup> Correctly कर्षयती.

<sup>5</sup> Read <sup>५</sup>क्षैरन्यैर्वा.

<sup>9</sup> Read सगरादिभिः.

<sup>७</sup> Read वसेत्.

<sup>८</sup> Read हि जायते.

<sup>९</sup> Read चये.

<sup>१०</sup> Read <sup>१०</sup>विंशदुत्तरके.



[illegible]

[illegible]

Though the details about the family of the donor have been lost, the last two statements permit us to recognise that the document was issued during the reign of Dadda IV.—Prasāntarāga II.<sup>11</sup> and that the donor was the brother of the latter; for, as the two Khedā grants of Dadda IV. were issued in Sam. 380 and 385,<sup>12</sup> it follows from the new date, Sam. 391, that the same person must be meant here by the expression “the illustrious Dadda.” Further, as Raṇagraha is called both a son of Vitarāga and a relative of Dadda, and as the latter was a son of Jayabhāṭa II.—Vitarāga II., Raṇagraha must have been Dadda’s brother or cousin. Our grant shows, therefore, that the reign of Dadda IV. lasted at least until Sam. 391, or, as the Gurjaras used the Chedi era of A.D. 249, until A.D. 640.

## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. ब्राह्मणादित्यशर्माया<sup>13</sup> उदकातिसर्गेणाच्छिष्टं<sup>14</sup> यतोस्यासहृदयैरन्यैर्वागमिभोगपतिभि अय-<sup>15</sup>  
 2. 16 मस्मादायोनुमन्तव्य<sup>17</sup> पालयितव्यश्च यो वाञ्छनतिमिरपटला<sup>18</sup> व्रितराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिन्द्यमान<sup>19</sup> वा-  
 3. नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः<sup>20</sup> संयुक्तः<sup>21</sup> स्या<sup>22</sup> इत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन षष्टिवरिष-  
 4. सहस्राणि<sup>23</sup> स्वर्गे मोदति भुमिदा<sup>24</sup> आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे<sup>25</sup> विन्याटवीध्व-  
 तोयासु शुष्क-  
 5. कीटरवासिनः<sup>26</sup> 24 क्लिष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदानापहारकाः<sup>27</sup> यानीह दत्तानि पुरा  
 नुरेन्द्रीदानानि  
 6. धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि निर्भुक्तास्त्यप्रतिमानि तानि को णाम<sup>28</sup> साधुः<sup>29</sup> पुनरादधीति<sup>30</sup> खदत्ता<sup>31</sup>  
 परदत्तां वा  
 7. यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर<sup>32</sup> सहो<sup>33</sup> महिमता<sup>34</sup> श्रेष्ठ दातातुच्छेयोनुपालनमिति<sup>35</sup>  
 8. संवत्सरशतत्रये एकनवत्ये<sup>36</sup> वैशाखवहुलपञ्चदश्यां सं ३९१ वैशाख व १५  
 9. दूतकोत्र भोगिकपालकटज्ञानः<sup>37</sup> दिनकरकिरणभ्यर्चनरतस्य सहस्रोयं श्रीवीतरागसूनी  
 10. रणग्रहस्य श्रीदहपादान्तर्ज्ञाति<sup>38</sup> लिखितमिदं संन्धिविगहाधिकृत<sup>39</sup> मात्रिमटेन

No. III.—A grant of *Sántilla*, general of *Nirihullaka*.

The plate measures 8½ inches by 3½ inches, and contains 12 lines in characters closely resembling those of the early Chalukya plates and of the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription edited by Mr. Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 7 ff. The plate is slightly damaged at the top and on both sides at the bottom. Two holes on the lower side show where the rings were originally placed. The language of the grant is slightly incorrect Sanskrit.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* vol. XVII, p. 191.

<sup>12</sup> *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* vol. VII, pp. 908 ff.; *Jour. Roy. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. I, pp. 147 ff.; *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Read °शर्मणे.

<sup>14</sup> Read °शोक्कष्ट.

<sup>15</sup> Read °पतिभिरय°.

<sup>16</sup> Read °मस्मादायो°.

<sup>17</sup> Read °मन्तव्यः.

<sup>18</sup> Read °वृत्तमविरा°.

<sup>19</sup> Read °दाच्छिन्द्यमान°.

<sup>20</sup> Read सार्द्ध°.

<sup>21</sup> Read षष्टि वर्ष°.

<sup>22</sup> Read भूमिदः.

<sup>23</sup> Read वसेत्.

<sup>24</sup> Read क्लृप्ता°.

<sup>25</sup> Read नाम.

<sup>26</sup> Read °दधीत.

<sup>27</sup> Read °दत्ता.

<sup>28</sup> Read युधिष्ठिर.

<sup>29</sup> Read सहो.

<sup>30</sup> Read सहोमता.

<sup>31</sup> Read दानाच्छेयो°.

<sup>32</sup> Read एकनवत्या.

<sup>33</sup> Read °ज्ञातिः.

<sup>34</sup> Read °विगहाधिकृत°.

Its contents are as follows. Writing from the victorious camp (*vijayakaṭaka*), located at Nirguṇḍipadraka (l. 1), Śāntilla, the general (*balādhikṛita*, l. 5) of the *bhogikapāla* and *mahāpalupati* (*mahāpallapati*) Niri hullaka (l. 4), who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Śaṃkaraṇa (*Śaṃkaragaṇa*, l. 3), son of the illustrious Kṛishṇarāja (whose feet were worshipped by the whole circle of the earth, ll. 1-2), grants to Bhajikanantastvāmi (*Bhajika*<sup>35</sup> *Anantastvāmin*, l. 7), an inhabitant of Pāshāṇihrada (l. 6), a member of the Kautsa *gotra* and a student of the *Vājasāneya* (*Saṃhitā*), a field requiring for seed-corn one *piṭaka* of rice (l. 10), and situated in the western *śim* of Śrī-Parnākā, which belonged to (*the district of*) Taṇḍulapadraka (ll. 8-9). The purpose for which the grant was made is the usual one, the provision for the expenses of the five *mahāyajñas*. It is added that the donation was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun "for the increase of the spiritual merit and fame of the *Puramabhaṭṭāraka*'s feet, *i.e.* probably of Śaṃkara[ga]ṇa.

As regards the persons named in the document, Śāntilla's position is sufficiently clear. His master Niri hullaka must have been a Bhīl chieftain; for the title *mahāpallapati* means "the great lord of a settlement or of settlements of an aboriginal tribe."<sup>36</sup> It agrees with this that his name is not Sanskrit, but a barbarous Deśī word. The phrase "who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Śaṃkara[ga]ṇa" means, therefore, here merely that he was a vassal or servant of the latter, not that he was his successor. *Pādānudhyāta* is frequently used in the former sense.<sup>37</sup> With respect to the question to which dynasty the two kings Kṛishṇarāja and Śaṃkara[ga]ṇa belonged, it is possible only to offer a conjecture. Dr. Bühler has suggested to me that, assuming the correction *Śaṃkaragaṇa* for *Śaṃkaraṇa* to be certain, the two kings may be Haihayas or Kalachuris of Chedi. I am inclined to accept this, as the Chedi era was used by the Gurjaras, which is a certain sign of their power having extended to the province. Moreover, the Chalukya inscriptions<sup>38</sup> mention a Kalachuri king, Buddharāja, the son of Śaṃkaragaṇa, from whom Maṅgalīśa took his wealth. And it is not at all improbable that the Śaṃkaragaṇa of the Chalukya inscriptions is identical with that of our plate; for, as has been pointed out already, its characters closely agree with those of the earlier Chalukya inscriptions, and show also some affinity with those of Dadda's Khedā plates. They may well belong to the period of Maṅgalīśa's reign, which, as the latest researches of Mr. Fleet show, fell between Śaka Samvat 519 and 531, or A.D. 597-98 and 610-11. There is also another detail in our grant which, I think, may be adduced in favour of this view.

Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1883-84, remarks (pp. 31-32) that "it is a remarkable circumstance that the names of most of the famous writers on the sacrificial rites should have the title *Svāmin* attached to them. No writer later than the thirteenth century seems to have it. We have Bhaṭṭas, Achāryas, Yajvans, Dīkshitas and Yājñikas during the last six centuries, but no Svāmin. The title appears to have been in use at a

<sup>35</sup> *Bhajika* might be *bhajaka*, "a worshipper, votary, devotee;" V. S. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 807. Compare a similar use of the word *bhaṭṭa* in Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, Bhaṭṭotpala, Bhaṭṭodbhaṭa, etc.

<sup>36</sup> See Dr. Böhtlingk's *Abridged Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. *palla*. Mr. V. S. Apte (*Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 687) assigns to the same word the meaning "a large granary." On a local enquiry I find that the country about Sāṅkheḍā goes by the name of Palla (*Gujarātī Pāla*). Thus, *mahāpallapati* would mean "the lord of the great Palla or Pāla."

<sup>37</sup> See e. g. l. 33 of Mr. Fleet's No. 1, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, pp. 10 and 17, note 2.

<sup>38</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* vol. XIX, p. 16.

NO. 3. SANKHEDA GRANT OF BALĀDHĪKRITA ŚĀNTILLA. (plate 1).



*From impressions by HH Dhruva.*

*Size of original.*

certain period and been given to Mīmāṃsakas or men conversant with the sacrificial lore." Then he cites the instances of Śabarāsvāmin, the author of the *Bhāṣhya* on Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*; of Agnisvāmin, the commentator on Jātyāyana's *Śrauta Sūtra*; of Bhavasvāmin, the author of a *Bhāṣhya* on Baudhāyana; of Keśavasvāmin, the writer of an introduction to the *Baudhāyana-prayoga-śāstra*; Devasvāmin, quoted in the *Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana* and author of a comprehensive *Bhāṣhya* on Āśvalāyana; Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapar-disvāmin and others. Kumārila is both a *Śvāmin* and a *Bhāṭṭa*. The title *Śvāmin* was used in some of the early Chalukya inscriptions and one of the Valabhī inscriptions, up to the seventh century. An undated grant of Vikramāditya I., who ceased to reign before A.D. 680, gives as donees Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 771). Another grant, dated 700 A.D., gives Dāsasvāmin, son of Janasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmin Dīkshita, and one of 705 A.D. gives Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin and others (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, pp. 128 and 136), while a Valabhī grant, dated Samvat 326 (A.D. 645), has got Maṅkasvāmin (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 16). Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar assigns the seventh century to Agnisvāmin, Devasvāmin and Bhavasvāmin, and places Śabarāsvāmin two or three centuries earlier (*vide* p. 32 of his *Report*). The general inclination is towards the seventh century for the age of names bearing such titles. The records above noted were of rulers or families that were perhaps close neighbours of the recorders of the present grant. The grant mentions Bhajikānantasvāmin, and with the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, it cannot be later than the seventh century.

With respect to the geographical names occurring in our grant, it may be noted that Nirguṇḍipadraka, the place from which it is dated, would be in modern Gujarātī Nāgaravāḍā or something like it. And the *Dehezāda of Gaikavāḍī Villages* (published at the Hitechchhu Press, Ahmadābād) does give a Nāgaravāḍā, 6 kos from Dabhoī. Further, the native place or home of the donee is Pāshāṇihrada, which would be Saṇiāḍarī, 14 kos from Dabhoī (given in the *Dehezāda*, p. 5). *Hrada* would be masculine *dhara* and feminine *dhari*, changeable to *darī* in Gujarātī, and *Pāshāṇi* would drop its initial *Pā*, as Bagumrā has done with its *Ba* in having Gumrā, and give Saṇiā, and thus we get Saṇiāḍarī. From the same Pāshāṇihrada we would get Sāṅkheḍā if *hrada* were replaced by *kheḍā* for *khetaka*, meaning 'town,' and *Pā* were dropt as in the other case. Tanḍulapadraka is obviously Tāṇḍalajā, also 14 kos from Dabhoī (as given in the *Dehezāda*); and Śrī-Parṇākā is Paniu, now desolate (as noted in the same authority), 5 kos from Dabhoī. The map of the Baroda territory does give Tāṇḍalajā and Saṇiāḍarī quite close to each other.

## TRANSCRIPT.

- L. 1. ओं स्वस्ति निर्गुण्डिपद्रकावस्थितविजयकटकात् स — — [चित्ति] — — —<sup>39</sup>
2. चित्तचरणकमलः श्रीक्रिष्णराजः<sup>40</sup> तत्पुत्रनेकस[म]रावजय — — —<sup>41</sup>
3. तिरहितवधूवदनपङ्कजस्नानिकरः श्रीशंकरः स्वत्पादानुध्यासकल-<sup>42</sup>
4. महीमण्डलतलप्रथितकोर्त्तिभूर्भोगिकपालमहापलुपतिनिरिद्ध-<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Restore सकलचितिमण्डला°.

<sup>40</sup> Read °क्रिष्णराजः.

<sup>41</sup> Restore °लसको°.

<sup>42</sup> Read शंकरराजको°; °नुध्यातको°.

<sup>43</sup> Read °कोर्त्तिभूर्भोगिक°; महापलुपति.

- L. 5. कस्तद्वलाधिकृतशान्तिः<sup>44</sup> सर्वानेव परमपादीयास्त्वांश्चावेदयति<sup>45</sup>  
 6. यथा पाषाणिहृद<sup>46</sup>वास्तव्यकौत्सगोत्रवाजिसनेयसन्नह्यचारिणे<sup>47</sup>  
 7. भजिकनन्तस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञधर्मक्रियोत्पर्षणाय<sup>48</sup> परमभट्टा-  
 8. रकपादानां पुण्यशोभिनिदये<sup>49</sup> तण्डुलपद्मकान्तर्भक्त<sup>50</sup>श्रीपद्माका-  
 9. यां पश्चिमसीमनि अचाटभटप्रावेशं<sup>51</sup>पलपौवान्वयभोज्यं आदि-<sup>52</sup>  
 10. — परागकालमुदकातिसर्गेण त्रीहिपिटकवापनेत्रं आञ्चादि<sup>53</sup>  
 11. — — वक्षति[स्थि]तिसमकालीनं प्रतिपादितं अतुस्या —<sup>54</sup>  
 12. — — ररानुर्व्याया भतुनिपतिभिः<sup>55</sup>

## V.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM NORTHERN GUJARAT.

By J. KIRSTE, Ph.D., VIENNA.

The subjoined inscriptions collected by Mr. H. Cousens, in Gujarât, were entrusted to me for decipherment by Professor Bûbler, who assisted me with his advice. They were found in the following places :—

- |                         |                           |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Bhilri (Nos. i—iii), | 6. Roho (xii—xvi),        |
| 2. Dilmal (iv—vii),     | 7. Sarotra (xvii—xxvi),   |
| 3. Mandal (viii),       | 8. Sonak (xxvii, xxviii), |
| 4. Munjpur (ix),        | 9. Taranga (xxix).        |
| 5. Palanpur (x, xi),    |                           |

All are written in Devanâgarî characters, with the exception of No. viii, where the first six lines are in Arabic and the last in Gujarâtî. They are mostly injured and defaced. The language is a crude mixture of Sanskrit and Gujarâtî. Hence the readings are not always certain, and I am not sure that I have succeeded in fully making out the sense of all.

The generally interesting information which they furnish may be arranged under the following heads :—

1.—They yield some notice of the political history of Gujarât. No. viii furnishes a date from the reign of Sultân Ahmad and the names of his father Sultân Muhammad, and of his grandfather Sultân Muza'ffar Shâh. It also mentions a Malik Kâmachanda, who seems to have been the Musalman governor or minister in charge of Mamḍalî (the modern Mandal) in the Viramagâm Taluka, and that of a local chief called Raṇaka (?). No. xi records the death of a Rajput, possibly a local chief Vanarâja, of the Gedîâ family, in Samvat 1282. Nos. xvii—xix speak of two local

<sup>44</sup> Read °धिकृतशान्तिः.

<sup>45</sup> Read °यान्मा°.

<sup>46</sup> Read °हृद°.

<sup>47</sup> Read °वानसनेयि°; °चारिणे.

<sup>48</sup> Read °त्पर्षणाय.

<sup>49</sup> Read °भिद्वये.

<sup>50</sup> Can °नर्भक्त° be for °नर्भक्ति°;

<sup>51</sup> Read पुव°.

<sup>52</sup> Restore °क्षीपराग°.

<sup>53</sup> Restore °आचन्द्रार्कव°.

<sup>54</sup> Read प्रतिपादित. The remaining words I am unable to restore.

<sup>55</sup> This line too is unintelligible. [Restore अतीक्षीचितया-  
यहारस्थित्या भद्रनपतिभिः ?—E. H.]

chiefs of Sarotra—(1) Arajunaṇajī, who ruled in Saṃvat 1678, and (2) his son Haradā-aṇajī, who ruled in Saṃvat 1685 and 1689. No. xxvii makes us acquainted with a Mahārāṇa Khetala (?) who held the village of Sūṇaka, the modern Sonak, in Saṃvat 1356.

2.—We obtain the following information regarding the spiritual heads of the Tapāga-chchha:—No. xxix tells us that Hiravijaya was Bhaṭṭāraka in Saṃvat 1642. This inscription mentions also Vijayasena, who succeeded him (see Klatt, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, p. 256). Vijayadeva, the successor of the latter, is alluded to six times in the inscriptions Nos. xx—xxiii, xxv, and xxvi, which are all dated in the year Saṃvat 1689; while his appointed successor Vijayasimha is mentioned once (inscription xx). Inscription No. ii makes us acquainted with a Guru of the Mahideśvariya Maṭha called Jirāja, i.e. probably Jerāja or Jayarāja.

No. I.<sup>1</sup>

- L. 1. सं[व]त् १[३]५ [८] वर्षे [आ]ग्निं व[ि]द[ि] १५ सोमे  
 2. ॥ प्र[ग्व]ाटज्ञातीय अ[ग्नि] — — [ए]सुत  
 3. समयकेन सूरि कारापि[त]<sup>2</sup> . . .

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Saṃ. 1358, on the 15th (*day*) of the dark half of Āśvina, a Monday, a figure was caused to be made by the Śreshṭhin Samayaka, son of . . . of the Prāgvāṭa gotra.

No. II.<sup>3</sup>

- L. 1. [अ] महिदेखरीयमठाधिप-  
 2. निराजगुरु[अ]ध्यान[ग]णाचार्य-  
 3. स ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(*The image*) of the venerable Dhyānagaṇāchārya, the guru Jirāja, the lord of the Mahideśvariya monastery.

No. III.<sup>4</sup>

- L. 1. ओ ॥ आवण सुदि १५ चवण ज्येष्ठ वदि  
 ८ जन्मा । फागुण [आ]  
 2. सुदि १२ दिक्खा । फागुण वदि १३ नाण ।  
 ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ सुखो स्वामि

## TRANSLATION.

Hail ! The conception (*chyavana*) on the 15th (*day*) of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa ; birth on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha ; consecration (*dīkshā*) on the 12th

<sup>1</sup> At Bhilri : on the base of an image in the Jaina temple.

<sup>2</sup> Read सूरि : कारापिता.

<sup>3</sup> At Bhilri : on the base of an image in Mahadeva's temple.

<sup>4</sup> At Bhilri : in an old well outside the village.



(*day*) of the bright half of Phâlguna; enlightenment (*jñāna*) on the 13th (*day*) of the dark half of Phâlguna; liberation (*moksha*) on the 9th (*day*) of the dark half of Jyeshṭha . . . . .

The stone bearing this must have been taken from a Jaina temple, and the inscription refers to the career of one of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

#### No. IV.<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १[२]८५ वर्षे पौषे वदि ८ गुरौ गामलाग्रामे डीलविक-  
 2. भंगानंतरं श्रीपार्श्वनाथविंव<sup>6</sup> मातृपितृमूर्तिश्च कारिता अः  
 3. सोहडसुतकुमरभदेन<sup>7</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1295 (?) on the 8th (*day*) of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, an image of the venerable Pārśvanātha and a figure of his parents were made by the Śreṣṭhīn Kumarabhadra (?), son of Sohaḍa, in the village of Gābhalā, in the district (?) of Dīlavika.

#### No. V.<sup>8</sup>

- L. 1. [अं] सिद्धिः । — — । सज — समु-  
 2. द्रो । याव [ञ] — — [त]डि[त]ी मे[कः] ।  
 3. यावत्त — — — — ऐ । ताव-  
 4. द्वि — — — — — य — ॥ स्व-  
 5. ॥ स्ति [संवत् १५१२]वर्षे वै-  
 6. षाष शुदि १० उगौकेला  
 7. ॥ उत दा[गा]सुत वादाकेन हि  
 8. जियकः करापितः ॥ नुत [भरव]  
 9. अस्मिन् — [शे]लके कृते सति उ-  
 10. भय कुला नद्ये [भवत] मूटप दृ-  
 11. षद प्रतिस्त्र सागा कृत [ट]क ४००  
 12. कशप<sup>9</sup>[डाहु] श्वो वशव

Nothing can be made out of this with certainty except the words :—“on the 10th (*day*) of the bright half of Vaiśākha . . . . . was caused to be made . . . . .”

#### No. VI.<sup>9</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १५३२ वैसाष वदि ११  
 2. रवौ के<sup>9</sup> लपासुतदेवा-  
 3. केन स्थापितो नारायणः ।

#### TRANSLATION.

In (*the year*) Sam. 1532, on the 11th (*day*) of the dark half of Vaiśākha, a Sunday, (*an image*) of Nārāyaṇa was placed by Ke. Devāka, son of Lakhā.

<sup>5</sup> At Dilmal: on the base of an image of Pārśvanātha.

<sup>6</sup> Read विंव.

<sup>7</sup> May also be °वदेन.

<sup>8</sup> At Dilmal: on a pillar of the Kirtistambha to the west of the large temple of Limbu Mātā.

<sup>9</sup> At Dilmal: on the seat of an image in a small temple on the west of the large temple of Limbu Mātā.

No. VII.<sup>10</sup>

- L. 1. स्वस्ति संवत् १५३२ वर्षे वैसाख वदि ११  
 2. रवौ के° रा[घ]ासुत मा° सादाभांटा  
 3. [यए]तयो भार्या ठा° नरसिंग-  
 4. तनया वाइ रूपाइ मा° सादास[ह]  
 5. तथा ठा° गोपालतनया वाइ मांई  
 6. मा° भांटासह अहर्निशि त्रोलक्ष्मी-  
 7. नारायणाभ्यां प्रणमतः ॥ प्रति-  
 8. मा पिंडी [तत]: कारापिता शिव-  
 9. मस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the year Sam. 1532, on the 11th (*day*) of the dark half of Vaiśākha, a Sunday, Bāi Rūpāi, daughter of Thā(kura) Narasing (Narasimha), wife of Mā (ṇḍa-  
 lika) Sādājhāmṭā, son of Ke. Rāghā(?) (and) mother of Sādāsaha (?)—likewise  
 Bāi Māmī, daughter of Thā(kura) Gopāla and mother of Jhāmṭāsaha, bow day and  
 night to Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa. An image (*and*) then a base (*for it*) was caused to  
 be made.

No. VIII.<sup>11</sup>

- L. 1. بتاريخ پانزدہ یوم ماہ ذی القعدہ سنۃ عشرین و ثمانمئہ  
 2. در عہد سلطان سلاطین احمد بن محمد بن مظفر شاہ  
 3. السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان . . . . عمل کا مجید . . . . این کتابت<sup>12</sup>  
 4. . . . .  
 5. . . . .  
 6. . . . .  
 7. [स्व] स्ति संवत् १४७४ वर्षे पौष वदि  
 8. — के<sup>13</sup> अद्येह मंडल्यां मलिक श्री [का]-  
 9. मचंदप्रतिपत्तौ राण श्रीरण[क]-  
 10. विजयराज्ये समस्तमांडलिनि[वा]-  
 11. [सी]ल्यौकविद्यमान मांडवी [हद] खप  
 12. [त]निचल कीधी ते पूर्वम[दनी]<sup>14</sup> को  
 13. ल[खद]निहरदिपू[छ]ियाहिजेपा  
 14. पवर्त्तदाननिलाविलाय [दपं तप]

<sup>10</sup> At Dilmal: on the base of the image of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa in a small shrine.

<sup>11</sup> At Mandal: on a stone in the Chauki.

<sup>12</sup> The transcription of the Persian text I owe to the kindness of Prof. Karabacek at Vienna. Lines 4 to 6 are illegible.

<sup>13</sup> L. 8. Probably युके is to be read.

<sup>14</sup> Corrected below the line to पूर्व [मद]—नौ. The third letter may be सु and the fifth seems to have been intentionally effaced.

## TRANSLATION.

*Persian Text.*—At the date on the 15th day of the month Dhu-l-Qa'de, in the year eight hundred and twenty (of the Hijra, *i.e.* the 24th December of 1417 A.D.), during the reign of the Sultân of Sultâns Ahmad, son of the Sultân Muhammad, son of the Sultân Muzaffar Shâh . . . business(?) of Kâmajand . . . this writing

*Sanskrit Text.*—Hail! In the year Sam. 1474, in the dark half of Pausha, on a Friday (Friday, 24th December 1417 A. D.), to-day, here in Mamḍali, during the administration of Malik, the illustrious Kâmachanda, in the victorious reign of Râṇa the illustrious Raṇaka (?),—the business of the limits of the custom-house was settled in the presence of all the inhabitants of Mamḍali . . . . .

No. IX.<sup>15</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १२११ वर्षे वैशाखे शुदि ५ वर—  
 2. हडा [थानभ]मा — तथा माय — — [यरि]सी [क]स  
 3. मताल सा — — धव — श्रीति[पुर] सदेव कारापित . . .

Much defaced and probably mutilated on the right side. Nothing can be made out except the date Samvat 1211, Vaiśākha śudi 5.

No. X.<sup>16</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १२१७ वर्षे कार्तिके शुदि १०  
 2. क्रे<sup>17</sup> खीवाणास्थाने श्रीमहावीर  
 3. त्वे<sup>18</sup> योसा पेदिकायां [स]गविका प  
 4. [य]ी स्थंजमेकं कारापितं ॥ [ये]त्ति

This inscription seems to refer to a donation in the temple of Mahāvīra at Khīm-vāṇā, made in Samvat 1217, on the tenth day of the bright half of Kārttika, a Friday. Hence this stone, too, must have been removed from its original site.

No. XI.<sup>19</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १२८२ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ शुक्ले गेडीआ  
 2. राउत्त [मे]घां [सुत्त] वणरां । [घा]रातीर्ये पतितः ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1282, on the fourth (day) of the bright half of Pausha, a Friday, fell the Geḍiā Rāutta (*Rājaputra*) Vaṇarām (*Vanarāja*), the son of Meghām. The stone must be a so-called Pāliā.

No. XII.<sup>20</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १२५८  
 2. र्घे कार्तिके सुदि १  
 3. शुक्ले । [ज]सदेवसुत

<sup>15</sup> At Munjpur : in the Jāmi Masjid, on a beam.

<sup>16</sup> At Palanpur : on the side of a well.

<sup>17</sup> Read यक्के.

<sup>18</sup> Read चेल्ले.

<sup>19</sup> At Palanpur : on a loose stone lying near the railway.

<sup>20</sup> At Roho : on a pillar of the Chhattri of Pārēvanātha ; much defaced.

- L. 4. [तो]जो गा — — — अ  
 5. यं — पं — — — कुं  
 6. — — कारापिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

. . . . caused to be made by . . . . son of Jasadeva in Samvat 1259, Kārttika sudi 1, a Friday.

No. XIII.<sup>21</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १२६[९] — ती  
 2. — — — — वदि १४  
 3. — — — देव — अर्यं सि  
 4. रीहा — — व — ता  
 5. — — — प्रदत्ता ॥

No. XIV.<sup>22</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि १३ सोमे ऋषभदेवीचैत्ये निर्वृतिगच्छे गौरदेविसुते[न वाला]  
 केन मातानिमित्तं नेमिनाथविंबं कारा[पितं] शुभं भवतु ॥

TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1290, on the 13th (*day*) of the bright half of Vaiśākha. 2 Monday, an image of Neminātha was caused to be made, for his mother's sake, by Vālāka (?), son of Gauradevi of the Nirvṛiti-Gotra in the temple of Rishabhadevi (?).

No. XV.<sup>23</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । संवत् १६[७४]  
 2. वर्षे । पोसमास । कृष्णपक्षे । पंचम्यां ति-  
 3. थौ । गुरुवासरे । [डाभी]वंशे । भट्टसरी [-]<sup>24</sup>  
 4. शपायां । रांत श्रीमांडणजी । भार्या वाइ  
 5. श्रीचांपा वापी करापिता । प्र[ग]साद हौ सहि-  
 6. ता प्रतिष्ठा करापिता । वाई पुढी श्रीमज्ज-  
 7. वाई सहितेना पीरीजी ५१००० एकावन्न  
 8. सहस्रव्यथो कृता । आ चंद्रार्क नंदात्  
 9. मासं ११ कार्यं वी प्रासाद द्व सहिता कृता ।  
 10. वंशो विस्तरंवायातु । यातु पुण्यं सह-<sup>25</sup>  
 11. यश । आयुविपुलतां यातु । यस्यवा वा-<sup>26</sup>  
 12. पिका कृता ॥ ॥ — [धरनेना] ढाला कृतं ॥  
 13. पं° — — — — — श्रीरस्तु ॥ कल्याणमस्तु ॥

<sup>21</sup> At Roho: on a pillar in the third storey of an old well,—much defaced.

<sup>22</sup> At Roho: on the arch over the old well,—first storey.

<sup>23</sup> At Roho: on a pillar in the third storey of the old well.

<sup>24</sup> L. 3: Probably [जी].

<sup>25</sup> L. 10. Read "तरसां" । °महदयश.

<sup>26</sup> L. 11. Read "विपु" । दसैवा.

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1674 (?), on the 5th lunar day of the dark half of Pausha, a Thursday, a well was caused to be made by Rāmṭa Māmḍañaji, (*whose*) wife (*was*) Chāmpā, and together with two temples it was consecrated. He, together with his daughter Sajja Bāi, spent 51,000 *Piroji* (*Rupees*) (*for this purpose*). May it rejoice as long as sun and moon endure! In 11 months the work (*i.e. the well*), together with the two temples, was completed. May the race extend! May great merit and fame come (*to him*)! May the life of him be lengthened who built this well! The Dhālā was made by Pam(ḍita) . . . .

No. XVI.<sup>27</sup>

- L. 1. श्री संवत् १६७६ वर्षे पौष शुदि ४ दने [वारगर आ]<sup>28</sup>  
 2. — मानक्षत्र रात श्रीमङ्गजी भारय श्रीचप बाई पूत्री सज्जनजे — पू — [प]ाल  
 3. सूत्र ना[वा] स — — — — श्रीगणेश न — — — —  
 4. म श्रीनराञ्च[न] — — — — —

The same persons seem to be mentioned as in the preceding inscription.

No. XVII.<sup>29</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७८ वर्षे फागुणमासे शु पक्षे नवम्यां तथौ शनिवसरे रो [ह]-<sup>30</sup>  
 2. ॥ श्रीनक्षत्रे । धन्या अयोध्यादसरथनृपा साप माताप धान्या  
 3. ॥ धन्या वाणी कविवरमुखे रामनामपृष्ठता । धन्या देसो ऋष-  
 4. पतिभवां<sup>31</sup> जत्र रामाचवतारा धन्यो लोको नीआतमगुंण राम  
 5. ॥ वाचं शृणोति ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीअरजुणजीः । बाई श्रीपदमां बाई । बाई<sup>32</sup>  
 6. ॥ श्रीअमरी ॥ पुत्र श्रीहरदासजी वेजयराज्ये<sup>33</sup> । छत्री कारापिता

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1678, on the 9th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna, a Saturday, under the Rohiṇī Nakshatra, during the reign of Arajunaji, whose wives were Padamām and Amari, and whose son was Haradāsaji, a Chhatrī was caused to be erected.

No. XVIII.<sup>34</sup>

- L. 1. सं १६८५ वर्षे अश्वण सुदि ११ दने [हरदास लपना]<sup>35</sup>

<sup>27</sup> At Roho: on the base of an image in a ruined shrine near the old well.

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps वारगुरु.

<sup>29</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>30</sup> L. 1. Read शु(क्लि) । तथौ । रोहिणी°.

<sup>31</sup> Bhavān is meant for bhagavān.

<sup>32</sup> The metre of the verse in ll. 2—5 seems to be Mandākrantā. It may be restored as follows:—

*Dhanyoyodhyādaśaruthanripah sāpi mātāpi dhanyā,*

*Dhanyā vāṇī kavivaramukhe rāmanāmapravartitā,*

*Dhanyo deśo raghupatibhavan yatra rāmavātāro,*

*Dhanyo loko nijatamaguṇān rāmavāchaṇ śṛṇōti.*

<sup>33</sup> L. 6. Read विजयराज्ये.

<sup>34</sup> At Sarotra: in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>35</sup> L. 1.— Read आश्वण.

## TRANSLATION.

In the year Samvat 1685, Śrāvaṇa Sudi 11, Haradāsa . . . . .

No. XIX.<sup>35</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६[८६] वर्षे आपाढमा[सि] [व]हुलप[त्ति]एकादसी ११ तथ[ै]<sup>37</sup> रविवासरे — —  
 2. ॥ धान्या अयोध्यादसरथनप सा माताप धान्या धान्या वाण्णी कविवरमुखे  
 3. ॥ रामनामप्रवृत्ताः । धन्या देसो [ऋतु]पतिभवान् जित रोमाश्रवतारा धन्या  
 4. ॥ [लो] का नीअतमगुणा रामवाच्य शृणोतीः ॥ १ ॥ रात श्रीहरदासजी । वा-  
 5. ई श्रीजिवंती ॥ वाई राजू ॥ सवक ॥ वपझ नाम संवत्सरो । पूत श्रीतोग[वी] व-  
 6. ॥ जयराजे ॥ छत्री करापितः<sup>38</sup> ॥ २ ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Āshāḍha, a Sunday, during the reign of Haradāsaji whose wives were Jivanti and Rājū and whose son was Togabī (?), a Chhatrī was caused to be erected. (Regarding the verse see inscription No. xvii.)

No. XX.<sup>39</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः आचार्य श्रीविजयसिंह-  
 2. सूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो<sup>40</sup> नमः ॥ सं० १६८९ वर्षे यावण व० ११ दिने देहरीनीपजतई सं [चप]  
 3. लाडण भार्या नाथी सुत सं० हरदास । सं० सांपा । सं० तेजा । सं० देवकरणई रूपईय  
 [— —]<sup>41</sup> । आप्या छई [॥]

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa Sam . . . . . Lādapa, whose wife was Nāthī and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā, Sam. Devakaraṇai, gave silver Thapas (?) on the completion of the temple, while Bhattachāraka Vijayadevasūri and Vijayasimhasūri were [living].

No. XXI.<sup>42</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ भट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः<sup>43</sup> ॥ संवत् १६८८ वर्षे [वदि]  
 2. [ना] सं० लाडण भार्या ना[थ]सुत सं० हरदास सं० सांपा सं० तेजा सं० [देवकरण]  
 3. — — — — [सुत याव] — क — — — स्वपति[बुका] — दि[सर्वेषां] श्रेयो-  
 4. र्थ । श्रीमहावीरप्रासाद — ॥ देवकुलिका — रूप्येः [कारिता] ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, in the dark half of . . . Sam. Lādapa, whose wife was Nāthī (?), and his son Sam. Haradāsa, Sam. Sāmpā, Sam. Tejā, Sam. Devakaraṇa, erected a chapel in connection with the temple of Mahāvīra.

<sup>35</sup> At Sarotra : in an old chhatrī.

<sup>37</sup> L. 1. Read एकादशीतिथी.

<sup>38</sup> L. 6. Read विजयराज्य । करापिता.

<sup>39</sup> At Sarotra : in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>40</sup> Read गुरुभ्यो.

<sup>41</sup> Looks like दप.

<sup>42</sup> At Sarotra : in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple. Preservation bad and most letters indistinct.

<sup>43</sup> Read गुरुभ्यो.

No. XXII.<sup>41</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ <sup>45</sup>भटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरीश्वरगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥  
 2. सं० १६८८ व० सं लाडण [भा० वा०] <sup>46</sup>नाथी [त्य पूग] सं० हर-  
 3. दास सं० तेजादिकुटुंब श्रेपाखदेहरी कारापिता ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, in the dark half of . . . a temple of Pârśva was caused to be made by Sam. Lâḍaṇa, whose wife was Nâthî, and his son (?) Sam. Hara-dâsa, and by the family of Sam. Tejâ.

No. XXIII.<sup>47</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ तपागच्छाधिराजभटारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिगुरुभ्यो न°  
 2. सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागु° शुदि १३ दिने ए देहरीनीपजतद बुः हरदास—  
 3. बु[प]नावु माडण तथा भोज — देभइ रूप [ — — ]<sup>48</sup> आप्या क

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 13th day of the bright half of Phâlguna, on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by Haradâsa, whose father (?) was Mâḍaṇa (Lâḍaṇa ?)

No. XXIV.<sup>49</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुण शुदि १० दिने बु[प] — करणइ ए देहरी [नीपजतद]  
 2. रूपइआ [— —] <sup>50</sup>आप्या कइ ॥ इति मंगलम् ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phâlguna, on the completion of this temple, silver were given by Karaṇa (?).

No. XXV.<sup>51</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ ओविजयदेवसूरिगुर[र]भ्यो नमः ॥ सं० १६८८ वर्षे फागुण शु  
 2. दि १० दिने बुहरा-[वस्ता]कोकरे ए देहरीनीपजतद रूपइआ — — आप्या छे — — — —  
 3. . . . .

## ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 10th day of the bright half of Phâlguna, on the completion of this temple, silver . . . were given by the son of . . . . .

<sup>41</sup> At Sarotra : in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>45</sup> Read भटार°, °गुरु°.

<sup>46</sup> Possibly for भायां वारं.

<sup>47</sup> At Sarotra : over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>48</sup> Looks like घवा.

<sup>49</sup> At Sarotra : over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

<sup>50</sup> Looks like पप.

<sup>51</sup> At Sarotra : over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja temple.

No. XXVI.<sup>52</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ महारकश्रीविलयदेवसूरिगुरु-  
 2. व्यो नमः सं० १६८८ वर्षे फा० वदि ११ दिने ए  
 3. देहरीनीपजतइ वु मा[ता] ताना [रा]ज पालि रूप [य थव]  
 4. आम्हा छइ ॥

ABSTRACT.

In the year Sam. 1689, on the 11th day of the dark half of Phâ(lguna), on the completion of this temple, silver Thapas (?) were given by . . . .

No. XXVII.<sup>53</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १३५६ वर्षे चैत्र व ११  
 2. गन । यदेह सृणकग्रामे म-  
 3. हाराण श्री[खे]तलप्रतिपत्तौ  
 4. सीध ° महिपाकेन देवीश्री-  
 5. शिवलीयात्रायां नाट [पूजाय]  
 6. प्रदत्त पा[द्र] सं दि[न] पूमि-  
 7. [य]नं — — ना माता [त्रियो]-  
 8. पीलक [ब्रह्मपुरे] सहित [चक]  
 9. लमपि प्रा[म] ॥ श्रीः ॥

ABSTRACT.

The inscription refers to some gift made by one Lîsha (?) Mahipâka in Sam. 1356, on the 11th day of the dark half of Chaitra, during the administration of the Mahârâja, the illustrious Khetala (?) in the village of Sûnaka, on the occasion of the Yâtrâ of Devî Śrîśivalî.

No. XXVIII.<sup>54</sup>

- L. 1. । संवत् १५८६ वर्षे  
 2. आषण वदि १३ सोमे — — —

TRANSLATION.

In the year Sam. 1596, Śrâvana vadi 13, a Monday . . . .

No. XXIX.<sup>55</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६४२ वरषे आसाढ शुदि १०  
 2. दने पातसा श्रीशक्तवर शहि  
 3. गढीचां महिस गढी सजा  
 4. पगी श्री गोवंद पगी श्रीरांस

<sup>52</sup> At Sarotra: over a shrine door in the Bhavan Dhvaja Temple.

<sup>53</sup> At Sonak: on a pillar in an old temple.

<sup>54</sup> At Sonak: on the base of an image in the same temple.

<sup>55</sup> At Taranga: on the side of the great temple.



- L. 5. जईननु पातया जंगमतीर-  
 6. थ श्रीहीरविजयसूरिः ॥  
 7. श्रीवजयसे । नसूरिः ॥  
 8. तेहना धरमं साचा जांणी  
 9. श्रीवीसलनगरि संधिसूषि  
 10. साह्वा° गणांपति आदर  
 11. करी गुरथ ठामठामथक  
 12. गरथ आणीनि प्रासादन  
 13. नवो आघार कीयो छिः ॥  
 14. सो° सवसी कूरीआ  
 15. उपरि रही कबाडू करा छ  
 16. सूत्र° गोवाल वडनगर  
 17. सूत्र° भूपा वीसलनगर  
 18. कबाडूकरः ॥ सू° गो [पा]  
 19. रात° साह्रपासरठा

Seems to refer to the restoration of the temple in Samvat 1642.

## VI.—THE JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM ŚĀTRUMJAYA.

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The subjoined editions and abstracts of 118 inscriptions, found in the Jaina temples on the hill of Śātrumjaya near Pālitāṇā, have been prepared according to the impressions, taken by Mr. Cousens during the working season of 1888-89, and made over to me by the Editor. They consist of two great series, the first comprising Nos. i-xxxii which range between Samvat 1587 and 1710, and the second, Nos. xxxiii-cxv, which run from Samvat 1783 to 1943 or 1887 A.D.<sup>1</sup> As the latter series of course possesses in general little historical interest, I have thought it inadvisable to publish them *in extenso*, and I believe the abstracts given below will satisfy all requirements. I have, however, made an exception with No. cv, because it contains a tolerably complete account of the heads of the Añchala *gachchha*, regarding which hitherto very little has become known. Moreover, it furnishes a good sample of the Sanskrit, written by the Yatis of our days, and it may be useful for settling the controversy regarding the origin of the "mixed" dialects found in older books and inscriptions, as well as that regarding the advisability of bringing, by conjectural emendations, the language of somewhat older Jaina authors such as Merutuṅga, Rājāśekhara and Jinamaṇḍana, into harmony with the rules of Sanskrit grammar. The transcript of this document as well as those of Nos. i-xxxiii and No. cxviii have been prepared by Dr. J. Kirste, Privat-Docent in the Vienna University, and to him belong also the footnotes appended to the same.

As regards the historical information contained in the 118 inscriptions, it falls under the following heads :—(1) notes regarding the political history of Western India ;

<sup>1</sup> The dates of Nos. cxvi-cxvii are not certain. No. cxviii ought properly to stand after No. xii.

(2) notes regarding the schools of the Jaina monks; (3) notes regarding the subdivisions of the Jaina laymen.

As regards the first point, No. I is the most important document; for it names (l. 1) three Sultāns of Gujarāt: (1) Mahimūda, (2) Madāphara, and (3) Bāhadara, and states that the latter was alive in Vikrama Samvat 1587, and (l. 2) that his minister was Shāna (Khān) Majhādashāna or Majhādaka (l. 26). It further enumerates (ll. 8-10) four rulers of Chitrakūṭa—(1) Kumbharāja, (2) Rājamalla, (3) Saṃgrāmasimha, (4) Ratnasimha, which latter ruled in Samvat 1587, and adds (l. 23) that Karmasimha or Karmarāja, who made (l. 27) the seventh restoration (*saptama uddhāra*) and re-built the temple of Puṇḍarika, was his prime minister. We are further told (l. 26) that he did so with the express permission of Sultān Bāhadara, and obtained from him a *sphurunmāna*, i.e. a *fermān*, for this purpose. The negotiations were conducted by a *mantri* Rava (*ravākhyā*) Narasimhaka, probably also a Jaina, who was in the employ of Sultān Bāhadara's prime minister.

With respect to the list of the sovereigns of Gujarāt, it deserves to be noticed that Sultāns Sikandar and Mahmūd, the two brothers of Sultān Bahādur, who reigned each for a short period after Sultān Muzaffar II., have been left out. I am unable to identify Khān Majhād or Majhādaka, who, according to our inscription, was Bahādur's vazir in Samvat 1587. According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*,<sup>2</sup> that dignity was bestowed on Taj Khān in A.D. 1526; nor is Karmarāja or Karmasimha mentioned in Tod's account of the history of Mevād. But there is no reason for doubting the veracity of the document. The list of the four Rāṇās agrees with Tod's. The statements of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (*op. cit.*, p. 350) prove that Ratnasimha really ruled in Samvat 1587, and that his relations with the Sultān of Gujarāt were of a friendly nature.

Next come the dates from the reigns of the third and fourth Mughal Emperors—

1. Jahāngīr is mentioned as Nūradīna J. Savāi in Nos. xv, xvii—xx, xxiii, xxiv, which are all dated in Samvat 1675, as well as in No. xxvii of Samvat 1683. Nos. xvii—xx mention also prince Khosrū (*Shāhijādā Surātāna Shosadū*) and the governor (*sobāi*) of Ahmadābād (*Rājanagara*), Sultān Khurme (*Sahiyāna suratāna Shurame*).

2. Shāh Jihān (*Sāhajyāhām*) occurs once in No. xxx, which is dated in Vikrama Samvat 1686 and Śaka Samvat 1551. The two dates agree perfectly with the facts. And it is also correct that Surātāna Khurme, i.e. Sultān Khurram or Shāh Jihān, was viceroy of Gujarāt in Samvat 1675. For the Muhammadan historians inform us that the latter province was added to the other governments held by him in A.D. 1617. Of interest, too, is the mention of Shāhijādā Surātāna Shosadū, i.e. prince Khosrū, (Nos. xvii—xx), who no doubt was alive in Vikrama Samvat 1675, but had been a prisoner ever since the second year of his father's reign.

Among the local chiefs of Kāthiāvād, the inscriptions mention—

(1) Jām (*Yāma*) Śatruśālya and his son, Jasavanta, which latter, according to No. xxi (l. 4) ruled at Navinapura, i.e. Navānagar, in Hāllāra, i.e. the Halār Prānt, in Vikrama Samvat 1675;

(2) Some of the Gohel chieftains of Pālītānā, viz.,—

(a) Khāndhuji and his son, Śivāji, in No. xxvii. ll. 38-9, of Vikrama Samvat 1683;

- (b) Unadājī in No. li, of V. S. 1861;  
 (c) Khamdhājī; his son, Noghanājī, and his grandson, Pratāpasimghājī, in Nos. lxviii and lxxix, dated V.S. 1891 and 1892;  
 (d) Noghanājī and his son, Pratāpasimghājī, in No. xcvi, of V.S. 1910; and  
 (e) Pratāpasimghājī, V.S. 1916 (No. ciii).  
 (f) Sūrasimghājī, in No. cxi, of V.S. 1940.

The information of the inscriptions agrees perfectly with the notes on the history of Navānagar and Pālitāṇā, given in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. viii, p. 559). According to the latter work, Jām Jasoji, the son of Jām Satājī, ruled from A.D. 1608 to 1624. It is not difficult to recognise Jasavanta in Jasoji. Satājī is a very considerable abbreviation of Satrsāl, the more usual form for the Sanskrit Śatruśālya, "an arrow for his enemies." As regards the Gohels, we read (*op. cit.* pp. 604f.) that Khādoji II. was succeeded by Shavaji II. This is no doubt the pair of the inscription, as Shavaji is placed five generations before A.D. 1766. The other chiefs mentioned in the inscriptions are called in the *Gazetteer*, Unadji, A.D. 1766—1820, Khandoji IV., 1820—1840, Noghanaji IV., A.D. 1840—1860, Pratāpsinghji, 1860, Sūrsinghji, since 1860. It is amusing to note that in No. xcvi, Noghanaji receives the proud titles *rājārājēśvara* and *mahārājadhirāja*, though the Pālitāṇā State pays tribute to several masters and ranks among the second class states of Kāthiāwād. Besides, Thakur Noghanaji was, according to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, by no means as well off as his successors, who have a gross revenue of five lakhs of rupees; for his state was held under Government guarantee in farm by Vakhatchand, the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadābād, from A.D. 1821—1831, when prince Pratāpsinghji managed to get it out of the hands of the banker. None of the numerous donors from Ahmadābād, Bombay, and other towns in the British territory, has thought it necessary to mention the British Government. But Harashachamda, i.e. Harakhchand of Damaṇa-bandira or Daman, gratefully mentions, in No. xlv of V.S. 1860, that he was honoured by the *Phirangijālī Puratakalā pālasāhi*, i.e. by the king of Portugal. Compared with this, the forgetfulness of the family of the Nagarsheṭh of Ahmadābād is, to say the least, remarkable.

The next point which claims attention is the copious information which the inscriptions furnish regarding several schools of Jaina monks, the Kharatara, Tapā, Añchala, and Sāgara gachchhas. Lists of the spiritual heads of the former two sects have been published by Dr. Klatt in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 245 ff, and a Kharatara *paṭṭāvali* from the *Praśasti* of the temple of Vādipura Pārśvanātha has been given, *ante*, vol. I, p. 319. The other two *paṭṭāvalis* have not, as far as I know, been made known before:—

I.—*Paṭṭāvali of the Kharatara gachchha.*

The following list is given in No. xvii—

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Ud(d)gotanasūri,                       | <i>Navāṅgī vṛitti</i> , and discoverer of the Pārśva-nātha of Stambhana,<br><br>6. Jinavallabhasūri,<br>7. Jinadattasūri, to whom a <i>devatā</i> gave the title <i>yugapradhāna</i> , <sup>3</sup><br>8. Jinachandrasūri II., |
| 2. Vardhamānasūri, <i>vasatimārgapra-</i> |  |
| <i>kāśaka</i> ,                           |  |
| 3. Jineśvarasūri I.,                      |  |
| 4. Jinachandrasūri I.,                    |  |
| 5. Abhayadevasūri, composer of the        |  |

<sup>3</sup> The first seven Sūris are mentioned also in No. xviii.

9. Jinapattisûri,<sup>4</sup>
10. Jineśvarasûri II.,
11. Jinaprabodhasûri,
12. Jinachandrasûri III.,
13. Jinakuśalasûri,
14. Jinapadmasûri,
15. Jinalabdhisûri,

16. Jinachandrasûri IV.,
17. Jinodayasûri,
18. Jinarâjasûri,
19. Jinabhadrasûri,<sup>5</sup>
20. Jinachandrasûri V.,
21. Jinasamudrasûri,
22. Jinahamsasûri,

### 23. Jinamāṇikyasûri,

24. Jinachandrasûri VI,<sup>6</sup> who awakene d the Pâtisâhi of Delhi, Akabara, received from him the title *yugapradhāna*, and obtained an edict not to kill during 8 days in all countries, who appeased the angry Jahāṅgīra and protected the Sādhus banished by him.

25. Jinasimhasûri, who caused the *mantrin* Karamachandra to institute<sup>7</sup> a *rūpa-nandi* festival at an expense of 12,500,000 (*śapāḍakoṭi*), wandered through Kāthina, Kāśmīr and other countries, pleased Akabara-Sâhi, stopped for a year the slaying of aquatic animals, caused an edict of not killing to be proclaimed in Śrīpura,<sup>8</sup> Gola-kumḍā (Golkonda), Gajjaṇā (Ghazni), and other countries, and received the title of *yugapradhāna* from Jahāṅgīra-Nûradī-Mahammada.

26. Jinarâja,<sup>9</sup> whose parents were Sâ Dharmasî and Dhâralade, who belonged to the Bohittha race, received a boon from the goddess Ambikâ, and in consequence deciphered the *prâṣasti* on an ancient image at Ghamghāṇipura. In No. xxvi there is a second date, Samvat 1682 for him.

The later inscriptions mention :—

Jinachandrasûri, Samvat 1794,<sup>10</sup> (No. xxxix); Jinaharshasûri,<sup>11</sup> Samvat 1887 (No. lx), Samvat 1888, Samvat 1891 (No. lxxviii), Samvat 1892 (No. lxix); Jinamahendrasûri, successor of the preceding, Samvat 1893 (No. lxxx), stated to belong to the Pippaliya branch (Nos. lxxxii-v),<sup>12</sup> Samvat 1903 (No. lxxxviii).

Jinasaubhāgyasûri, successor of Jinaharsha, Samvat 1910 (No. xvi).

Jinamuktisûri, Samvat 1922 (No. cvi). The statements of the latest inscriptions show that there were several heads of the Kharatara *gachchha*, which fact is known to everybody personally acquainted with the sect. I met Jinamuktisûri at Jesalmīr in 1874, and at Bikānīr another head of the Kharataras called Hemasûri. The pupils of a third Yugapradhāna of the same community visited me in 1876 at Surat, when he passed through the town.

### II.—Paṭṭāvali of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xii mentions first Vardhamāna (verse 2), Sudharma (verse 3), Sushthita and Supratibuddha, the founders of the Koṭikagaṇa (verse 4), Vajra, the founder

<sup>4</sup> This form, which is found also in the Pāṭaṇ *Prâṣasti*, ante, vol. I, p. 319, seems to be preferable to Dr. Klatt's Jinapati, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XI, pp. 245ff.

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned also in No. xviii.

<sup>6</sup> Mentioned also in Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii, xxiv.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. xviii—xx, xxiii—xxiv. add "before Akabarasâhi."

<sup>8</sup> According to No. xviii Śrīkāṣṭpura, according to No. xix Śrīkāra-Śrīpura, according to No. xxiii Śrīpura.

<sup>9</sup> Mentioned in the same way in Nos. xiv—xx, xxiii—xxiv, xvi.

<sup>10</sup> Klatt has a Jinachandra (No. 69) in S. 1834.

<sup>11</sup> This is the last on Klatt's list, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, pp. 245ff.

<sup>12</sup> Nos. lxxxii—lxxxv have a note speaking of a Jinachandrasûri, successor of Jinadeva, being alive. Regarding the Pippaliya Kharatara gachchha, see Klatt, *ut sup.*, under No. 56.

of the Vajrā śākhā (verse 5), Vajrasena and his pupils Nāga, Indra, Chandra, Nirvṛiti and Vidhyādhara, the third of whom founded the Chāndra kula (verses 6-7), Jagachchandra, who obtained in Samvat 1295 the *Tapābiruda* (verse 9), and then begins the enumeration with—

(1) Ānandavimala (Klatt No. 56), who reformed the conduct of the Yatis in Samvat 1582 (verses 10-11).

(2) Vijayadāna (Klatt No. 57), verses 12-13.<sup>13</sup>

(3) Hīravijaya (Klatt No. 58), verses 14—24, who was called by Sāhi Akabbara to Mevāta, and persuaded the emperor in Samvat 1639 to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for six months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the *Sujīja*-tax, and a *śulka*,<sup>14</sup> to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Śatrumjaya to the Jains, to establish a Jaina library (*paustakam bhāṇḍāgāram*), and to become a saint-like king Śreṇika, who converted the head of the Lumpākas. Meghaji,<sup>15</sup> made many people adherents of the Tapā gachchha, caused many temples to be built in Gujarāt and other countries, and made many natives of that country, of Mālava and so forth, undertake pilgrimages to Śatrumjaya. No. cxviii commemorates one of these pilgrimages, which was undertaken by Vimalaharsha and 200 others. The same inscription states that Hīravijaya belonged to the *Sāpha* race. He died, according to No. xiii, by starvation, at Unnatadurga, in Samvat 1652; Bhādrapada śukla 10, and his *pādukās* were erected in the same year, on Mārga vadi 9, Monday, by Udayakaraṇa of Stambhatīrtha (Cambay) and consecrated by Vijayasena.

(4) Vijayasena (Klatt No. 59), (verses 25—34), who was called by Akabbara to Lābhapura (Lahor), received from him great honours, and a *phuramāna*, forbidding the slaughter of cows, bulls and buffalo-cows, to confiscate the property of deceased persons and to make captives in war, who, honoured by the king, the son of Choli-be-gam (*Choli Vegama*), adorned Gujarāt. Latest date Samvat 1650.

(5) Vijayadeva (Klatt No. 60) is mentioned in No. xxv, Samvat 1676, No. xxxi of Samvat 1696, Nos. xxxii and xxxiii of Samvat 1710. According to the same he received from Pātiśāhi Jihāṅgīra the title *mahātāpa*. His appointed successor, Vijaya-sirṇhasūri, who, according to Klatt (*op. cit.*) died before him (Samvat 1709), occurs in No. xxxii, which is dated Samvat 1710. It is stated there that the *Sahasrakūṭa tīrtha* had been dedicated at his request.

(6) Vijayaprabha (Klatt No. 61) is mentioned in No. xxxiii, dated Samvat 1710. He receives the titles *āchārya* and *sūri*, and seems, therefore, not yet to have been the actual head. Vijayadeva, on the other hand, is there called *bhaṭṭāraka*. This goes against Klatt's *Paṭṭāvali*, which places Vijayadeva's death in Samvat 1709.

In the later inscriptions are named—

Vijayakshamāsūri, No. xxxviii.

Vijayadayāsūri, No. xxxvii, *bhaṭṭāraka*, in Samvat 1788 (Sumatisāgara, *ibid.*, also *bhaṭṭāraka*), and in No. xxxviii, Samvat 1791.

Vijayajinendrasūri, No. xlv, Samvat 1843, Nos. xlv—xlix, Samvat 1860.

Vijayadhaneśvarasūri, No. lxxviii, Samvat 1893.

<sup>13</sup> Mentioned as head of the gachchha in Nos. iv, vi—x, all dated in Samvat 1620.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly a tax on Jaina pilgrims, visiting their holy places, may be meant,—see also Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 339 (6th edition). The *Sujīja* tax is, of course, the *jizya*, or capitation tax on infidels.

<sup>15</sup> Regarding the Lumpākas see Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84*, p. 153.

Vijayadevendrasûri,<sup>15</sup> No. lxxxvi, Samvat 1897, No. lxxxix, Samvat 1905, No. xlii, Samvat 1908, No. xcvi, Samvat 1911, No. civ, Samvat 1916, No. cvii, Samvat 1924.

Vidyānandasûri, successor of Dhaneśvara, No. ciii, Samvat 1916.

A Samvijñayamārgiya Tapā gachchha, belonging to the line of Vijayasīhasûri, is mentioned in No. lxxvi of Samvat 1893 and in No. cxiii of Samvat 1940.

### III.—*Paṭṭāvali of the Añchala or Vidhipaksha gachchha.*<sup>17</sup>

The first seventeen teachers are named in Nos. xxi of Samvat 1675 and xxvii of Samvat 1683, the remainder mostly in No. cv of Samvat 1921 :

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| (1) Āryarakshita, <sup>18</sup>   | (16) Dharmamūrti,                            |
| (2) Jayasīmha,                    | (17) Kalyāṇasāgara or Kalyāṇasa-             |
| (3) Dharmaghosha,                 | mudra, Samvat 1675 and 1683,                 |
| (4) Mahendrasīmha,                | (18) Amarodadhi,                             |
| (5) Sīmhaprabha,                  | (19) Vidyāsûri (Vidyābdi), <sup>19</sup>     |
| (6) Devendra or Devendrasīmha,    | (20) Udayārṇava, or Udayasā-                 |
| (7) Dharmaprabha,                 | gara, <sup>20</sup>                          |
| (8) Sīmhatilaka,                  | (21) Kīrtisindhu or Kīrtisāgara, No.         |
| (9) Mahendra,                     | li, Samvat 1861,                             |
| (10) Merutuṅga,                   | (22) Puṇyodadhi or Puṇyasāgara,              |
| (11) Jayakīrti,                   | (No. li, of S. 1861),                        |
| (12) Jayakeśari,                  | (23) Muktiśāgara, Samvat 1905, <sup>21</sup> |
| (13) Siddhāntasamudra or Siddhān- | (24) Ratnodadhi, Samvat 1921;                |
| tasāgara,                         | (25) Vivekasāgara, Samvat 1940,              |
| (14) Bhāvasāgara,                 | No. cxi                                      |
| (15) Guṇanidhāna or Sugūṇaśe-     |  |
| vadhi,                            |  |

### IV.—*Paṭṭāvali of the Sāgara-gachchha.*

This list is given chiefly in No. xci, where the latest date is Samvat 1905 :

- |                    |                                   |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) Rājasāgara,    | (7) Ānandasāgara,                 |
| (2) Vṛiddhisāgara, | (8) Śāntisāgara, Samvat 1886, No. |
| (3) Lakshmīsāgara, | lv, No. lix; Samvat 1889, No.     |
| (4) Kalyāṇasāgara, | lxii, No. lxv; Samvat 1893,       |
| (5) Puṇyasāgara,   | No. lxx, No. lxxi, No. lxxii, No. |
| (6) Udayasāgara,   | lxxix.                            |

Teachers of two other *gachchhas* are named :—

(1) Rājasāmasûri of the Laghuposāla *gachchha* in No. xlii, dated Samvat 1815.

(2) Paṇḍit Ānandakuśala of the Pāyachanda *gachchha* in No. xcv, dated Samvat 1908. One is tempted to conjecture that *Pāyachanda* is a

<sup>15</sup> Spelt also Vijayadevindrā and Vijayadevīdrā.

<sup>17</sup> The name Vidhipaksha *gachchha* occurs in No. xxvii, verse 6, and in No. cv.

<sup>18</sup> Regarding this Āryarakshita, see Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* of 1883-84, p. 152. The *Paṭṭāvali* described by Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar (*op. cit.*, pp. 14, and 319ff.) is that of the

Āñchala-*gachchha*, and in the main agrees with the earlier part of the above text.

<sup>19</sup> This form is required according to the metre.

<sup>20</sup> No. li.

<sup>21</sup> No. xc. Before him appears Rājendrasāgara, Samvat 1886 in No. lvi.

mistake for *Pāsachanda* or *Pāśuchanda*, regarding which sect see Bhāṇḍārkar's "Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p. 135".

V.—*Digambara Paṭṭāvali*.

No. xxx, dated Samvat 1686, gives (ll. 2 *et seq.*) the list of the spiritual heads in the line of Kumḍakunḍa (*read Kundakunda*) Āchārya in the Balātākāragana, the Sarasvati, *gachchha* and the Mūlasaṃgha, i.e. the community of the Digambaras, as follows :

- |                    |                                     |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) Sakalakīrti,   | (7) Guṇakīrti,                      |
| (2) Bhuvanskīrti,  | (8) Vāḍibhāṣhaṇa,                   |
| (3) Jñānabhāṣhaṇa, | (9) Rāmakīrti,                      |
| (4) Vijayakīrti,   | (10) Padmanandi, the actual head of |
| (5) Śubhachandra,  | the sect in Samvat 1686.            |
| (6) Sumatikīrti,   |                                     |

The list is, of course, a mere fragment of the *Paṭṭāvali* of the Kundakundānaya, which dates from much earlier times.

Next to the subdivisions of the Jaina monks, those of the laymen deserve notice, and it is interesting that our inscriptions furnish a good deal of valuable information on this point, regarding which hitherto little has become known. Among the various tribal names of the laymen which are mentioned in the great majority of the documents, that of the Osvāls occurs most frequently, as might be expected from the fact that this section of the Jaina community is not only generally considered the most noble, but possesses also the greatest wealth. The name appears in various forms, (1) *Upakeśa jñāti*, No. xxi; *vamśa*, No. xxvi; (2) *Ūkeśa* or *Ukeśa*, Nos. xxxiii and lx; (3) *Oiśa vamśa*, No. xxxix; (4) *Ośa* or *Osa*, mostly with the addition of the termination *vāla* in a great many inscriptions; and (5) *Uśa*, Nos. i—iii, or *Usa*, No. cii.

It is not in the least doubtful that *Upakeśa* is the original Sanskrit word from which the other forms have been derived.<sup>22</sup> The processes by which the forms *Ūkeśa*, *Ukeśa*, *Uśa* and *Usa* were obtained, will be clear to everybody. With respect to *Oiśa*, *Ośa* and *Osa*, it may be noted that, according to the rules of the Jaina and Mahārāṣṭrī Prakṛits, the preposition *upa* may be represented by *o* (see Hemachandra, *Prākṛita vyākaraṇa*, i, 173).

In addition to the correct form of the name of this famous tribe, the Pālitaṇā inscriptions furnish also a traditional account of its origin. We read in No. i—

(Verse 8). "Further—on the hill called Gopa, there was born a most worshipful (*ruler*) called the illustrious Āmarāja, whom glorious Bappabhaṭṭi awakened. His wife was some daughter of a trader."

(Verse 9). "In her womb were born the following men belonging to the Rājakoṣṭhāgāra family, the sole vessel of piety, and the pure illustrious Uśa race."

The meaning seems to be that both the Uśa tribe and the Rājakoṣṭhāgāra family, which latter is evidently a subdivision of the former, owe their origin to the king Āma and his consort of the Vaiśya caste. According to the *Paṭṭāvalis* and the *Prabandhas*, Āma, whose existence is not proved by really historical documents, is said to have lived about Vikrama Samvat 800.<sup>23</sup> I may add that the genealogy of Karmarāja, which is

<sup>22</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIX, pp. 233ff.

| <sup>23</sup> See S. P. Pandit, *Gauḍavaṇa*, pp. cxxxviii.

given in verses 10—20, cannot be complete. It names only ten ancestors who cannot possibly fill the seven centuries and a half which intervene between the traditional date of king Āma and that of the inscription, Vikrama Samvat 1587.

The inscriptions mention also a good many other subdivisions of the Osvāl tribe, *viz.*—

I.—A Vṛiddhaśākhā, which is subdivided into the following *gotras* or families, —(1) Ūhāḍa, No. xxxiii; (2) Chājeda, No. cvi; (3) Nāḍūla, Nos. xxxviii, xxxix; (4) Nāhaṭā, No. lxxx; (5) Mummiyā, No. xvi; (6) Rājakoṣṭhāgāra, Nos. i, ii, iii; (7) Yadugaḍa, No. lxviii; (8) Lālaṇa, No. xxi; (9) Luṇīyā, No. lx; (10) Loḍhā, No. xvi.

II.—A Laghuśākhā, to which belongs (1) the Nāgaḍā *gotra*, No. xc; (2) the Shota *gotra*, No. xi.

III.—An Addaiśākhā, to which belongs the Kumkumalola *gotra*, Nos. xci, xcvi, xcix. The members of this *śākhā* and *gotra*, as represented by the family of the Nagarsheth of Ahmadābād, besides claim kinship with the Sisodiā Rajputs of Mevād, —see No. xci. Visā Osavālas are mentioned in No. cxv.

The tribe next in importance is that of the Śrīmālīs, called after the town of Śrīmāla or Bhillamāla, the modern Bhīnmāl in the extreme south of Marvād. It includes—

I.—A Vṛiddhaśākhā, Nos. xxxvii, cxii, of which no subdivisions are given;

II.—A Laghuśākhā, Nos. xxix, xxxiv, lxxvi, to which belongs, according to No. xlv, the Kāśyapa *gotra*, the members of which claim kinship with the Paramāra Rājputs.

A Visā Śrīmālī occurs in No. xc.

About the same importance belongs to the Prāgvāṭa tribe, called also Prāga-vaṁsa, Nos. iv, vi and viii, or by its modern name Poravāḍa or Poravāla, (pronounce Porvād and Porvāl). It seems, too, to have an elder and a junior branch, as Nos. xv, xvii, xxv, and xli mention its Laghuśākhā. Visā Poravāḍas or Poravālas are named in Nos. l and xcvi; Dasā-Porvāḍas in cvii. A few other tribes occur each in single inscriptions, *viz.* Gūṛjara *jñāti*, No. x; Dīsāvāla *jñāti*, No. vii; Dūgaḍa *gotra*, No. liv; Nimma *jñāti*, No. ciii; Mohotā *gotra*, No. cv; Saṁghavāla *gotra*, and Kāchāra *saṁtāna*, No. xiv.

The native places of the donors are:—

- (1) Ajamera, *i.e.* Ajmīr in Rājputānā,
- (2) Aṇahillapura, also called Pattana,
- (3) Antarapura in Vāgvaradesa or Duṅarpur,
- (4) Ahmadābād, called eleven times by its Sanskrit name, Rājanagara, 'the capital,'
- (5) Ugrasenapura,
- (6) Kapaḍavaṇaja in the Khedā Collectorate,
- (7) Kāśī, or Benares,
- (8) Koṭhārā in Kachh,
- (9) Khambanayara, *i.e.* probably Cambay,
- (10) Ghandhāra in the Bhāruch Collectorate,
- (11) Chitrakūṭa, or Chitor in Mevād



- (12) Cheula, probably Chaul, near Bombay,
- (13) Jesalamera, *i.e.* Jesalmîr in Marvâḍ,
- (14) Damaṇa bandira, *i.e.* Daman in Gujarâḥ,
- (15) Dīvabamdira or Diu in Kâṭhiâvâḍ,
- (16) Devagiri or Daulatâbâd in the Dekhan,
- (17) Dhaṇapura,
- (18) Nabhinpura, in Kachh,
- (19) Nalinapura, in Kachh,
- (20) Navānagara, in Kâṭhiâvâḍ,
- (21) Pālaṇapura, in Northern Gujarât,
- (22) Bâluchara,
- (23) Bhāvanagara, in Kâṭhiâvâḍ,
- (24) Makasudâvâda—Bâluchara or Makśudâvâda,
- (25) Mumbâi, or Bombay,
- (26) Mesâṇa, in Gujarât,
- (27) Râdhanapura, in Northern Gujarât,
- (28) Vikaṇera, or Bikāner, in Northern Râjputânâ,
- (29) Viśalanagara, in Northern Gujarât,
- (30) Sirohi, in Southern Râjputânâ,
- (31) Surata bamdira, in Gujarât.

The name of Ahmadâbâd or Râjanagara occurs most frequently.

For those who care to verify Hindu dates the Pâlitânâ inscriptions will be a perfect mine; for every single date can be calculated, as the weekdays are invariably mentioned.

#### No. I.<sup>24</sup>

- L. 1.     ॥ श्रीं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीगूर्जरधरित्रयां पातसाहश्रीमहिमूदपट्टप्रभाकरपातसाहश्रीमदाफरसाह-  
पट्टोद्योतकारक ॥
2. पातसाहश्रीश्रीश्रीबाहदरसाहविजयराज्ये ॥ संवत् १५८७ वर्षे राज्यव्यापारधुरंधरपान-  
श्रीमभादपानव्या-
3. पारे श्रीशंजयगिरौ श्रीचित्रकूटवास्तव्य । दो० करमाकृतसप्तमोद्वारसत्ता प्रशस्तिर्लिख्यते ॥  
स्वस्ति श्रीसौख्य-
4.                     दो जीयात युगादिजिननायकः ।  
केवलज्ञानविमलो विमलाचलमंडनः ॥ १<sup>25</sup>  
श्रीमदपाटे प्रगटप्रभावे [1]  
भावेन भ-
5.                     व्ये भुवनप्रसिद्धे ।  
श्रीचित्रकूटो मुकुटोपमानो [1]  
विराजमानोस्ति समस्तलक्ष्मणः ॥ २<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> In the porch of the east or main entrance of the great temple of Ādiśvara Bhagavān;—see *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, &c.* (Bombay, 1885) p. 188.—J. B.

<sup>25</sup> Metre of verse 1 Anushtubh. Read °जीयात्. A good many of my corrections have been given between brackets in the text.—J. K.

<sup>26</sup> Metre of verses 2—4, Upajāti. Read °ज्या.

सन्नंदनो दातृसुरद्रुमश्च [1]

तुं-

L. 6. गः सुवर्णोपि विहारसारः ।

जिनेश्वरस्नाचपविचभूमिः [1]

यीचित्रकूटः सुरशैलतुल्यः ॥ ३

विशालमालक्षिति-

7. लोचनाभो [1]

रम्यो नृणां लोचनचित्रकारी [1]

विचित्रकूटो गिरिचित्रकूटो [1]

लोकस्तु यन्नाखिलकूटमुक्तः ॥ ४

तत्र श्रीकुं-

8. भराजो ऽभूत् कुंभोज्ज्वनिभो नृपः ।

वैरिवर्गः समुद्रो हि येन पीतः क्षणात् क्षितौ ॥ ५<sup>27</sup>

[त] त्पुत्री राजमल्लोभूद्राज्ञां स-

9. क्ष इवीकटः ।

सुतः संग्रामसिंहो ऽस्य संग्रामविजयी नृपः ॥ ६

तत्पट्टभृष्टणमणिः सिंहेंद्रवत्पराक्रमी ।

रत्नसिंहा ऽ<sup>28</sup>

10. धुना राजा राजलक्ष्म्या विराजते ॥ ७

इतश्च गोपाह्वगिरौ गरिष्टः [1]

श्रीवप्यभट्टिप्रतिबोधितश्च ।

श्रीश्यामराजो ऽजनि तस्य

11. पत्नी [1]

काचिहर्भूव व्यवहारिपुत्री ॥ ८<sup>29</sup>

तत्कुक्षिजाता[.]किल राजकोटा [1]

गाराह्वगोत्रे सुकृतैकपात्रे ।

श्रीउग्रवंशे विशदे

12. विशाले [1]

तस्यान्वये ऽमी पुरुषा प्रसिद्धाः ॥ ९<sup>30</sup>

श्रीसरणदेवनामा तत्पुत्री रामदेवनामाभूत् ।

लक्ष्मीसिंहः पुत्री[<sup>31</sup>तस्त<sup>32</sup>]तत्पु-

13. श्रीभुवनपालाख्यः ॥ १०<sup>31</sup>

श्रीभोजराजपुत्री — —<sup>32</sup>रसिंहाख्य एव तत्पुत्रः ।

पेताकस्तत्पुत्री नरसिंहः तत्पु-

<sup>27</sup> Metre of verses 5-7, Anushubh.

<sup>28</sup> Read °हीः.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Upajāti. Read गरिष्टः.

<sup>30</sup> Metre: Indravajrā. Read कोटा । श्रीश्री° पुरुषा. .

<sup>31</sup> Metre of verses 10-19, Āryā.

<sup>32</sup> Looks like वः

I., 14.

[— — —]<sup>33</sup> ॥ ११

तत्पुत्रस्तोलाश्वः पत्नी तस्याः[स्व]प्रभूतकुलजाता ।  
तारादे परनाम्नी लील पुण्यप्रभापूर्णा ॥ १२  
तत्कुक्षिसमुद्भवाः प[ट]

15. पुत्रा<sup>34</sup> कल्पपाटपाकाराः [I]

[धर्मा]नुष्ठानपराः श्रीवतः श्रीकृतो ऽन्धेषां ॥ १३  
प्रथमो र[त्ना]ख्यसुतः सम्यक्तोद्योतकारकः कामं ।

16. श्रीचित्रकूटनगरे प्रासादः [कारितो]येन ॥ १४  
तस्या ऽस्ति कीमला पाल्पवल्लीव<sup>35</sup> विशदात्मदा ।<sup>36</sup>  
भार्या रजमलदेवी पुत्र[ः]श्रीरंगना-

17. भामौ ॥ १५

भ्राता ऽन्धः योमाह्नः पतिभक्ता दानशीलगुणयुक्ता ।  
पद्मापाटमदेव्यौ पुत्रौ माणिक्यहीराक्षौ ॥ १६  
बंधुर्गणस्तृ-

18. तीयभार्या<sup>37</sup>गुणरत्नराशिविख्याता [I]

गडरागारतदेव्यौ पुत्रौ देवाभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १७  
तुर्यो दशरथनामा । भार्या तस्यास्ति देवगु-

19. रुभक्ता ।

देवल[दू]ग्मदेव्यौ पुत्रः केन्ताभिधो ज्ञेयः ॥ १८  
भ्राता ऽन्धो भोजाश्वः भार्या तस्यास्ति सकलगुणयुक्ता ।

20. भावलक्ष्मणमदेव्यौ पुत्रः श्रीमंडणो जीयात् ॥ १९  
सदा सदाचारविचारचारुचातुर्यधैर्यादिगुणैः प्रयुक्तः  
श्रीकर्मराजो

21. भगिनी च तेषां जीयात्सदा सूत्रविनामधे[या] ॥ २०<sup>38</sup>

कर्माश्वभार्या प्रथमा कपूर [I]-  
देवी पुनः कामलदे द्वितीया ।  
श्रीभीषजी-

22. कस्तुरकुलोदयाद्वि<sup>39</sup>

सूर्यप्रभः कामलदेविपुत्रः ॥ २१  
श्रीतीर्थयात्राजिनबिंबपूजा-  
पदप्रतिष्ठादिकवर्मधुर्याः ।  
सुपात्रदानेन प-

23. वित्रमात्राः

सर्वेदृशाः सत्पुरुषाः प्रसिद्धाः ॥ २२<sup>40</sup>  
श्रीरत्नसिंहराज्ये राज्यव्यापारभारधीरेयः ।  
श्रीकर्मसिंहदत्तो मुख्यो

<sup>33</sup> Read °तो जातः.<sup>34</sup> Read पुत्राः.<sup>35</sup> Read कल्पवल्लीव. Above पा there is a mark.<sup>36</sup> Read विशदा सदा.<sup>37</sup> Read °तीयो.<sup>38</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>39</sup> Metre: Indravajrā. Read °जीकः.<sup>40</sup> Metre: Upajāti. Read °निष्ठा°. सर्वे° stands for सर्वं दृ०.

- L. 24. व्यवहारिणां मध्ये ॥ २३<sup>१</sup>  
 श्रीशत्रुंजयमाहात्म्यं शु[त्वा]सद्गुरुसंनिधौ ।  
 तस्योद्धारकते भावः कर्मराजस्य — द्यभृत् ॥ २४<sup>२</sup>  
 आग-
25. त्व गौर्जर देशे विवेकेन नरायणे ।  
 वसन्ति विबुधा लोकाः पुण्यश्लोका इवाऽऽहुताः ॥ २५  
 तत्रास्ति श्रीधराधीशश्रीमत् ॥ ५ ५ ५
26. बाहदरी नृपः ।  
 तस्य प्राप्य स्फुरन्मानं पुंडरीके समाययौ ॥ २६  
 राज्यव्यापारधीर्यः पानः श्रीमान् मभाटकः ।  
 तस्य गृहे स-
27. ह्यासंन्त्री रवाग्यो नगसिंहकः ॥ २७  
 तस्य सन्मानसुत्राप्य बहुवित्तयथेन च ।  
 उद्धारः सप्तमस्तेन चक्रे शत्रुंजये गिरौ
28. ॥ २८  
 श्रीपादलिप्तललनामरगुडदेशे  
 महाद्यसंगलमनोहरगीतना[ट्टः] ।  
 श्रीकर्मराजसुधिया जलया[त्रि]कायां  
 चक्रे सहोत्स-
29. चक्रः सुगुरुपदेशात् ॥ २९<sup>३</sup>  
 चंचच्चंगमृदंगरंगरचनाभेरीनफेरीरवा-  
 वीणा[वंश]विशुद्धनालविभवामाधर्मि[वात्सल्य]
30. कं ।  
 वस्त्रांल्लति[ह्रिम]तंगतुरगादीनां च स[ह]र्षण-  
 मेवं विस्तरपूर्वकं गिरवरे बिंबप्रतिष्ठापनं ॥ ३०<sup>४</sup>  
 विक्रमसमयातीते ति-
31. धिमितसंवत्सरेऽश्वसुवर्षे । १५८७ ।  
 शाके जगत्त्रिवाणे ५३ वैशाखे कृष्णाप्रध्यां च ॥ ३१<sup>५</sup>  
 मिलिताः सूरयः संघा मार्गणसु-
32. निपुंगवाः ।  
 बह्ममाने धरुर्लग्ने प्रतिष्ठा कारिता वराः ॥ ३२<sup>६</sup>  
 चावण्यसमयाख्येन पंडितेन महात्मना ।  
 स[प्त]मोद्धारसत्ता
33. च प्रशस्तिः प्रकटीकृता ॥ ३३  
 श्रीमहा[हदर]क्षितीशवचनादागत्य शत्रुंजये [।]  
 प्रासादं विदधाप्य येन ह — १ — बिंबमा-

<sup>१</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>२</sup> Metre of verses 24—28, Anushtubh.<sup>३</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>४</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Tend गिरि०, ०७।० The con-  
text is not clear.<sup>५</sup> Metre: Āryā. Read ०८१।<sup>६</sup> Metre of verses 32, 33, Anu-ḥtubh. Read ०८१। वरा

L. 31.

रौप्य च ।

उद्धारः किल मममः कलियुगं चक्रेय ना — — —  
जीयादेप सदोशवंशमुकुटः श्रीकर्मराजश्चिरं ॥ ३४<sup>17</sup>

य-

35. त्कर्मराजेन कृतं सुकार्य-

मन्येन केनापि कृतं हि तन्नो ।

यन्मेकराज्ये[पि नृपा]न्नयैवो-

द्धारः कृतः सप्तम एष येन ॥ ३५<sup>18</sup>

36. स — — —"र्याणि वह्नि संघे

कुर्वति भव्याः परम[त्र] काले ।

कर्माभिधानव्यवहारिणो-

द्धारः कृतः श्रीवि-

37. मलाद्रिशृंगे । ३६<sup>19</sup>

श्रीचित्रकूटोदयशैलशृंगे ।

कर्माख्यमानोरुदयान्वितस्य ।

शत्रुंजये विंवविहारकृत्य-

[कर्मा-

38. व]लीयं स्फुरतीति चित्रं ॥ ३७<sup>21</sup>

श्रीमेदपाटे विषये निवासिनः

श्रीकर्मराजस्य च कीर्तिरु[ज्वला] ।

देशेष्वनेकेष्वपि [संचरत्य]-

39. हो

ज्योत्स्नेव चन्द्रस्ये नभोविहारिणः ॥ ३८<sup>22</sup>

दत्तं येन पुरा धनं बहु सुरचाणाय तन्मानतो

यात्रा येन [नृ]-

40. णां च संघपतिना शत्रुंजये कारिता ।

साधूनां सुगमैव सा च विहिता चक्रे प्रतिष्ठा ऽर्हता-

मित्यं वर्षनमुच्यते किय-

41. दहो श्रीकर्मराजस्य तु ॥ ३९<sup>23</sup>

येनोद्धारः शुभवति नगे कारितः पुंडरीके ।

स्वात्मोद्धारो विशदमतिना दुर्ग-

42. तस्तेन चक्रे ।

येनाकारि प्रवरविधिना तीर्थनाथप्रतिष्ठा प्राप्ता

स्तेन त्रिभुवनतले सर्वदैवप्रतिष्ठा ॥ ४०<sup>24</sup>

सौम्यत्वे-

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.<sup>18</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps सत्युष्यकार्याधि.<sup>20</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>21</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>22</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita. Read °हा.<sup>24</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā. Read °हा, तेन, °हा.

- L. 43. न निशामणिर्दिनमणिस्तीव्रप्रतापेन च  
वंशोद्दीपनकारणात् गृहमणिश्चिंतामणिदानतः ।  
धर्मात् याज्ञशिरोम-
14. णिर्मदविपध्वस्तमणिर्भोगिनः  
एकानिकमयो गुणैर्नवनवैः श्रीकर्मराजः सुधीः ॥ ४१<sup>55</sup>  
तोलासुतः सुतन[यो]
45. विनयोज्ज्वलश्च  
लीलसुकुचिनलिनीशुचिराजहंसः ।  
सन्मानदानविदुरो मुनिपुंगवानां  
सद्गुणवांधवयुतो
16. — — कर्मराजः ॥ ४२<sup>56</sup>  
कर्मी श्रीकर्मराजोयं कर्मणा केन निर्ममे ।  
तेषां शुभानि कर्माणि यैर्दृष्टः पुण्यवानसौ ॥ ४३<sup>57</sup>
47. श्र्यधीशः पुंडरीकस्तु मरुदेवा[वः]कपर्दिराट् ।<sup>58</sup>  
याज्ञश्रीकर्मराजस्य सुप्रसन्ना भवंत्वमी ॥ ४४ ॥  
श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थोद्धारः ।
48. कामठा[य] सनिध्वकारक सां जइता भां वाई चांपू पुत्र नाया भ्रातृ कीता ॥ ऋहम्भदा-  
वादवास्तव्य सूत्रधार कीला
49. पुत्र सूत्रधार विरू[पा]सू भीमा ठं वेला ठं वळा ॥ श्रीचित्रकूटादागत सूं टीला सू  
पोमा सूं गांगा सूं गीरा सूं ठाला
50. सूत्रं देवा ॥ सूत्रं नाकर सूं नाईआ सूं गोविंद सूं विणायग सूं टीला सूं वळा म  
भाणा सूं का[ङ्गा] सूत्रं
51. देवदास सूं टीका सूं ठाकर — -- पं काला वा० विणायग ठां छाम ठां हीरा सूं  
दमोदर वा० हराज सूं थान
52. ॥ मंगलं आदिदेवस्य मंगलं दिमलाचल । मंगलं <sup>59</sup>सर्कलमंघस्य मंगलं लिखकस्य च । पं  
विवेकधीरगणिना लिखि
53. [ता प्र]शस्ति ॥ <sup>60</sup>पूज्य पं समयरत्नशिष्य पं लावण्यसमयस्त्रिसंध्यं श्रीआदिदेवस्य प्रणमतीति  
भद्रं ॥ श्रीः
54. — °हरपति । ठां हांसा ठं मूला ठां कण्णा ठा का[ङ्गा] ठां हपा सूं माधव सूं बाद्र ॥ लो  
सहज

No. II.<sup>61</sup>

- L. 1. श्रीं ॥<sup>62</sup> संवत[त्] १५८७ वर्षे शके १४५३ प्रवर्त्तमाने [विशा]ख वदि ६ । रवी ॥ श्रीचित्र [कूट]  
2. वास्तव्यश्रीउशवा[स]ज्ञातीय<sup>63</sup> वृद्धशापाया<sup>64</sup> दो नरसिंह सुत दो [सि]ला भार्या वादे लील  
पुत्र ६ दो

<sup>55</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita. Read °क्षान्.<sup>56</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>57</sup> Metre of verses 43-44, Anuṣṭubh.<sup>58</sup> Read °राट्.<sup>59</sup> Read सर्वसं.<sup>60</sup> Read °सिः.<sup>61</sup> On the base of the image of Ādinātha in the great temple.—J. B.<sup>62</sup> Looks like एट्.<sup>63</sup> Read °वाल.<sup>64</sup> Read शाखाया.

- L. 3. रत्ना भार्या रजमलदे पुत्र श्रीरंग दो° पोमा भा° पंथादे हि° पटमादे पुत्र माणिकहोर दो° गणा  
भा° गुराद [हि]° गाखदे पु° दवा  
1. दो° दशरथ भा° देवलदे हि° टूरमदे पुत्र केहला दो° सोमा भा° भावलदे हि° [स] पम[दे पु]  
— — — भगिनी [सुह] विदे [— वं] धव श्रीमद्राजसभागंगारहारश्रीशत्रुंजयसप्तमोदार-  
5. कारक दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे हि° कामलदे पुत्र भीपजी पुत्री बाई सोमां वा° सोना वा°  
सन वा° प्रता प्रसुपसमस्तकुटंवश्योर्थ<sup>65</sup> शत्रुंजयमुखप्रासादो [डा] र श्रीआदिनाथविंभं प्रति-  
ष्ठापितं<sup>66</sup> । मं° रवी मं° नरसिंगसानिध्यात् । प्रतिष्ठितं<sup>67</sup> श्रीसूरिभिः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. III.<sup>63</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ संवत् [त्] १५८७ वर्षे वैशाख दि  
2. श्रीउशवंशे वृद्धशायायां दो° तोला भा° बाई लीलू सुत दो° रत्ना दो° पोमा  
3. दो° गणा दो° दशरथ दो° भोजा दो° करमा भा° कपूरादे । कामलदे पु° भीपजी सहि-  
तेन श्रीपुंडरीकविंभं कारितं श्रीः ॥

No. IV.<sup>69</sup>

- L. 1. १० श्री ॥ श्री नमः ॥ संवत् [१६] २० वर्षे आपाठ शुदि २ रवी ।  
2. गंधारवास्तव्य । प्राग[वंश]दोसी । श्रीगोईआ सुत दी ।  
3. नेजपाल भार्या बोई<sup>71</sup> [भोड]की सुत दी । पंचारण ।  
4. भ्रातृ दी । भीम दी । नने दी । देवराजप्रमुख ।  
5. [ख]कुटंवेन युतः । श्रीमहावीरदेवकुलिका ।  
6. कारापिता हर्षेण । तपागळेविबुधिमणि<sup>72</sup> श्री-  
7. विजयदानसूरि श्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादा[त्]  
8. शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. V.<sup>73</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ ७१ श्री ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि २ रवे  
2. गंधारवास्तवं श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीय सा । श्री [पा]स[वीर] ।  
3. भार्या बाई [पू]तल शुत सा । श्रीवर्धमान भार्या बाई  
4. धमलादे अमरादे शुत सा । श्रीरामजी भाई सा<sup>75</sup> । श्री-  
5. लहुजी सा । हंस[रा]ज सा । मनजी प्रसुपसस्तकुटं-  
6. वेन युतः श्रीसर्वजयोपरि श्रीशान्तिनाथप्रासा-  
7. दं चोमय कारापित । श्रीतपागळेविबुधशरो [शिरो-]  
8. मणिश्रीहीरविजयसूरिप्रसादात् शुभं भ-  
9. वतु[॥]

<sup>65</sup> Read °सुख°.<sup>66</sup> Read °हृ°.<sup>67</sup> Read °हृ°.<sup>68</sup> On the base of the image of Puṇḍarika in the temple facing Ādiśvara Bhagavān's temple: *Lists*, n. s. p. 196, No. 88.—J. B.<sup>69</sup> In a temple on the south of the enclosure round the temple of Ādiśvara: *conf. Lists*, p. 194, Nos. 38—43.—J. B.<sup>70</sup> At the beginning of each line stands a symbol looking like ए.<sup>71</sup> Read बाई.<sup>72</sup> Read °बुधशिरीमणि.<sup>73</sup> In the Gandhāra Chaumukh temple, in the north-east of the enclosure of the great Ādiśvara temple. *Lists*, p. 195, No. 73.—J. B.<sup>74</sup> Looks like एहं.<sup>75</sup> The middle bar of the ञ is wanting.

No. VI.<sup>76</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ उं नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५  
 2. ॥ गुरौ । श्रीगंधारवास्तव्यप्राग्वंशज्ञातीय । संघ-  
 3. ॥ वी श्रीजवडा सुत सं° श्री[सीपा] भार्या वाई ॥  
 4. ॥ गिर [सुनाम्ना सुत । सं ।] जिवंत भ्रातृ । सं । काउ-  
 5. ॥ जी । सं । अ[ट्ट]जी । प्रमुख[स्व]कुटुंबेन युतः ॥  
 6. ॥ श्रीपाश्र्वनाथदेवकुलिका । कारापिता ॥  
 7. ॥ श्रीतपागच्छे । श्रीविजयदानसूरि[.] श्री-  
 8. ॥ हीरविसूरिप्रसादात् [त्] ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. VII.<sup>77</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ गुरु  
 2. ॥ श्रीअन्नदावाद्वास्तव्यदीसावालज्ञा-  
 3. ॥ तीय महं श्रीवणाङ्ग सुत महं । श्रीगला  
 4. ॥ भार्या वाई° मंगाई सुत । महं । वीरदास  
 5. ॥ स्वकुटुंबेन युतः । श्रीसत्तंजयोपरि श्री-  
 6. ॥ आदिनाथदेवकुलिका कारापिता । श्री-  
 7. ॥ तपागच्छेश्रीविजयदानसूरिश्रीहीरवि-  
 8. ॥ जयसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥

No. VIII.<sup>78</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शुदि  
 2. ॥ २दिने गंधारवास्तव्यप्राग्वंश[वांश]व्यो । श्री  
 3. ॥ परवत सुत व्यो° फोका सु° व्यो । व[—]  
 4. ॥ आ स्वकुटुंबेन युतः श्रीसत्तंजयो-  
 5. ॥ परि देवकुलिका कारापिता । श्रीत-  
 6. ॥ पागच्छेविवुधशिरोमणिश्रीविजय-  
 7. ॥ दानसूरिप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. IX.<sup>79</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ उं नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशाख शु-  
 2. ॥ दि ५ दिने गंधारवास्तव्यप्राग्वंशज्ञातीय ।  
 3. ॥ व्यो° समरीश्रा भार्या वाई । भोतु पुत्री वा-  
 4. ॥ ई वेरयाई । वाई । कीवाई स्वकुटुंबेन यु-  
 5. ॥ तः । श्रीशान्तिनाथदेवकुलिका धारा-  
 6. ॥ पिता । श्रीतपागच्छेविवुधसरोमणि<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> In a cell against the wall of the Âdisvara temple, at the north-east corner.

<sup>77</sup> In a cell to the right of that containing the preceding.—J. B.

<sup>78</sup> In a small shrine, or cell, to the left of the north entrance to, and against the wall of, the Âdisvara temple.—J. B.

<sup>79</sup> In the cell to the right, or west, of the north door of the Âdisvara temple.—J. B.

<sup>80</sup> Read °शिरोमणि.



- L. 7. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरि । श्रीहीरविजय ।  
8. ॥ सूरिप्रसादात् ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ :श्री

No. X.<sup>81</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उं नमः ॥ संवत् १६२० वर्षे वैशा-  
2. ॥ ष शुदि ५ गुरुदिने श्रीगंधारवास्तव्य-  
3. ॥ श्रीश्रीमालीयज्ञातीय परी । देवा भा-  
4. ॥ र्यां बार्डं कमलार्डं सुत परी । मूंथी । तथा  
5. ॥ गूजरज्ञातीय दोसी । श्रीकर्ण भां बा  
6. ॥ अमरी सुत । दोसी । हंसराज उभयौ ।  
7. ॥ मीलने श्रीसेतंजयोपरि श्रीआदिना-  
8. ॥ यदेवंकुलिका कारापिता श्रीतपागच्छे-  
9. ॥ श्रीविजयदानसूरिप्रसादात् [त्]॥

No. XI.<sup>82</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६४० वर्षे फागुण<sup>83</sup> शुदि १३ दने<sup>84</sup>  
2. ठाकर करमसी भार्जा बार्ड मली ठाकर  
3. दामा भार्जा बार्ड चडी ठाकर माहव ठा-  
4. कर जसू ठाकर घोम ठाकर जसूजी भा-  
5. र्जा बार्ड जोवादे ठाकर माहव सूत ते-  
6. जपाल भार्जा बार्ड तेजलदे संघवी  
7. जसू सूत तेजपाल प्रमाद<sup>85</sup> करा-  
8. पितं सुभ भवतू<sup>86</sup> ॥ दो<sup>87</sup> नाकर सेठ नावाणे  
9. ७४ ॥ चडी सावाल ।

No. XII.<sup>87</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्रीं ॥ उं नमः ॥  
श्रेयस्वी प्रथमः प्रभुः प्रथिमभाग् नैपुण्यपुण्यात्मना ।-  
मस्तु स्वस्तिकरः सुखाब्धिमकरः श्री — —  
2. देवः स वः  
पद्मोल्लासकरः करैरिव रविर्व्योम्नि क्रमांभोरुह ।-  
न्यासैर्यस्तिलकीवभूव भगवाञ् शतंजयेनेक-  
3. शः ॥१॥<sup>88</sup>  
श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेशवंशसरसीजन्माजिनीवल्लभः ॥

<sup>81</sup> In the left end of the verandah to some small chapels or cells on the west of the preceding, and against the north wall of the great temple.—J. B.

<sup>82</sup> On the Simhāsana of the image in a temple to the south-east of the great Âdiśvara temple.—J. B.

<sup>83</sup> Read फालगुण.

<sup>84</sup> Read दिने.

<sup>85</sup> Read नमः.

<sup>86</sup> Read शुभं भवतु.

<sup>87</sup> In the porch of the east, or front, entrance of the Âdiśvara temple, on the south or left hand, facing No. 1. A transcript is given in the *Lists*, pp. 188. After this inscription No. cxviii should follow.—J. B.

<sup>88</sup> Metre of verses 1—3: Śārdūlavikīṛita. Read श्री आदिदेवः

पायाद्वः परमप्रभावभवन्नं श्रीवर्द्धमानः प्रभुः ।

उत्पत्तिस्थिति[सं-]

L. 4. हतिप्रकृतिवाग् यद् गौर्जगत्पावनी ।

स्वर्वापीव महाव्रतिप्रणयभूरासीद् रसोक्तासिनो ॥ २

आसीद्वासवहृद्वंदितपदहृद्व-

5. पद सपदां ।

तत्पट्टां बुधचंद्रमा गणधरः श्रीमान् सुधर्माभिधः ।

यस्यौदार्ययुता प्रहृष्टसुमना अद्यापि विद्यावती ॥

धत्ते

6. संततिरुन्नतिं भगवतो वीरप्रभोगैरिव ॥ ३<sup>63</sup>

श्रीसुस्थितः सुप्रतिबुद्ध एतौ ।

सूरी अभूता तदनुक्रमेण ।

याभ्या गणो ऽ भू-

7. दिङ् कोटिकाह ।-

चंद्रायमभ्यामिव सुप्रकाशः ॥ ४<sup>64</sup>

तत्राभूच्चिष्णं वंद्यः । श्रीवज्रर्षिगणाधिपः ।

मूलं श्रीवज्रशाखाया । गं-

8. गाया हिमवानिव । ५<sup>61</sup>

तत्पट्टांवरदिनमणि । रुदितः श्रीवज्रसेनगुरुरासीत् ।

नागेंद्रचंद्रनिर्वृति । विद्याधरमंजुकाश्च तच्छिष्याः

9. । ६<sup>62</sup>

स्वस्वनामसमानानि । येभ्यश्चत्वारि जजिरे ।

कुलानि काममतेषु कुलं चांद्रं तु दियुते ॥ ७ [॥]<sup>63</sup>

भास्करा इव तिमिरं । हरंतः ख्याति-

10. भाजनं ।

भूरयः सूरयस्तत्र । जज्ञिरे जगतां मताः । ८ ।

वभूवुः क्रमतस्तत्र श्रीजगच्चंद्रसूरयः ।

यैस्तपाविरुदं लेभे । वाणसिद्धा ऽ हं

11. १२८५ वत्सरे ॥ ९

क्रमेणास्मिन् गणे हेम । विमलाः सूरयोभवन् ।

तत्पट्टे सूरयोभूव । नानंदविमलाभिधाः ॥ १० [॥]

साध्याचारविधिः प-

12. थः शिथिलतः सम्यक् श्रियां धाम यै ।-

रुद्धे स्तनमिद्विषायकसुधारोचिर्निभे १५८२ नेहसि ।

जोमूतैरिव यैर्जगत्पुनरिदं तापं

<sup>61</sup> Read हृदः पदं संपदां.

<sup>62</sup> Metre : Indravajrā.—Read अमतां. यास्यां.

<sup>63</sup> Metre. Anushtubh.

<sup>64</sup> Metre : Giti.

<sup>65</sup> Metre of verses 7—10: Anushtubh.—Read जज्ञिरे.

L. 13.

हरद्विभृशं ।

सन्धीकं विदधे गवां शुचितमैः स्तोमै रसोह्लासिभिः ॥ ११ ॥<sup>94</sup>  
पद्माश्रयैरलमलंक्रियते स्म तेषां ।

प्रीणन्मना-

14.

सि जगतां कमलोदयेन ।

पट्टः प्रवाह इव निर्जरनिकरिण्याः ।

शुद्धात्मभिर्विजयदानमुनीशहंसैः ॥ १२ ॥<sup>95</sup>

सौभाग्यहरिसर्व[प]-

15.

र्वहरणं<sup>96</sup> रूपं च रंभापति ।-

श्रीजैत्रं शतपत्रमित्रमहसां चीरं प्रतापं पुनः ।

येषां वीक्ष्य सनातनं मधुरिपुस्त्रःस्वामिघर्मांशवो ।

जाताः

16.

काममपत्रपाभरभृतो गोपलमाप्तास्त्रयः ॥ १३ ॥<sup>97</sup>

तत्पट्टः प्रकटः प्रकामकलितोद्योतस्तथा सौधव[त्] ।

सस्त्रैर्हैर्य[त्]राज-

17.

हीरविजयस्त्रैहप्रियैर्निर्ममे ।

सौभाग्यं महसां भरणे महतामत्यर्थमुह्लासिनां ।

विभ्राणः स यथाजनिष्ट सुदृशां कामप्र-

18.

मोदास्त्रदं ॥ १४

देशाद् गूर्जरतीय स्त्रिहृषभा आकारिताः सादर[र] ।

श्रीमत्साहिअकब्बरेण विषय<sup>98</sup> मेवातसंज्ञं शुभम् ।

शा-

19.

— — — जपाणयोवतमसं सर्वं हरंतो गवां ।

स्तोमैः सूत्रितविश्वविश्वकमलोह्लासैर्नभोर्का इव ॥ १५ ॥

चक्रुः फतेपुरम-

20.

— — — — [र्न]भौम ।

दृग् युग्मक्रोककुलमाप्तसुखं सृजंतः ।

अर्द्धेकपावकट्टपप्रमिते १६३८ स्वगोभिः ।

सोह्ला-

21.

— — — — — बुजकाननम् ये ॥ १६ ॥<sup>99</sup>

दामेवाखिलभूपमूर्धसु निजामाज्ञां सदा धारयत् ।

श्रीमान् शाहिअकब्बरो नरवरी[दिशेष्व]

22.

शेषेष्वपि ।

षण्मासाभयदानपुष्टपट्टहोद्धोषानवध्वसिनः ।

कामं कारयति स्म हृष्टहृदयो यद्वाक्कलारजितः ।<sup>100</sup><sup>94</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °द्विभृशं.<sup>95</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.—Read °निर्जरिण्याः<sup>96</sup> Read सौभाग्यं.<sup>97</sup> Metre of verses 13—15 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>98</sup> Read विषयं.<sup>99</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā<sup>100</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °ध्वसिनः । °रजित

- L. 23. ॥ १७ [॥]  
 यपुपदेशवशेन मुदं दधन्निखिलमण्डलवासिजने निजे ।  
 मृतधनं च करं च सुजीजिआभिधमकच्चरभूपतिरत्यजत्
24. ॥ १८ [॥]  
 यद्वाचा कतकाभया विमलितखांतांवुपूरः कृपा ।-  
 पूर्णः शाहिरनिंद्यनीतिवनिताक्रो [डीकृतात्मा]त्यजत् ।  
 शुक्लं त्य [क्तु]
25. [म] शक्यमन्यधरणीराजां जनप्रीतये ।  
 तद्वान्नीडजपुंजपूरुषपशूचामूसुचङ्गरिशः ॥ १९ ॥<sup>१</sup>  
 यद्वाचा<sup>२</sup> निचयैर्मुधाकृतसुधाखा [दै]
26. [र] मंदैः कृता ।-  
 ल्हादः श्रीमदकच्चरः चित्तिपतिः संतुष्टिपुष्टाशयः ।  
 त्यक्त्वा तत्कारमर्यसार्यमतुलं येषां मनःप्रीतये ।  
 जेनेभ्य-
27. : प्रददौ च तीर्यतिलकं शत्रुंजयोर्वीधरं ॥ २० [॥]  
 यद्वाग्भिर्मुदितश्चकार करुणास्फूर्ज्जनाः पौस्तकं ।  
 भांडागारमपारवाड्मय-
28. मयं वेश्मेव वाग्दैवतं ।  
 यत्संवैगभरेण भावितमतिः शाहिः पुनः प्रत्यहं ।  
 पूतात्मा बहु मन्यते भगवतां सद्दर्शनो दर्शनम् ॥ २१ [॥]
29. यद्वाचा तरणित्विषेव कलितोल्लासं मनः पंकजं ।  
 विभ्रच्छाहिअकच्चरो व्यसनधीपायोजिनी चंद्रमाः ।  
 जज्ञे आहजनीचितैश्च सुहृत्तै-
30. : सर्वेषु देशेष्वपि ।  
 ख्यातीर्हृतभक्तिभावितमतिः<sup>४</sup> श्रीश्रेणिकच्चापवत् ॥ २२ ॥  
 लुंपाकाधिपमेघजीऋषिमुखा हित्वा कुमत्याग्रह ।<sup>५</sup>  
 भेलुर्यच्च-
31. रणद्वयीमनुदिनं भृंगा इवांभोजिनीं ।  
 उल्लासं गमिता यदीयवचनैर्वैराग्र्यरंगोन्मुखै ।-  
 ज्ञाताः स्वस्वमतं विहाय बहवो लोकास्तपासं चका-
32. ॥ २३ [॥]  
 आसीच्चैत्यविधापनादिसुहृत्तत्तेषु वित्तव्ययो ।  
 भूयान् यद्वाचनेन गूर्जरधरासुखेषु देशेष्व ऽलं ।  
 यात्रां गूर्जरमालवादिकमहादेशो-
33. इवैर्भूरिभिः ।  
 संचैः सार्वमृषीश्वरा विदधिरे शत्रुंजये ये गिरौ ॥ २४ [॥]

<sup>१</sup> Read यदुपदेशं. Metre: Drutavilambita.<sup>२</sup> Metre of vv. 19-24. Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>३</sup> Read यद्वाचा.<sup>४</sup> Read विख्या<sup>०</sup><sup>५</sup> Read अग्रहं.

तत्पट्टमविविधं रम्यतमं सृजतः ।

स्तोमैर्गवां सकलसंतमसं हरतः [1]

[क]-

L. 34. तमोलसत्कुवलयप्रणया जयति [1]

स्फूर्जत्कला विजयसेनमुनीन्द्रचंद्राः । २५[II]<sup>6</sup>

यत्प्रतापस्य माहात्म्यं वर्ण्यते किमतः परं ।

अस्वप्राञ्चक्रिरे येन जीवं[तो]-

35. पि हि वादिनः । २६[II]<sup>7</sup>

सौभाग्यं विषमायुधात्कमलिनीकांताच्च तेजस्विना ।-

मैश्वर्यं गिरिजापतेः कुमुदिनीकांतात्कलामालिनां ।

माहात्म्यं ध-

36. रणीधरान्मखभुजां गांभीर्यमंभोनिधे ।-

रादार्याब्जभूः प्रभुः प्रविदधे यन्मूर्तिमेतन्मयी । २७[II]<sup>8</sup>

ये च श्रीमदकब्बरेण विनयादाकारिताः

37. सादरं ।

श्रीमन्नाभपुरं पुरंदरपुरं व्यक्तं सुपर्वीत्करैः ।

भूयोभिर्व्रतिभिर्बुधैः परिवृतो [1]वेगादलंचक्रिरे ।

सामोदं सरसं सरोरुहवनं लीलामराला

38. इव । २८[II]

अर्हंतं परमेश्वरत्वकलितं संस्थाप्य विश्वोत्तमं ।

साक्षात्साहिअकब्बरस्य सदसि स्तोमैर्गवासुयतैः ।

यैः संमोलिवलोचना<sup>9</sup> विदधिरे

39. इत्यक्षशूरैः<sup>10</sup> श्रिया ।

वादीन्मादभृतो द्विजातिपतयो भट्टा निशाटा इव ॥ २९[II]

श्रीमत्साहिअकब्बरस्य सदसि प्रोत्सर्पिभिर्भूरिभि- [1]

वादैर्बादि-

40. वरान् विजित्य समदानिर्हैर्द्विपेद्रानिव ।

सर्वज्ञाशयतुष्टिहेतुरनघो दिशुत्तरस्यां स्फुरन् ।

यैः कैलास इवोव्वलो निजयशःस्तंभो

41. निचखे महान् । ३०<sup>11</sup>[II]

दत्तसाहसधीरहीरविजयश्रीसूरिराजां पुरा ।

यच्छ्रीशहिअकब्बरेण धरणीशक्रेण तत्प्रीतये ।

तच्चलेखिलमप्यबालम-

42. तिना यत्साज्जगत्साक्षिकं [1]

तत्पत्तं फुरमाणसंज्ञमनघसर्वा<sup>11</sup> दिशो व्यानशे ॥ ३१[II]

<sup>6</sup> Vasantabīlakā.

<sup>7</sup> Anushubh.

<sup>8</sup> Metre of vv. 27-31, Śāṇḍilyavikṛitā.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'नितली'.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps meant for 'प्रत्यक्ष'.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'दत्तं', 'नघं'.

किं च गीहपभकासरकांता ।-  
कासरा यमगृहं न हि नेयाः ।  
मोच-

- L. 43. मेव सृतवित्तमशेषं [1]  
वंदिनीपि हि न च ग्रहणीयाः ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>12</sup>  
यत्कलासलिलवाहविलासप्रीतचित्ततरुणाजनतुष्ट्यै ।  
स्वीकृतं स्वयमकव्वरधात्रीस्वामि-
44. ना सकलमेतदपीह ॥ ३३ ॥  
चोलीवेगमनंदनेन वसुधाधीशेन सन्मानिता ।  
गुर्वी गूर्जरमेदिनीमनुदिनं स्वर्लोकविव्वोकिनी ।
45. सदृत्ता महसां भरेण सुभगा गाढं गुणोल्लासिनी ।  
ये हारा इव कंठमंबुजदृशां कुर्वन्ति शोभास्पदं ॥ ३४ ॥<sup>13</sup>  
इतथ ॥  
आभूरान्वय[प]-
46. झपझसवया उकेशवंशेभव ।-  
च्छेष्टी<sup>14</sup> श्रीशिवराज इत्यभिधया सौवर्षिकः पुण्यधीः ।  
तत्पुत्रोजनि सीधरश्च तनयस्तस्याभवत्पर्वतः ।  
[क]-
47. ललाटोजनि तत्सुतश्च तनुजस्तस्यापि वाघाभिधः । ३५[॥]  
तस्याभूद्वह्निआभिधश्च तनुजः ख्यातो रजाईभव ।-  
स्तस्याभूच्च सुहासिणी [ति]
48. गृहिणी पद्मेव पद्मापतः ।  
इंद्राणीसुरराजयोरिव जयः पुत्रस्तयोश्चाभव ।-  
तेजःपाल इति प्रहृष्टसुमनाः पित्रोर्मनःप्रीतिकृत् । ३६[॥]  
[का]-
49. मस्येव रतिर्हरेरिव रमा गौरीव गौरीपते ।-  
रासीत्तेजलदे इति प्रियतमा तस्याकृतिः [ — — — ] ।  
भोगश्रीसुभगो गुरौ प्रणयिनौ शश्वत्सुपर्वादरौ ।  
पौलो-
50. मोचिदशेश्वराविव सुखं तौ दंपती भेजतुः ॥ ३७ ॥  
वैराग्यवारिनिधिपूर्खनिशाकराणां ।  
तेषां च हीरविजयव्रतिसिंधुराणां ।  
सौभाग्य [भा]-
51. ग्यपरभागविभासुराणां ।  
तेषां पुनर्विजयसेनसुनीश्वराणां ॥ ३८ ॥<sup>15</sup>  
वाग्भिर्मुधाकृतसुधाभिरुदचिचेताः ।  
आदः स शोभनमना भज-

<sup>12</sup> Metre of vv. 32 and 33, Śrāgātā.

<sup>13</sup> Metre of vv. 34—36, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'च्छेष्टी'.

<sup>15</sup> Metre of vv. 38, 39: Vasantatilakā

- L. 52. ति स्म भावं [1]  
 श्रीसंघम]क्तिघनदानजिनंद्रचैत्यो-[1]  
 क्षारादिकर्मसु भृश सुकृतिप्रियेषु ॥३९॥<sup>16</sup>  
 विशेषकं ।  
 ग्रहैः प्रशस्तेहि सुपार्श्वभर्तु-
53. [र]नंतभर्तुश्च शुभां प्रतिष्ठां ।  
 सो ऽ चीकरत्षड्युगभूप १६४६ वर्षे ।  
 हर्षेण सौवर्षिकतेजपालः । ४० [॥]<sup>17</sup>  
 आदावार्षभिरत्र तीर्थतिलके शत्रुं[ज]-
54. ये ऽ चीकर ।  
 सैत्यं<sup>18</sup> शैत्यकरं दृशोर्मणिगणस्वर्णादिभिर्भासुरं ।  
 अत्रान्येपि भुजार्जितां फलवतीमुच्चैः सृजंतः श्रियं ।  
 [प्रा]-
55. सादतदनुक्रमेण बहवश्चाकारयन् भूभुजः ॥ ४२[॥]<sup>19</sup>  
 तीर्थेन साधुकरमाभिधो धनो सिद्धिसिद्धितिथि १५८८ संख्ये ।  
 चैत्यम[ची]-
56. करदुक्तेरानंदविमलसुनिराजां ॥४३॥<sup>20</sup>  
 तं वीक्ष्य जीर्णं भगवद्विहारं ।  
 स तेजपालः स्त्रहदीति दध्यौ ।  
 भावी कदा सो ऽवस-
57. रो वरीयान् ।  
 यत्रा ऽत्र चैत्यं भविता नवीनं ॥ ४४ ॥<sup>21</sup>  
 अन्येद्युः स्वगुरूपदेशशरदा कामं वलक्षोक्तत ।-  
 स्वांतांभाः स वणिग् व[र] पु-
58. रवरे श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे वसन् ।  
 तीर्थे श्रीमति तुंगतीर्थतिलके शत्रुंजयेहृहो [1]-  
 क्षारं कर्तुमना अजायततमां साफल्यमिच्छन् श्रियः । ४५[॥]<sup>22</sup>
59. अत्र स्यात् सुकृतं कृतं तनुमतां श्रेयः श्रियां कारणं ।  
 मत्स्वं निजपूर्वजव्रजमहानंदप्रमोदाप्तये ।  
 तीर्थे श्रीविमलाचलितिविमले [1]
60. मौलिर्हृतो मंदिरः ।  
 जीर्णोद्धारमकारयत्स सुकृती कुंतीतनूजन्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥  
 शृंगेण भिन्नगगनांगणमेतदुच्चै ।-  
 सैत्यं चवास्ति शि-

<sup>16</sup> Read 'जिनेन्द्र', भृश.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>18</sup> Read ऽचीकरचैत्य.<sup>19</sup> Śārdūlavikrīṭita. The figure 89 is missing : Read प्रासाद<sup>20</sup> Metre: Āryā.—Read 'नंद'.<sup>21</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>22</sup> Metre of vv. 45, 46: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

L. 61.

खरस्थितहेमकुंभं ।

हस्तेषु ५२ हस्तमितमुच्चमुपैति नाक ।-

लक्ष्मी विजितुमिव कामसखर्वगर्वी । ४७[॥]<sup>23</sup>

यत्रार्हदोकसि जितागरकुम्-

62.

भिकुंभाः ।

कुंभा विभांति शरवेदकरेंदु १२४५ संख्याः ।

किं सेवितुं प्रभुमयुः<sup>24</sup> प्रचुरप्रताप ।-

पूरैर्जिता दिनकराः कृतनैकरूपाः । ४८[॥]

63.

उन्मूलितप्रमदभूमिरुहानशेषान् ।

विश्वेषु विघ्नकरिणो युगपन्निहंतुं ।

सज्जाः स्म इत्यमभिधातुमिवेदुनेत्राः २१ ।

सिंहा विभांत्युप-

64.

गता जिनधान्नि यत्र ॥ ४९ ॥

योगिन्यो यत्र शोभन्ते चतस्रो जिनवेश्मनि ।

निपेवितुमिवाक्रांताः प्रतापैरागता दिशः । ५०[॥]<sup>25</sup>

राजन्ते च दि-

65.

शां पाला [ - १ ] यत्रा ऽ हृदालये ।

मूर्त्तिमन्त × किमायाता धर्मास्त्रयमिनाममी । ५१[॥]

द्वासप्ततिः श्रियमयन्ति जिनेन्द्रचंद्र ।-

विंशानि देवकुलि-

66.

कासु च तावतीषु ।

द्वासप्ततेः त्रितजनालिकलालतानां ।

किं कुट्सला × परिमलैर्भुवनं भरन्तः । ५२ ॥<sup>26</sup>

राजन्ति यत्र चत्वारो गवाक्षा जिनवे-

67.

श्मनि ।

विरंचेरिव वक्त्राणि विश्वाकारणहेतवे ॥ ५३ ॥<sup>27</sup>

यत्र चैत्ये विराजन्ते । चत्वारश्च तपोधनाः ।

श्रमी धर्माः किमाया-

68.

ताः । प्रभूपाख्यै वपुर्भूतः ॥ ५४ ॥

पंचाक्षिकाः श्रियमयन्ति जिनेन्द्रधान्नि ।

द्वात्रिंशदिन्द्रमणीभरजैत्ररूपाः ।

ज्ञात्वा पतीनि-

69.

हृ जिने किमु लक्षणक्ष्मा ।-

राजां प्रियो मिजनिजेशनिभालनोक्ताः ॥ ५५ ॥<sup>28</sup>

द्वात्रिंशदुत्तमतमानि च तीरणानि ॥

राजन्ति य-

<sup>23</sup> Metre of vs. 47-49: Vasantatilakā.<sup>24</sup> °युः visible on the reverse.<sup>25</sup> Metre of vs. 60: 51: Anushtubh.<sup>26</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>27</sup> Metre of vs. 53, 54: Anushtubh.<sup>28</sup> Metre of vs. 55, 56: Vasantatilakā.



L. 70. च जिनधाम्नि मनोहराणि ।

किं तीर्थकृद्दशनलक्ष्मिस्तुगेक्षणाना ।-  
मंदोलनानि सरलानि सुखासनानि ॥ ५६ ॥  
गजाशतु-

71. विंशतिर ऽ द्वितुगा ।  
विभांति शस्ता जिनधाम्नि यत्र ।  
देवाश्चतुर्विंशतिरीशभक्त्यै ।  
किमागताः कुञ्जररूपभाजः ॥ ५७ ॥<sup>29</sup>  
स्त-

72. भाश्चतुस्सप्ततिर ऽ द्विराजो ।-  
तुंगा विभांतीह जिनेन्द्रचैत्ये ।  
दिशाम ऽ धीशैः सह सर्व्व इन्द्रा ।-  
× किमासभक्त्यै ससुपेयिवांसः ॥ ६८ ॥

73. ॥ ५८ ॥  
रम्यं नंदपयोधिभूपति १६४८ मिते वर्षे सुखीत्कर्पकृत् ।  
साहाय्याद् जसुठकुरस्य सुकतारासैकपायोमुचः ॥  
प्राप्ता (1)-

74. दं वक्षिआसुतेन सुधिया शचंजये कारितं ॥  
दृष्ट्वा ऽ द्वापदतीर्थचैत्यतुलितं केषां न चित्ते रतिः ॥ ५९ ॥<sup>30</sup>  
चैत्यं चतुर्णामिव धर्म-

75. मेदिनी ॥-  
भुजां गृहं प्रोणितविश्वविष्टपम् ॥  
शत्रूजयोर्व्वीभृति नदिं वर्धना ।-  
ऽ भिधं सदा यच्छतु वांछितानि वः ॥ ६० ॥<sup>31</sup>  
[ - ]

76. यः प्रभाभरविनिर्मितनेत्रशैत्ये ।  
चैत्ये ऽ च भूरिर ऽ भवद् विभवव्ययो यः ।  
ज्ञात्वा वदंति मनुजा इति तेजपालं ॥  
क-

77. ल्पद्रुमत्ययमनेन धनव्ययेन । ६१ ॥<sup>32</sup>  
शत्रुंजये गगनवाणकला १६५० मिते ऽ व्दे ।  
यात्रां चकार सुकताय स तेजपा ।-

78. लः ॥  
चैत्यस्य तस्य सुदिने गुरुभिः प्रतिष्ठा ॥  
चक्रो च हीरविजया ऽभिधस्त्रिसिंहैः ॥ ६२ ॥  
मार्त्तण्डमंडलमिवांबुरुहं

<sup>29</sup> Metre of vs. 57, 58 : Upajāti.

<sup>30</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrāṇita.

<sup>31</sup> Metre: Upajāti of Indravamsā and Vamśastha.

<sup>32</sup> Metre of vs. 61, 63 : Vasantatilakā.

L. 79.

समूहः ॥

पीयूषरश्मिमिव नीरनिधेः प्रवाहः ।

केकिव्रजः सलिलवाहमिवाऽ तितुंगं ।

चैत्यं निरीक्ष्य मुदमेति जनः

80.

समस्तः ॥ ६३ ॥ छ

चैत्यं चारु चतुर्मुखं कृतसुखं श्रीरामजीकारितं ।

प्रोत्तुंगं जसुठकुरेण विहितं चैत्यं द्वितीयं शुभं ।

रम्यं कुञ्ज-

81.

रजीविनिर्मितमऽ ॥ भूचैत्यं तृतीयं पुन ।-

मूलयेष्टिकृतं निकामसुभगं चैत्यं चतुर्थं तथा ॥ ६४ ।<sup>33</sup>

एभिर्विश्वविसारिभिर्द्युतिभरैर-

82.

त्यर्थसंसूत्रितोद ।-

द्योतो दिक्ष्णऽ खिलासु निर्जरपतिः स्वर्लोकापालैरिव ।

श्रीशत्रुंजयशैलमौलिमुकुटं चैत्यैश्चतुर्भिर्यु-

83.

तः ॥

प्रासादोऽ गिमनोवि ॥ नोदकमल्लाचैत्यं चिरं नंदतु ॥ ६५ ॥

वस्ताभिधस्य वरसूत्रधरस्य शिल्पं ॥

चैत्यं चिरादिदमुदीक्ष्य

84.

निरीक्षणीयं ।

शिल्पत्वमिच्छति ॥ कलाकलितोपि विश्व ।-

कर्मस्य शिल्पिपटले भवितुं प्रसिद्धः ॥ ६६ ।<sup>34</sup>

सदाचाराधीनां कमलविज-

85.

याह्वानसुधियां ।

पदहंहांभोजभ्रमरसदृशो हेमविजयः ।

अलंकारैराख्यां स्त्रियमिव शुभां यां विहितवान् ।

प्रशस्तिः श[स्त्रे]

86.

पा अगति चिरकालं विजयतां ॥ ६७ ।<sup>35</sup>

इति सौवर्षिकसाहस्रीतेजःपालोद्भूतविमलाचल-

[पट्ट] नय्रीआदीशमूलप्रासादप्रशस्तिः [न्य]य-<sup>36</sup>

87.

बुधसहजसागराणां । विनेयजयसागरीऽ लिखद्वर्णे ।

शिल्पिभ्यामुत्कीर्णा । माधवनानाभिधानाभ्यां ॥ ६८ ॥<sup>37</sup>No. XIII.<sup>38</sup>

L. 1. ॥ ओं ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १६५२ वर्षे मार्गे वदि २ सोमवासरे पुष्यनक्षत्रे निष्प्रतिमसं  
वेगवेरा-

2. निःसृहतादिगुणरंजितेन सहिःश्रीअकवरनरेद्रेण प्रतिवर्षं पाश्चासिकसकलजंतुजाता-

<sup>33</sup> Metre of vs. 64, 65 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read 'त्रि'.

<sup>34</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.

<sup>35</sup> Metre : Śikharipī.

<sup>36</sup> Read 'य'.

<sup>37</sup> Metre : Āryā beginning with बुध°.

<sup>38</sup> Round a pair of Pādukas in a small temple to the west of Ādisvara Bhagavāna temple :—*Lists of Ant. Rem.*, p. 198, No. 119.—J. B.

3. भयदानप्रवर्त्तनसर्वकालीनगवादिवधनिवर्त्तनजीजिआदिकरमोचनमुंडका-
4. भिधानकरमोचनपूर्वकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थसमर्पणादिपुरस्सरं प्रदत्तबहु २ मानानां नानादे-
5. शीयसंघसमुदायेन सह श्रीशत्रुंजये कृतयात्राणां जगद्विख्यातमहिमपात्राणां सं० १६५२ व-
6. र्घं भाद्र सितैकादश्यां उन्नतदुर्गे अनशनपूर्वकं महोत्सवेन साधितोत्तमार्थानां तपागच्छा-  
धिराजभट्टा
7. श्रीहीरविजयसूरीणां पादुकाः कारिं स्तंभतीर्थीय सं उदयकरणेन प्रभं
8. श्रीविजयसेनसूरिभिः ॥ महोपाध्याय श्रीकल्याणविजयगणयः पं धनविजय-
9. — णिभ्यां स[ढ]प्रणमंति ॥ एताश्च भ[वा]
10. [ — — रा] राध्यमानाश्चिरं
11. [ नंदं ] तु ॥ ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. XIV.<sup>39</sup>

- L. 1. १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्ले संघवालगे-
2. चो<sup>40</sup> काचरसंताने सां केल्हा पुत्र सां धन्ना
3. पुं नरसिंघ पुं कुंअरा पुं नच्छा भार्या नव-
4. रंगदे पुं सुरताण भार्या सैदूरदे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुं-
5. यतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक<sup>41</sup>-
6. सप्तज्ञेचोत्सववित्त सां पेतसी भां सोभागदे
7. पुं पद्मसी भार्या प्रेमलदे पुं इंद्रजी भार्या [आ]
8. ° वीरमदे द्वितीयपुत्र सोमसी खलघुपुत्र सां
9. विमलसी भार्या लाडिमदे पुत्र पोमसी द्वितीय-
10. भार्या विमलादे पुत्र दूजणसी पोमसी भार्या
11. केसरदे पुत्र विं डूंरसी प्रमुखपुत्रपौत्र-
12. पौत्रपरिवारसहितेन चतुर्मुखविहारपूर्वा-
13. भिमुखस्थाने — — — देवगृहिका कुटुब-
14. श्रेयोर्थ<sup>42</sup> कारिता श्रीहृत्खरतरगच्छाधिराज-
15. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरिपट्टालंकारक[°]
16. शत्रुंजयाष्टमोद्वारप्रतिष्ठाकारकश्रीजिनराज-
17. सूरिसूरि[समाजराजायि]राजैः <sup>43</sup>[॥]

No. XV.<sup>44</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ सं १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ तिथौ शुक्लवारि सुरताणनूरदीनजहांगीरसत्ताद्विजयिरान्ये ॥ श्रीः
2. अहमदावास्तव्याग्रय टच्चातीयलघुशाखाप्रदीपक सं माईआ भार्या नाक् पुत्र सं जोगी भार्या  
जसमादे
3. पुत्ररत्न सकलसुखवक्तव्यताकरणविहितयत्न सं सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्र संघपति  
रूपजीकेन भाया

<sup>39</sup> On the shrine door of the temple of Pundarik in front of the Chaumukha temple in the Kharataravasi Tunk; *Lists*, p. 205, No. 312.—J. B.

<sup>40</sup> Read °जोचे.

<sup>41</sup> Read °शत्रुंजय°.

<sup>42</sup> Read कुटुब°.

<sup>43</sup> Read °राजाधि°.

<sup>44</sup> Round *pādukas* in a small temple in the north-west of the Kharataravasi Tunk; Lines 1, 2 and 3, are on the south, west and north sides respectively, and 4—6 on the east. *Lists*, p. 206, No. 320.—J. B.

- L. 4. जेठी पुत्र चि° उदयवंत वाई कोडिकुंअरिप्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन खयंकारितसप्राकारअ-  
 5. विमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकअयुगादिदेवप्रतिष्ठायां श्रीआदिनाथ-  
 पादुके परमप्रमोदाय  
 6. कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते च श्रीहृत्खरतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिशिरस्त्रिलकैः ॥ प्रणमति  
 भुवनकीर्त्तिगणिः ॥

No. XVI.<sup>45</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सुदि १३ शुक्ले ॥ असवालज्ञातीयलोढागोचीय सा° रायमल्ल भार्या  
 2. रंगादे पुत्र सा° जयवंत भार्या जयवंतदे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मकारकश्रीशत्रुंजययात्रा  
 3. विधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलक सं° राजसीकेन भार्या कसुंभदेव तुरंगदे पु° अपयराज भार्या अह-  
 4. कारदे  
 5. पु° अजयराज स्वभ्रातृ सं° अमीपाल भार्या गूजरदे पु° वीरधवल भा° [ज]गतादे स्वलघुभ्रा-  
 6. तृ सं° वीरपाल भार्या लीलादे प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन श्रीआदिनाथपादुके कारिते प्रतिष्ठिते  
 युगप्रधानश्रीजि[न]  
 7. सिंहसूरिपट्टोद्योतकश्रीजिनराजसूरिभिः श्रीशत्रुंजयोद्धारप्रतिष्ठायां[१] श्रीहृत्खरतरगच्छाधि-  
 राजैः ॥

No. XVII.<sup>46</sup>

- L. 1. स° १६७५ मिते सुरताणनूरदोजहंगीरसवाईविजयिराव्ये साहिजादासुरताणपोस[डू] प्रवरे  
 श्रीराजी  
 2. नगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअहम्मदावास्तव्यलघुशाखाप्रकट-  
 प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° देवराज भार्या  
 3. [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से° राजा पुत्र सं° साईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र सं° जोग  
 भार्या जसमादे पुत्ररत्न श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तश्रीसंघपतितिलकनवीनजिनभ-  
 वनविंवप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवात्सल्यादिधर्मक्षेत्रो-  
 4. मस्ववित्त सं° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे कुत्तिरत्न राजसभाशृंगार सं° [डू]पजीकेन पितृव्य सं° शिव।  
 स्वहृद्भ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुंदर[दास] सपर लघुभ्रातृ श्रीमजी पुत्र रविजी स्वभार्या जेठी पु° उदय-  
 वंत पितामह भ्रातृ सं° नाथा पुत्र सं° सूरजी प्रमुखसारपरिवारसहितेन  
 5. खयंसमुद्धारितसप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारहारश्रीआदिना-  
 थविंव कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवपट्टानुपट्टाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीउद्योतनसूरि  
 श्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्र-  
 6. [सू] रि नवांगहत्तिकारकश्रीस्तंभनकपार्श्वनाथप्रकटकश्रीअभयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरि देव-  
 ताप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनदत्तसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनपत्तिसूरि श्रीजिनेश्वरसूरि  
 श्रीजिनप्रबोधसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनकुशलसूरि श्रीजिनपद्मसूरि श्री-  
 7. जिनलक्ष्मिसूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनोदयसूरि श्रीजिनराजसूरि श्रीजिनभद्रसूरि श्रीजिन-  
 चंद्रसूरि श्रीजिनसमुद्रसूरि श्रीजिनहंससूरि श्रीजिनमाणिक्यसूरि दिह्नीपतिपातसाहि-  
 श्रीअकबरप्रतिबोधकतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिका-

<sup>45</sup> Round a second pair of feet in the same temple; Line 1 on the south, 2 on the west, 3 and 4 on the south, and 5-7 on the east.

<sup>46</sup> In the Gaumukha shrine, at the entrance of the great temple in the Kharataravasi Tunk,—*Lists*, p. 205, No. 310.

L. 8. मारिप्रवर्त्तावककुंयित<sup>47</sup> जहांगीरसाहिरंजकतत्सुमंडलबहिःकृतमाधुरच्छकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्र-  
सूरि मंत्रिकर्मचंद्रकारितसपादकोटिवित्तव्ययरूपनंदिमहोत्सवप्रकारकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीअ-  
कवरसाहिमनःकमलभ्रमरानुकारकवर्षावधिजल<sup>48</sup>

9. जलजंतुजातघातनिर्वर्त्तक<sup>49</sup> श्रीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तकसकलविद्याप्रधानजहांगी-  
रनूरदीमहम्मदपातिसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टालंकारकश्रीअंबिकावरधारकतद्वलवाचित-  
घंघाणिपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्ति [व —]-

10. तरबोहित्यवंशोय सा<sup>50</sup> धर्मसीधारलदेदारकचतुःशाखपारीणधुरीणशृंगारकभट्टारकहंदारकश्रीजिन-  
राजसूरिसूरिशिरो[मुकुटः] ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोम महोपाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय  
श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं<sup>51</sup> आनंदकीर्त्ति खलघुसहोदर वा<sup>52</sup> [भद्र]

11. [सिनादिसत्परिकरैः ॥]

### No. XVIII.<sup>53</sup>

L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६७५ प्रमिते सुरताणनूरदीजहांगीरसवार्द्धविजयिराज्ये

2. साहिजादासुरताणघोस[रु]प्रवरे राजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताणपुरमे ॥ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले । श्री

3. अहम्मदावादावास्तव्यप्राग्वटज्ञातीय से<sup>54</sup> देवराज भार्या [रु]डी पुत्र से<sup>55</sup> गोपाल भा<sup>56</sup> राजू पु<sup>57</sup> से<sup>58</sup>  
राजा पु<sup>59</sup> सार्द्धआ भा<sup>60</sup> नाजू पु<sup>61</sup> सं<sup>62</sup> जोयी भार्या जसमादे पुचरत्न श्रीशृंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघ-  
तितिल-

4. कनवीनजिनभवनविंवप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिकवात्सल्यादिधर्मनेत्रोत्सवित्त सं<sup>63</sup> सोमजी भार्या राजलदे  
कुन्निरत्न संघपति [रु]पजीकेन पितृव्य सं<sup>64</sup> शिवा खड्गभ्रातृ रत्नजी सुत सुंदरदास सपर लघुभ्रातृ धीमजी  
पुत्र रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ सं<sup>65</sup> नाथा पुत्र सू-

5. रजी खपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिहतेन स्वयंसमुवृतसंप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसार-  
चतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारश्रीआदिनाथविंव कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीउद्यो-  
तनसूरि श्रीवर्द्धमानसूरि वसतिमार्गप्रकाशकश्रीजिनेश्वर-

6. सूरि श्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि नवांगहत्तिकारकश्रीस्तंभनकपार्श्वप्रकटकश्रीअभयदेवसूरि श्रीजिनवल्लभसूरि  
युगप्रधानश्रीजिनदत्तसूरिया[पा]द श्रीजिनभद्रसूरिया[पा]द श्रीअकवरप्रतिबोधकतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधार-  
कसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकासारिपालकषाण्णसिकाभय-

7. दानदायकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि मंत्रिकर्मचंद्रकारितश्रीअकवरसाहिसमक्षसपादशतलक्षवित्तव्यय-  
रूपनंदिमहोत्सववि [स्तार] विहितकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारमधुरतरातिशायिस्ववचनचातुरीरंजिनाने<sup>66</sup>  
कहिंदूकतुरष्काधिपतिश्रीअकवरसाहिश्रीका-

8. स्त्रीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकवर्षावधिजलधिजलजंतुजातघातनिवर्त्तावकसुरता-  
णनूरदीजहांगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टप्रभाकरसमुपलब्धश्रीअंबिकावरबोहि-  
त्यश्रीय<sup>67</sup> सा<sup>68</sup> धर्मसीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकचक्र-<sup>69</sup>

9. चक्रवर्तिभट्टारकशिरस्त्रिलोकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजैः श्रीहृत्स्वरतरंगच्छाधिराजैः ॥ आचार्य  
श्रीजिनसागरसूरि पं<sup>70</sup> आनंदकीर्त्ति खलघुभ्रातृ वा<sup>71</sup> भद्रसिनादिसत्परिकरैः [॥]

<sup>47</sup> Probably °कुयित.

<sup>48</sup> Read °जलधि°.

<sup>49</sup> Read °निव°.

<sup>50</sup> In the shrine of the great Chaumukha temple (No. 310)

on the south image.—J. B.

<sup>51</sup> Read रंजिता°.

<sup>52</sup> Read वंशीय°.

<sup>53</sup> Dele चक्र°.

No. XIX.<sup>64</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ मिते सुरताण्णूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहियादासुरताण्णोस[डू]प्र-

2. वरे राजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताण्णपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअहम्मादावादवास्तव्यप्राग्वा-  
टज्ञातीय से° देवराज मा°

3. [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से° राजा पुत्र से° साईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र से° जोगो  
भार्या जसमादे पु° श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानमंप्राप्तसंघपतितिलकनवीनजिनभवनविंवसाधार्मिकवात्स-  
ल्यादिधर्मजेतो-

4. मस्ववित्त से° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न संघपति [डू]पजीतेन [°केन] पितृव्य शिवालालजी  
खड्गभ्रातृरत्न रत्नजी सुं [दरदास] खलधुभ्रातृ पीमजी सुत रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ से° नाथा पुत्र सूरज  
सपुत्र उदयवंत प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंसमुद्धारित-

5. सप्राकारश्रीविमलाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारहारश्रीआदिनाथविंव कारितं प्रति-  
ष्ठितं च श्रीमहावीरदेवाविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीवृहत्खरतरगच्छाधिराजश्रीअकवरसाहिप्रतिबोधकतत्त्वदत्त-  
युगप्रधानविरुद्धधारकपाण्मासिकाभय-

6. दानदायकसकलदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि मंत्रिमुख्यकर्मचंद्रकारितश्री-  
अकवरसाहिसमक्षमपादशतलक्षवित्तव्ययरूपनदिपदमहोत्सवविस्तारविहितकठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारमधु-  
रतरातिशयिस्ववचनचातुरीरंजिताने-

7. कहिंदूकतुरष्कराधिपश्रीअकवरसाहिश्रीकारश्रीपुरगोलकुंडागज्जणाप्रमुखदेशामारिप्रवर्त्तावकवषाव-  
धिलजधिलजंतुजातघातनिर्व<sup>65</sup>र्त्तावकसुरताण्णूरदीजहांगीरसवाईप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारकसकलविद्याप्रधान-  
नयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टप्रभाक<sup>66</sup>

8. श्रीअंविक्कावरप्रवाचितवंधाणीपुरप्रकटितचिरंतनप्रतिमाप्रशस्तिवर्णांतरबोहित्य[वं]शीय सा° धर्म-  
सोधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकशिरोमणिश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिपुरंदरैः ॥ आचार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि श्रीजयसोममहो-  
पाध्याय श्रीगुणविनयोपाध्याय श्रीधर्मनिधानोपाध्याय पं° आनंद-

9. कीर्त्ति खलधुभ्रातृ वा° भद्रसेन पं° राजधोर पं° भुवनराजादिसत्परिकरैः [॥]

No. XX.<sup>67</sup>

L. 1. संवत् १६७५ प्रमिते ॥ सुरताण्णूरदीजहांगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये साहिजादा-

2. सुरताण्णोस[रू] प्रवरे श्रीराजनगरे सोवइसाहियानसुरताण्णपुरमे वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले श्रीअह-

3. म्मादावादवास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से° देवराज भार्या [डू]डी पुत्र से° गोपाल भार्या राजू पुत्र से-  
राजा पु° से° साईआ भार्या नाकू

4. पुत्र से° जोगो भार्या जसमादे पुत्र श्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थयात्राविधानसंप्राप्तसंघपतिपदवीकनवीन-  
जिनभवनविंवप्रतिष्ठासाधर्मिवात्सल्यादिसत्कर्मधर्मकारक से° सोमजी भार्या राजलदे पुत्ररत्न संघपति  
[डू]पजीकेन भार्या जेठी पुत्र

5. उदयवंत पितृव्य से° शिवा खड्गभ्रातृ रत्नजी पुत्र सुंदरदास सघर खलधुभ्रातृ पीमजी सुत  
रविजी पितामहभ्रातृ से° नाथा पुत्र [सें]° सूरजी प्रमुखपरिवारसहितेन स्वयंकारितसप्राकारश्रीविम-  
लाचलोपरि मूलोद्धारसारचतुर्मुखविहारशृंगारकश्रीआदि-

<sup>64</sup> In the same on the west image.—J. B.

<sup>65</sup> Read निर°.

<sup>66</sup> Read °भाकर.

<sup>67</sup> In the same, on the north image.—J. B.

6. नाथविंशं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवीरतीर्थकराविच्छिन्नपरंपरायातश्रीहृत्खरतरगच्छाधिप-  
श्रीश्रकवरसाहिप्रतिबोधकतद्वत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकसकलदेशाष्टाक्रिकामारिप्रवर्त्तावकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिन-  
चंद्रसूरि श्रीश्रकवर-

7. साहिरंजकविविधजीवदयालाभयाहकसुरताणनरदीजहांगीरसवाईप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकयुग-  
प्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टविभूषणबोहित्यवंसीय<sup>58</sup>सा° धर्मसीधारलदेनंदनभट्टारकचक्रचूडामणिश्रीजिनराज-  
सूरिसूरिदिनमणिभिः ॥ आ-

8. चार्य श्रीजिनसागरसूरि पं° आनंदकीर्त्ति खलघुसहोदर वा° भद्रसेनादिसत्परिकरैः ॥

No. XXI.<sup>59</sup>

L. 1. श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीवत्सभर्त्तापि न विष्णुश्चतुराननः ।

न ब्रह्मा यो वृषांकोपि न रुद्रः स जिनः श्रिये ॥ १ ॥<sup>60</sup>

संवत्

2. १६७५ वर्षे शाके १५४१ प्रवर्त्तमाने ।

समग्रदेशशृंगार । हल्लारतिलकोपमम् ।

अनेकेभ्यगृहाकीर्त्ति । नवीनपुरसु-

3. त्तमं ॥ २ ॥

अभंलिहविहाराय । ध्वजांशुकहृतातपम् ।

रूप्यस्वर्णमणिव्याप्त । चतुष्पथविराजितम् । ३ । युग्मम्

तत्र राजा

4. [प्र] शास्ति श्रीजसवंताभिधो नृपः ।

यामश्रीशत्रुशल्याहकुलावरनभोमणिः । ४ ।

यत्प्रतापाग्निसंतापसंतप्त इव ताप-

5. नः ।

निर्माति जलधौ नित्यमुन्मज्जननिमज्जने । ५ । युग्मं ।

वभूवुः श्रीमहावीरपट्टानुक्रमभूषणाः ।

श्रीश्रंचलगणा-

6. तीशा आर्यरक्षितसूरयः । ६ ।

तत्पट्टपंकजादित्याः सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः ।

श्रीधर्मधीयसूरीन्द्रा महेंद्रास्त्रिंहसूरयः<sup>61</sup>

7. । ७ ।

श्रीसिंहप्रभसूरीशाः सूरयो ऽजितसिंहकाः ।

श्रीमहेंद्रसूरीशाः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः । ८ ।

श्रीसिंहतिलकाह्वाञ्च श्रीम-

8. [हें]द्रप्रभाभिधाः ।

श्रीमंतो मेरुतुंगाख्या वभूवुः सूरयस्ततः ॥ ८ ॥

<sup>58</sup> Read 'श्रीय.

<sup>59</sup> On the north wall of a temple near the Hātīpola, in the Vimalavasi Tūāk: *Lids*, p. 201. No. 234.—J. B.

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>61</sup> Probably महेंद्रसि°.

समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः स्मरित्रीजयकीर्तयः ।

तत्पदेय सुसाधुत्री-

- L. 9. जयकेशरिसूरयः । १० ।  
 श्रीसिद्धांतसमुद्राख्यसूरयो भूरिकीर्तयः ।  
 भावसागरसूरीन्द्रास्ततो ऽभूवन् गणाधिपाः ॥ ११ ॥  
 श्री-
10. मद्गुणनिधानाख्यसूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् ।  
 युगप्रधानाः श्रीमंतः स्मरित्रीधर्ममूर्तयः । १२ ।  
 तत्पद्मोदयशैलाग्रप्रोद्यत्तरणिसं-
11. निभाः ।  
 जयंति स्मरिराजः श्री । युजः कल्याणसागराः । १३ ।  
 श्रीनव्यनगरे वासु । पकेशज्ञातिभूषणः ।  
 इभ्यः श्रीह-
12. रपालाह आसील्लालणगोत्रकः । १४ ।  
 हरीयाख्यो ऽथ तत्पुत्रः सिंहनामा तदंगजः ।  
 उदेसीत्यथ तत्पुत्रः पर्वताह्वस-
13. तो ऽभवत् । १५ ।  
 वच्छ्रनामा ऽथ तत्पत्नी चामूढाकलदेविका ।  
 तत्कुक्षिमानसे हंसतुल्यो ऽथा ऽमरसंज्ञकः । १६ ।  
 लिंग-
14. देवीति तत्पत्नी तदौरस्यास्त्रयो वराः ।  
 जयंति श्रीवर्द्धमानचांपसीपद्मसिंहकाः । १७ ।  
 अतः परं विशेषतः साहिवर्द्धमान-
15. साहिवर्द्धमानसिंहयोर्वर्षनम् ।  
 गांभीर्येण समुद्राभी दानेन धनदोपमौ ।  
 अद्वालुगुणसंपूर्णौ बोधिना श्रेणिको-
16. पमौ । १८ ।  
 प्राप्तश्रीयामभूपालसमाजबहुलादरौ ।  
 मंत्रिश्रीवर्द्धमानश्रीपद्मसिंहौ सहोदरौ । १९ ।  
 महेला वर्द्ध-
17. मानस्य । वन्नादेवीति विस्तृता ।  
 तदंगजाबुभौ ख्यातौ । वीराख्यविजपालकौ । २० ।  
 वर्षिणी पद्मसिंहस्य । रत्नगर्भा
18. सुजाणदे ।  
 श्रीपालकंपालाह्वरणमत्तास्तदंगजाः । २१ ।  
 एवं स्वतंत्रयुक्ताभ्या । मनलोत्सवपूर्वकम् ।  
 साहिश्रीवमादनश्री-



- L. 19. पद्मसीम्यां प्रथादरात् । २२  
 प्रागुक्तवत्सरं रम्ये । साधवार्जुनपत्नके ।  
 रोहिणीभृतृतीयायां बुधवासरसंयुजि
20. । २३ ।  
 श्रीशान्तिनाथमुख्यानां । जिनानां चतुरत्तरा ।  
 द्विशती प्रतिमा ह्यद्या । भारिताश्च प्रतिष्ठिताः । २४ ।  
 युग्मम् ।
21. पुनर्निजबहुद्रव्य । सफलीकरणकृते ।  
 श्रीनव्यनगरं ऽकारि । प्रासादः शैलसंनिभः । २५ ।  
 हासप्रतिजिनी-
22. कोभिर्ज्ञेष्टितश्च चतुर्भुजैः ।  
 कैलाशपर्वतोत्तंगैर । शोभिः शोभितो ऽभितः । २६ ।  
 युग्मम् ॥  
 साहिश्री-
23. पद्ममिहेना ऽकारि शत्रुञ्जयोपरि ।  
 उत्तुंगतीरणः श्रीमान् । प्रासादः शिखरोन्नतः । २७ ।  
 यं दृष्ट्वा भविकाः स-
24. वै । चिंतयन्ति स्वचेतसि ।  
 उच्चैर्भूतः किमेषोद्वि । दृश्यते ऽभ्रंलिहो यतः । २८ ।  
 येन श्रीतीर्थराजोयं राजते सा-
25. वर्तंसकः ।  
 प्रतिमाः स्थापितास्तत्र श्रीश्रेयांसमुखा ऽर्हताम् । २९ ॥  
 तथा च । संवत् १६७६ वर्षे फाल्गुन सित द्वि-
26. तीयायां तिथौ दैत्यगुरुवासरे रेवतीनक्षत्रे श्रीमतो नव्यनगरात् साहिश्रीपद्मसीकेन श्रीभरतचक्र-
27. वर्त्तिनिर्मितसंघसदृशं महासंघं कृत्वा श्रीअंचलगणाधीश्वरभट्टारकपुरंदरयुगप्रधानपूज्यराज-
28. श्री ५ श्रीकल्याणसागरसूरीश्वरैः सार्धं श्रीविमलगिरितोर्थवरे समेत्य स्वयंकारितश्रीशत्रुञ्जय-  
 गिरिशि-
29. रः प्रासादे समहोत्सवं श्रीश्रेयांसप्रमुखजिनेश्वराणां संति विंवानि स्थापितानि ॥  
 सङ्घिः पूज्यमानानि
30. चिरं नदंतु ।  
 यावद्विभाकरनिशाकरभूधरार्थरत्नाकरभुवधराः किल जायन्तीह ।  
 श्रेयांसनाथजिनमंदिरमत्र ता-
31. वन्नंदत्वनेकभविकौघनिषेव्यमानम् [म्] । १ ।<sup>62</sup>  
 वाचकश्रीविनयचंद्रगणीनां शिष्यमुदेव सागरेण विहिता प्रशस्तिः [॥]

No. XXII.<sup>63</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सुदि  
 2. १३ तिथी शुक्रवारे श्रीमदंचलग-  
 3. च्छाधिराजपूज्यश्रीधर्ममूर्तिसूरि-  
 4. तत्पट्टालंकारसूरिप्रधाने युगप्र-  
 5. धानपूज्यश्रीकल्याणसागरसू-  
 6. रिविजयिराज्ये श्रीश्रीमालोज्ञा ।-  
 7. तीयभ्रमदावाद्वास्तव्य साह  
 8. भवान भार्या राजलदे पुत्र साह ।  
 9. प्रोमजी सुपजी द्वाभ्यामेका देह ।-  
 10. री कारापिता विमलाचले चतुर्मुखे [॥]

No. XXIII.<sup>64</sup>

- L. 1. [सं]<sup>०</sup> १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले सुरताणनूरदीजहंगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये ॥ श्रीराजनगर  
 वास्तव्यप्राग्वाटज्ञा-  
 2. तीय से<sup>०</sup> देवराज भार्या [रू]डी पुत्र से<sup>०</sup> गोपाल भार्या राजू सुत राजा पुत्र से<sup>०</sup> साईआ भार्या नाकू  
 पुत्र से<sup>०</sup> नाया भार्या ना-  
 3. रिंगदे पुत्ररत्न से<sup>०</sup> सूरजीकेन भार्या सुपमादे पुत्रायित इंद्रजी सहितेन श्रीशांतिनग्यं चवं कारितं  
 प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवृहत्खरतर[ग]-  
 4. च्छाधिराजश्रीअकवरपातसाहिभूपालप्रदत्तपाणसासिकाभयदानतत्प्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकसक-  
 लदेशाष्टाङ्गिकामा<sup>६५</sup> — — — — —  
 5. युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि पट्टोद्दीपककठिनकाश्मीरादिदेशविहारकारकश्रीअकवरसाहचित्तरंज-  
 नप्रपालितश्रीपुरगे — — — — —  
 6. प्रमुखदेशामारिजहंगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानपदधारिश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टोदयकारकभट्टारकशि-  
 रोरत्नश्रीजिनरा[जसूरि] — — —

No. XXIV.<sup>66</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६७५ वैशाख सित १३ शुक्ले सुरताणनूरदीजहंगीरसवाईविजयिराज्ये श्रीराजनगरवास्तव्य  
 2. प्राग्वाटज्ञातीय से<sup>०</sup> साईआ भार्या नाकू पुत्र से<sup>०</sup> जोगी भार्या जसमादे पुत्र विविधपुण्यकर्मोपा-  
 र्जक से<sup>०</sup> सोमजी ।  
 3. भार्या राजलदे पुं से<sup>०</sup> रतनजी भार्या सृजाणदे पुत्र २ सुंदरदाससपराभ्यां पितृनाम्ना श्रीशांति-  
 नायविंशं कारितं प्रतिष्ठितं च श्री-  
 4. वृहत्खरतरगळे युगप्रधानश्रीजिनचंद्रसूरि जहंगीरसाहिप्रदत्तयुगप्रधानविरुद्धारकश्रीअकवर-  
 साहचित्तरंजककठिनका[र]-  
 5. [र]मीरादिदेशविहारकारकयुगप्रधानश्रीजिनसिंहसूरि पट्टालंकारकवोहित्यवंशशृंगारकभट्टारक-  
 हंसारकश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिसगराजैः [॥]

<sup>63</sup> In a cell or chapel attached to the north-east corner of the great Âdisvara temple, close to that in which are Nos. vi and vii.—J.B.

<sup>64</sup> In the Khartaravasi Tank, immediately to the north-east of the great Chaumukha temple, on the base of the image; *Lists*, p. 206, No. 333.—J. B.

<sup>65</sup> Probably "मारि".

<sup>66</sup> In the Khartaravasi Tank in a temple fronting that containing No. xxiii, to the south-east of the great Chaumukha on the base of the image; *Lists*, p. 205, No. 316.—J. B.

No. XXV.<sup>67</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६७६ वर्षे वैशाखासित ६ शुक्ले लघुशाखीयश्री ।-  
 2. श्रीमालिङ्गातीय मन्त्रिजीवा भार्या बाई रंगाई सुत मन्त्रिख[व]।-  
 3. [स]वाक्काकेन भार्या बाई गंगाई प्रमुखकुटुंबयुतेन अ[ष्ट] ।  
 4. [भ]ण्णसालीशिवजीप्रसादात् स्वयंप्रतिष्ठापितश्रीविमलना-  
 5. थदेवकुलं कारितं ॥ श्रीमत्तपागणगगनांगणगगनमणि[स]-  
 6. [मा] नभद्वारकश्रीविजयसेनसूरीश्वरपट्टालंकारभट्टारक ।  
 7. [श्री] विजयदेवसूरीश्वरविजयिराज्ये ॥

यावद्देवगिरिर्भाति

8. ॥ यावत् शत्रुंजयाचलः ॥  
 तावद्देवकुलं जीयात् । श्रीवाक्काकेन  
 9. कारितं ॥ १ ॥ श्री : ॥

No. XXVI.<sup>68</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ नमः श्रीमारुदेवादिवर्द्धमानांततीर्थकराणां श्रीपुंडरीकाद्यगौतम-  
 2. स्वामिपथ्यैर्भ्यो गणधरेभ्यः सभ्यजनैः पूज्यमानेभ्यः सेव्यमानेभ्यश्च संवत् ।  
 3. १६८२ ज्येष्ठ वदि १० शुक्ले श्रीजिसलमेरुवास्तव्योपकेशवंशीयभांडशालिके  
 4. सुश्रावककर्तव्यताप्रवीणधुरीण सा° श्रीमत्त भार्या चापलदे पुत्र पवित्र चरित्र ।  
 5. लोद्वपापत्तनकारितजीर्णोद्धारविहारमंडनश्रीचिंतामणिनामपार्श्वनाथाभिराम-  
 6. प्रतिष्ठाविधायकप्रतिष्ठासमयार्हसुवर्णलभनिकाप्रदायकसंघनयककरणीय-  
 7. देवगुरुसाधर्मिकवात्सल्यविधानप्रभासितसितसम्यक्गुडिप्रसिद्धस[डृधि] व्ययविहि-  
 8. तश्रीशत्रुंजयसंघलव्यसंघाधिपतिलक सं° थाद [डूनामकी] द्विपंचाशदुत्तरचतुर्दश-  
 9. शत १४५२ मितगणधराणां श्रीपुंडरीकादिगौतमानानां पादुकास्थानमजातपूर्वम-  
 10. चीकरत् खपुत्रहरराजमेघराजसहितः समेधमानपुण्योदयाय प्रतिष्ठितं च श्रीवृह-  
 11. त्खरतरगङ्गाधिराजश्रीजिनराजसूरिसूरिराजैः पूज्यमानं चिरं नंदनात् ॥

No. XXVII.<sup>69</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६८३ वर्षे ॥ पातिसाहजिह्वांगीरश्रीसलेमसाहभूमंडलाखंडलविजयरा[ज्ये] ॥  
 2. ॥ श्रीचक्रोस्वरी नमः ॥ श्री ॥ महोपाध्यायश्री ५ श्रीहेममूर्तिगणिसहस्रभ्यो नमः ॥ श्री ॥  
 3. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः ॥  
 स्वस्ति श्रीः शिवशंकरोपि गणमान् सर्वज्ञशत्रुंजयः [।]  
 शर्वः शंभुरधीश्वरश्च भग[वा]-  
 4. न् गौरी वृषांकी मूढः ।  
 गंगोमापतिरस्तुकामत्रिक्रुतिः सिद्धैः कृता ऽतिस्तुती [।]  
 रुद्रो यो न परं त्रियै स

<sup>67</sup> In a temple in the Vimalavasi Tūkh, near Ādiśvara's.—J. B.

<sup>68</sup> Round the margin of *pādukas* or foot-prints, No. 3, north side, in a temple in the west of the Khartaravasi Tūkh *Lists*, p. 205, No. 317.—J. B.

<sup>69</sup> In a niche in a temple in the Vimalavasi Tūkh, on the left hand between the Vāghana-pōla and Hāthi-pōla; *Lists*, p. 204, No. 138.—J. B.

- L. 5.                                      जिनपः श्रीनाभिभूरस्तु मे ॥ १ ॥<sup>70</sup>  
 उद्यच्छीरजडः कलंकरहितः संतापदोषा ऽपहः [I]  
 सौम्यः प्राप्तस[७]-
6.                                      या ऽमितकलः सुश्रीर्दृगांकोऽव्ययः ।  
 गौरानोमृतसूरपास्तकलुषो जैवातृकः प्राणिनां ।  
 चंद्रः [क्रम]
7.                                      जयत्यहो जिनपतिः श्रीवैश्वसेनिर्महान् । २ ॥  
 त्यक्ता राजीमतीं यः स्निहितहृदयानेकपत्नीः ७ -
8.    पां ।  
 सिद्धिं भूरिरक्तामपि बहु चकमेऽनेकपत्नीमपीशः ।  
 लोके ख्यातस्तथापि स्फुरदतिशय[वान्]
9.    ब्रह्मचारीति नाम्ना [I]  
 स श्रीनेमिजिनेन्द्रो दिशतु शिवसुखं सात्वतां योगिनाथः ॥ ३ ॥<sup>71</sup>  
 चंचच्छारं चंद्रचा [रु ७]<sup>72</sup>
10.                                      दनश्रेयोविनिर्यद्वचः [I]-  
 पेयपौषनिषेकतो विपधरेणापि प्रपेदे द्रुतं ।  
 देवत्वं सुकलैकलभ्य[म]-
11.                                      तुलं यस्यानुकंपानिधेः ।  
 स श्रीपार्श्वजिनेशितास्तु सततं विवृच्छिदे सात्वतां । ४ ॥<sup>73</sup>  
 यस्य श्रीवरशास[न]
12.                                      क्षितितले मार्त्तंडविंवायते [I]  
 यद्वाक्यं भवसिंधुतारणविधौ पीतायते देहिनां ।  
 यद्ध्यानं [भ-]
13.                                      विपापपंकदलने गंगाबुधारायते ।<sup>74</sup>  
 श्रीसिद्धार्थनरेन्द्रनंदनजिनः सोऽस्तु श्रिये सर्वदा ॥ ५ ॥<sup>75</sup>
14.                                      अथ पट्टावली ॥  
 श्रीवर्द्धमानजिनराजपदक्रमेण ।  
 श्रीश्रार्थरक्षितमुनीश्वरसूरिराजाः ।  
 वि-
15.                                      द्यापगाजलधयो विधिपक्षगच्छ ।-  
 संस्थापका यतिवरा गुरुवो बभूवुः । ६ ॥<sup>76</sup>  
 तच्चारुपट्टकमला[ज]-
16.                                      लराजहंसा ।-  
 शारित्रमंजुकमलाश्रवणावतंसाः [I]  
 गच्छाधिपा बुधवरा जयसिंहसूरि ।-  
 नामा[न]

<sup>70</sup> Metre of verses 1-2 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>71</sup> Metre : Śragdharā.<sup>72</sup> Read "छारदचंद्रपाव".<sup>73</sup> Metre of verses 4-5 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>74</sup> Read गंगाबुध.<sup>75</sup> Metre of verses 6-7 : Vasantatilakā. Read गुरवो.

- L. 17. <sup>76</sup>[उ]द्यदमलोरुगुणावदाताः । ७ ॥  
 श्रीधर्मघोषगुरवो वरकीर्त्तिभाजः [1]  
 सूरेश्वरास्तदनु पूज्यमहं-
18. द्रसिंहाः ।  
 आसंस्ततः सकलसूरिशिरोवतंसाः [1]  
 सिंहप्रभाभिधसुसाधुगुणप्रसिद्धाः ॥ ८ ॥<sup>77</sup>  
 तेभ्यः क्र-
19. मेण गुरुवो जिनसिंहसूरि ।<sup>78</sup>  
 गोत्रा बभूवुरथ पूज्यतमा गणेशाः [1]  
 देवेन्द्रसिंहगुरुवोऽखिललो-
20. कमान्या [1]  
 धर्मप्रभा मुनिवरा विधिपचनायाः ॥ ९ ॥  
 पूज्याश्च सिंहतिलकास्तदनु प्रभूत [1]-  
 भाग्या
21. महेंद्रविभवो गुरुवो<sup>79</sup> बभूवुः [1]  
 वक्रेश्वरीभगवतीविहितप्रसादाः [1]<sup>80</sup>  
 श्रीमेरुतुंगसूरवो नरदेवव[द्य]-
22. T. ॥ १० ॥<sup>81</sup>  
 तेभ्योऽभवन् गणधरा जयकीर्त्तिसूरि [1]-  
 मुख्यास्ततश्च जयकीसरिसूराजः ।<sup>82</sup>  
 सिद्धांतसाग-
23. रगणाधिभुवस्ततोऽनु [1]  
 श्रीभावसागरगुरुगुणा<sup>83</sup> अभूवन् ॥ ११ ॥  
 तद्वंशपुष्करविभासन्<sup>84</sup> भा-
24. तुरपाः<sup>85</sup>  
 सूरेश्वराः सुगुण[शे]वधयो बभूवुः । षट्पदो ॥  
 तत्पटोदयशैलशृंगकिरणाः
25. शाखांबुधेः पारगा [1]  
 भव्यखांतचकोरलासनसलत्पूष्पाभचंद्राननाः [1]<sup>86</sup>  
 श्रीमंतो विधिपक्षगच्छ[च्छ]-
26. तिलका वादींद्रपंचानना ।  
 आसन् श्रीगुरुधर्ममूर्त्तिगुरुवः सूरिद्रव्यांश्चयः ॥ १२ ॥<sup>87</sup>  
 त-

<sup>76</sup> द stands above the line.

<sup>77</sup> Metre of verses 8—11: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>78</sup> Read गुरुवो । सिंह°.

<sup>79</sup> Read गुरुवो.

<sup>80</sup> Read चक्र°.

<sup>81</sup> Read रो.

<sup>82</sup> Read °सूरिराजः. स stands above the line.

<sup>83</sup> Read °गुरुव°.

<sup>84</sup> Read °भासन°.

<sup>85</sup> Read °रूपाः.

<sup>86</sup> Read °सनलसू°.

<sup>87</sup> Metre of verses 12-13: Śārdūlavikrāmīta. Read °गुरुवः.

L. 27. त्पट्टेऽद्य जयंति मन्मथभटाहंकारशब्दोपमाः ।

श्रीकल्याणसमुद्रसूरिगुरवः कल्याण —

28. कंदांबुदाः ।

भव्यांभोजविबोधनैककिरणाः सद्ज्ञानपाथोधिः ।<sup>88</sup>

श्रीमंतोत्र जयंति सूरिवि-

29. भुभि ।<sup>89</sup> सेव्याः प्रभावोद्यताः । १३ ॥

श्रीश्रीमालज्ञातीयमन्त्रीश्वरश्रीभंडारी तत्पुत्र महं श्रीश्व-

30. मरसी सुत महं श्रीकरण तत्पुत्र सा

श्रीधन्वा तत्पुत्र साह श्रीसोपा तत्पुत्र सा<sup>90</sup> श्रीवंत त-

31. झार्या उभयकुलानंददायिनी बाई श्रीसोभागदे तत्कुत्तिसरोराजहंस साह श्रीरूप-

32. तद्गिनी उभयकुलानंददायिनी परमश्रविका हीरबाई पुत्र पारीक्ष श्रीसोमचं<sup>90</sup>

33. प्रभृतिपरिकरयुतया । संवत् १६८३ वर्षे । माघ शुदि त्रयोदशी तिथौ सोमवासरे [श्री]-

34. चंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनमंदिरजीर्णोद्धारः कारितः । श्रीराजनगरवास्व<sup>91</sup> महं भंडारी प्र-

35. साद कराविउ हुतु तेहनइ वठी पेढी [इं] बाई श्रीहीर बाई हुई तेणीइ प — — — उद्धार  
कराविउ ॥

संघसहित ९९ वा-

36. रयात्रा कीधी ॥ श्वसुरपत्ने पारिष श्रीगंगदास भार्या बाई गुरदे पुत्र पारिष श्रीकुंवरजी भार्या  
बाई कमल्यदे-

37. कुत्तिसरोराजहंसोपमा पारिषश्रीवीरजीपारिषश्रीरहीयाभिधानौ । पारिष वीरजी भार्या बाई  
हीरादे पुत्र पं

38. सोमचंदस्तन्नाम्ना श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिजिनविंशं कारितं प्रतिष्ठतं<sup>92</sup> च ॥ देशाधीश्वरस्वभापतपनप्रभो-  
ज्ञासितास्त्रि-<sup>93</sup>

39. लभूमंडल — — — — श्रीकांधुजी तत्पुत्र राज्य श्रीसिवाजी — — — — श्रविका  
श्रीहीर बाई पुत्री बाई कीर्ति वा-

40. ई कल्याणी भ्राता पारिष रूपजी तत्पुत्र पारिष गुडीदासयुतेन ॥ संवत् १६८२ वर्षे माघ शुदि  
त्रयोदसी [श्री] सोमव-

41. तसरे श्रीचंद्रप्रभस्वामिप्रतिष्ठा<sup>94</sup>कारिता ॥ भट्टारकश्रीकल्याणसागरसूरिभिः प्रतिष्ठतं<sup>95</sup> ॥ वाचक-  
श्रीदेवसागरग[र] -

42. [श्री]नां कृतिरियं ॥ पंडितश्रीविजयमूर्तिगणीनालेखि ॥ पं श्रीविनयशेषरगणीनां शिष्य सु<sup>96</sup>  
श्रीरविशेषरगणीना लि-

43. खितिरियं ॥ श्रीशेनुंजय नमः यावत् चंद्रार्कं चिर नंदतात् श्रीकवडयचप्रसादात् ॥ गजधररामजो  
लघुभार्ता कुश-

44. — — — ऐजरतनकल्यणकृतायां अत्र भद्रं ॥

<sup>88</sup> Read °पाथोधिः.

<sup>89</sup> Read °भुभिः.

<sup>90</sup> Read °चंद्र.

<sup>91</sup> Read °वास्व.

<sup>92</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठितं.

<sup>93</sup> Probably for प्रतिपत्रं.

<sup>94</sup> Read °प्रतिष्ठा.

<sup>95</sup> Read °प्रतिष्ठितं.

No. XXVIII.<sup>96</sup>

- L. 1. श्री ॥ सं १ [६] ८४ माघ वदि ५ शुक्ले श्रीमत्पत्तनवास्तव्यश्रीमालज्ञातीय ठ° जसपालपीत्रेण पि-  
2. तृ ठ° राजा मानृ ठ° सी [बुधयो/ इर्थ] ठ° धाधाकेन श्रीआदिनाथविंवं खत्तकसहितं कारितं ॥

No. XXIX.<sup>97</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ संवत् १६८६ वर्षे चैत्रे शुदि १५ दिने दक्षिणदेशे देवगीरीनगर-  
2. वास्तव्यश्रीमालीज्ञातीयलघुभाषीय साहा तुकजी भार्या बा° तेजलदे  
3. सूत सा° हासुजी भार्या बाइ हासलदे लघुभाता सा° वकुजी सा° देवजी  
4. भार्या बाइ चक्रादे देराणी बाइ देवलदे पू [पु] त सा° धर्मदास भगी[गि]नी बा°  
5. कुश्रि प्रमुखसमस्तकुटुंब श्रीविमलाचलनी यात्रा करीनि  
6. श्रीअदबुद आ — — — [या] सादनो मंडमनो की ३ सहीत फे-  
7. री उद्धार कराव्यु — — — — — डारक [ओ] — — — — — [रा] ज्ये  
8. तत्पट्टालंकारे [श्री] — — — — — [श्री] — — — — — [भ्य] ॥  
9. पंडितोत्तम श्रीद — — — — सुपदेशात् शुभं भवतु ॥

No. XXX.<sup>98</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १६८६ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ५ बुधे शक्ते १५५१ प्रवर्तमाने श्रीमूलसंघे सरस्वतीगळे  
2. बला[त्का]रणे श्रीकुंडकुंदाचार्यान्वये भट्टारक श्रीसकलकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीभुवनकीर्तिदेवा-  
स्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीज्ञानभूषणदेवा-  
3. स्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीविजयकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीशुभचंद्रदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीसुमतिकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे  
भ° श्रीगुणकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीवादिभूषणदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीरामकीर्तिदेवास्तत्पट्टे भ° श्रीपद्मनंदिगुरु-  
पदेशात् पातसाहाश्रीशाहा-  
4. ज्याहांविजयराज्ये श्रीगूर्जरदेशे श्रीअल्लदावादावास्तव्यहुंवडज्ञातीयवृहत्काखीयवाग्वरदेशस्थांतरी-  
यनगरनौतनभद्रप्रासादोदरणधार जाडा सं° भोजा भा° सं° लकु सु° संवत्सा भा° सं° रत्नादे तयोः  
5. सुत ब्रह्मचर्यव्रतप्रतिपालनेन पवित्रीकृतनिजांगसप्तज्ञेचारीपितृस्वीयवित्त सं° लटकण भा° सं°  
ललतादे तयोः सुत निजकुलकमलविक्षाशनैकसूर्यावतारः दानगुणेन नृपतिश्रेयांससमः श्रीजिनविंवप्रति-  
6. ष्ठातीर्थयात्रादिधर्मकर्मकरणेषु कचित्तसंघपति श्रीरत्नसी भा° सं° रूपादे द्वितीयभा° सं°  
मोहणदे तृतीयभा° सं° न[य]रंगदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी श्रीरामजी भा° सं° केशरदे तयोः सुत संघवी  
7. डुगरसी भार्या सं° डाडमदे द्वितीयसुत संघवी [रायव]जी भा° सं° गमतादे[एते सर्वे] महासि-  
द्दोच श्रीश[चुंजयनाम्नि] गिरौ श्रीजिनप्रासादे श्रीशान्तिनाथविंवं कारयित्वा नित्यं प्रणमन्ति । शुभं भवतु [॥]

No. XXXI.<sup>99</sup>

- L. 1. । श्री ॥ भट्टारकपुरंदरभट्टारकश्रीहीर-  
2. । विजयसूरोश्वरगुरुभ्यो तमो नमः तत्-  
3. । पट्टभाकरभट्टारकश्रीविजयसेन-

<sup>96</sup> On the base of a Chaumukha image in a small temple, west of the great Âdiśvara Bhagavān; *Lists*, p. 198.  
No. 114.—J. B.

<sup>97</sup> In the shrine of "Bhimadeva,"—the great rock-cut image,—on the wall beside the doorway.—J. B.

<sup>98</sup> In the Digambara temple, in a small court to the north-east of the great Âdiśvara temple; *Lists*, p. 202,  
No. 237.—J. B.

<sup>99</sup> Beside the doorway of the Śeshakoṭa temple, facing the south door of the great Âdiśvara temple.; *Lists*, p. 137,  
No. 97.—J. B.

- L. 4. । सूरिगुरुभ्यो नमः संवत् [त्] १६९६ वर्षे वै-  
 5. । शाय सुदि ५ रवी श्रीदीवबंदिरवास्तव्य सं-  
 6. । घवी सचा भार्या वाइ तेज वाइ तयो<sup>100</sup> सुपुत्र  
 7. ॥ संघवी गोविंदजी भार्या वाइ वयज वाइ  
 8. । प्रमुखकुटुंबयुतेन<sup>1</sup> स्वश्रेयसे श्रीशत्रुज-<sup>2</sup>  
 9. । ये उत्तम<sup>3</sup> प्रासाद [ः] कारापित [ः] श्रीपार्श्वनाथ-  
 10. । विंबं स्थापितं प्रतिष्ठितं<sup>4</sup> च श्रीतपागच्छनाय-  
 11. । कभट्टारकश्रीविजयदेवसूरिभिः तत्प-  
 12. । दालंकारयुवराजश्रीविजयसिंहसूरि चिरं जीय<sup>5</sup>

No. XXXII—(610).<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ उं नमः  
 2. प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदि-दं खलु तीर्थं ।  
 4. रायसिंह इह वर्द्धमानभूः [ः]  
 6. शासनाद्विज-यदेवगुरोः स-  
 8. द्वाचकेन वि-नयाद्विजये-न ॥ १ ॥  
 श्री- विजयसिंहसूरिः । स जयतु तपगच्छमौ-लमाणिक्यं ।  
 15. अजनिष्ट यदु । पदेशात् । स- हस्रकूटाभि-धं तीर्थम् ॥ २ ॥<sup>7</sup>  
 19. दिक्शशिज-लधिमितेन्द्रे १७१० सित ष-ष्ठ्यां ज्येष्ठमासि<sup>8</sup> तीर्थेस्मिन् ।  
 24. अर्द्धहंसह-सं । स्थापितम-ष्टोत्तरं वंदे ॥ ३  
 27. यावज्जयति सुमेरु । स्ताप-जीयावकृष्ट-सौभाग्यः ।<sup>10</sup>  
 श्री शत्रुंजयमूर्ध-नि । सहस्र-कूटः किरी-टोयम् ॥ ४ ॥

No. XXXIII.<sup>11</sup>

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| L. 1. अर्द्धम्                          | 9. न भा । वाल्हादे पु । स     |
| 2. ॥ श्री ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसं-             | 10. मानसिंहयानसिंह-           |
| 3. वत् १७१० वर्षे ज्येष्ठ <sup>12</sup> | 11. रायसिंहसनकसिंह-           |
| 4. शुक्ल पट्टी <sup>13</sup> तिथौ शु-   | 12. उग्रसेनकृष्णभद्रासैः      |
| 5. रवारि श्रीउग्रसेनपु-                 | 13. सा । जगत्सिंहजीवण-        |
| 6. रवास्तव्यज्जकेशज्ञा-                 | 14. दासप्रमुखपरिवार-          |
| 7. तीयहृदशाखीयकु-                       | 15. युतैः खपितृवचनात्त-       |
| 8. हाडगोत्र सा । वर्द्धमा-              | 16. त्पुण्यार्थं श्रीसहस्रकू- |

<sup>100</sup> Read तयोः.

Read कुटुंब<sup>100</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Read वृज-

<sup>3</sup> Read उत्तम.

<sup>4</sup> Read पृष्ठित.

<sup>5</sup> Read जीयात्.

<sup>6</sup> In the temple of Śeṣhakoṭa, on the left hand column.

— Lists, p. 147, No. 97.—J. B.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Srāgata. The penultima of the second pāda ought to be long.

<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 2—4: Āryā.

<sup>9</sup> Read ज्येष्ठमासि.

<sup>10</sup> Read सावकी.

<sup>11</sup> On a column in the Śeṣhakoṭa temple, in the Vimalavasi Tank.—J. B.

<sup>12</sup> Read ज्येष्ठ.

<sup>13</sup> Read पट्टी.



- L. 17. टतीथं कारितं स्वप्रति-  
 18. छायां प्रतिष्ठापितं<sup>14</sup> । त-  
 19. पागच्छे भ । श्रीहीरवि-  
 20. जयसूरिपट्टप्रभाकर  
 21. भ । श्रीविजयसेनसूरि-  
 22. पट्टालंकारपातिशा-  
 23. हिश्रीजिह्वांगीरप्रदत्त-  
 24. महातपाविरुद्धारि-  
 25. अनेकराजाधिराजप्र-  
 26. तिवोधकारिभट्टारक  
 27. श्री ७ श्रीविजयदेवस्-  
 28. रीश्वरभाचार्यश्रीविज-  
 29. यप्रभसूरिनिर्देशात्

30. श्रीहीरविजयसूरि-  
 31. शिथरत्नमहोपाध्या-  
 32. य श्री ५ कीर्त्तिविज-  
 33. य ग । शिथोपाध्या-  
 34. यश्रीविनयविज-  
 35. यगणिभिः प्रतिष्ठि-  
 36. तं श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्रीशत्रुंज-  
 37. यमहातीर्थकार्यक-  
 38. रपंडित श्री ५ शान्ति-  
 39. विजय ग । देवविजय  
 40. ग । मेघविजय ग । सा-  
 41. हायतः सिद्धमिदम्  
 42. सूत्रधार मनजोः ॥

No. CV.<sup>15</sup>

L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥

2. ॥ श्री नमः ॥

- बभूवुः श्रीमहावीरः पट्टानुक्रमभूषणाः [1]  
 श्रीअंचलगणाधीशः आयरिचितसूरयः<sup>16</sup> [1] १ [1]  
 3. तत्पट्टपंकजादित्या सूरिश्रीजयसिंहकाः [1]  
 श्रीधर्मगोषसूरीन्द्रा । महिंद्रसिंहसूरयः<sup>17</sup> [1] २ [1]  
 श्री ।  
 4. सिंहप्रभसूरीशः<sup>18</sup> सूरयो जिनसिंहकाः [1]  
 श्रीमहेवेंद्रसूरीशः श्रीधर्मप्रभसूरयः [1] ३ [1]  
 श्रीसिंहतिलकाह्वय  
 5. श्रीमहेवेंद्रप्रभाभिधाः [1]  
 श्रीमंतो मेरुतुंग्याख्याः<sup>19</sup> बभूवुः सूरयस्ततः [1] ४ [1]  
 समग्रगुणसंपूर्णाः सूरिश्रीजयकी-  
 6. र्तयः [1]  
 तत्पदेय सुसाधुश्रीजयकेशरसूरयः [1] ५ [1]  
 श्रीसिद्धांतसमुद्राख्यः सूरया<sup>20</sup> भूरिकीर्त्तयः [1]  
 भावसागरसू-  
 7. रीन्द्रा ततोभूवन् गणाधिपाः [1] ६ [1]  
 श्रीमद्वृणनिधानाख्यः सूरयस्तत्पदेभवन् [1]  
 युगप्रधाना<sup>21</sup> श्रीमंतः सूरिश्री-

<sup>14</sup> Read प्रतिष्ठापितं.

<sup>15</sup> In the Khartaravasi Tunk, on the south wall in the hall outside the shrine door of Narsi Keshavji's temple.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 342.—J. B.

<sup>16</sup> Read श्रीराः । पार्यरविः,

<sup>17</sup> Read L. 3: °दित्याः । °घोष° । महेंद्र°.

<sup>18</sup> Read °रीशः ।

<sup>19</sup> Read L. 5: °तुंगा° । बभूवुः ।

<sup>20</sup> Read L. 6: °देय । °स्याः सूरयो.

<sup>21</sup> Read L. 7: °रीन्द्रास° । °दृष्ट° °स्याः । °कायाः.

- L. 8. धर्ममूर्त्तय [॥] ७ [॥]  
तत्पट्टोदयशैलाग्रः प्रोद्यत्तरणिसन्निभा<sup>22</sup> [॥]  
अभवन्सूरिराजश्रीयुजः कल्याणसागराः
9. [॥] ८ [॥]  
श्रीअमरोदधिसूरीन्द्रा ततो विद्यासूरयः [॥]  
उदयार्णवसूरिश्च कीर्त्तिसिंधुमुनिपतिः [॥] ९ [॥]<sup>23</sup>  
ततो पु-
10. न्योदधिसूरिराजेंद्रार्णवसूरयः [॥]  
मुक्तिसागरसूरीन्द्रा वभूवुः गुणशालिनः [॥] १० [॥]  
तत<sup>24</sup> रत्नो-
11. दधिसूरिर्जयंति विचरद्भुवि [॥]  
शातदातृत्तयायुक्त भव्यान्<sup>25</sup> धर्मोपदेशकः [॥] ११ [॥]  
इति प-
12. द्वावलि ॥  
अथ कच्छसुराद्रे च कीठारानगरे वरे [॥]  
वभूवु लघूशाखायामर्णसी-<sup>26</sup>
13. ति गुणोज्वल [॥] १२ [॥]  
तत्पुत्रो नायकी जज्ञे हीरवाई च तन्निया [॥]  
पुत्रो<sup>27</sup> केसवजी तस्य
14. रूपवान्पुंन्यमूर्त्तय[॥] १३ [॥]  
मातुलिन समं मूवैवंदरे तिलकोपमे<sup>28</sup> [॥]  
अगात्पुंन्यप्रभावेन
15. बहु स्व समुपार्जितं [॥] १४ [॥]  
देवभक्तिगुरुरागी<sup>29</sup> धर्मअद्वाविवेकिनः [॥]  
दाता भोक्ता यशः
16. कीर्त्तिं स्ववर्गे विस्रतो बहु [॥] १५ [॥]  
पावेति तस्य पत्नी च नरसिंहसुतोजनि<sup>30</sup> [॥]  
रत्नवाई त-
17. स्य भार्या पतिभक्तिसुशीलवान् [॥] १६ [॥]  
केशवजीकस्य भार्या द्वितिया<sup>31</sup> मांकावाई चः [॥]
18. नाम्ना त्रीकमजी तस्य पुत्रोभुत्<sup>32</sup> स्वल्पजीवोनः [॥] १७ [॥]  
नरसिंहस्य पुत्रोभुत् रूपवान्

<sup>22</sup> Read L. 8.: °र्त्तयः । °शा:प्रो.

<sup>23</sup> Read द्वावलि । ततः.

<sup>24</sup> Read L. 10: °स्त्री । °श्रीन्द्रा । ततो.

<sup>25</sup> Read L. 11: °र्जयति विचरन्भुवि शातदातृ । युक्ती भवान्.

<sup>26</sup> Read °लिः । °लघू.

<sup>27</sup> Read °ज्वलः । पुत्रः.

<sup>28</sup> Read L. 14: रूपवाग्पुष्प । मुंक्षे । °पुष्प ।

<sup>29</sup> Read °स्व । °गुरो.

<sup>30</sup> Read L. 16: विद्युतो । Perhaps °सिंहः.

<sup>31</sup> Read द्वितिया । अ.

<sup>32</sup> Read °भुत् । °भुत्.

L. 19.

सुंदराकृति [I]

चिरंजय सदा ऋद्धिं हृद्धिर्भवतु<sup>33</sup> धर्मत [II] १८ [II]:

इति पंशावलि: ॥

20. गांधी मोहोतागोत्रे सा केसवजी निजभूजोपार्जितवित्तेन<sup>34</sup> धर्मकार्याणि कुरुते स्म

21. तद्यथा निजपरिकरयुतो संघसाध्वं विमलाब्दितीर्थे समेत्य वाच्छसौराष्ट्रगुर्जरः स-

22. रुधरमेवाडकुक्कुणादिदेशादागताः बहुसंघलोकाः मिलिताः अंजनशलाका-

23. प्रतिष्ठा<sup>35</sup>दिमहोत्सवार्थं विशालमंडपं कारयति स्म तन्मध्ये नवीनजिनविंबा-24. नां रुच्यपाषाणधातूनां बहुसहस्रसंख्यानां सुमुहुर्त्तं सुलग्ने पीठीपरि संस्था-<sup>37</sup>25. प्य तस्य विधिना क्रयाकरण्या<sup>38</sup> श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिविधिपक्षगच्छपतेरादे-26. शतः मुनिश्रीदेवचद्राणना तथा क्रियाकुशलश्राद्धैः सह शास्त्रोक्तवित्या<sup>39</sup>27. शुद्धक्रीया कुर्वन् श्रीवीरविक्रमार्कतः संवत् १९२१ ना वर्षे तस्मिन्<sup>40</sup> श्रीशा-28. लीवाहनभूपालकृतशके १७८६ प्रवर्त्तमान्ये मासीतम<sup>41</sup> श्रीमाघमासे शुक्ल-29. पक्षे तिथि सप्तम्याः गुरुवासरे मार्त्तंडोदयवेलायां सुमुहुर्त्तं सुलग्ने स्पर्णशि-<sup>42</sup>30. लाकया जिनमुद्राणां श्रीगुरुभिश्च साधुभिरंजनक्रियान्कुरुते स्मः सघलोका-<sup>43</sup>31. न् सुवेसधारीन् बहुऋद्ध्या गीतगानवाजितपूर्वकं समेत्य जिनपुजनलीक-<sup>44</sup>32. नादिक्रियायाचकानादानादिसंघवात्सल्यादिभक्तिहर्षतयक्ते पुनः<sup>45</sup> धर्मशा-

33. लायां आरासोपलनिर्मितं साखतऋषभादिजिनानां चतुर्मुखं चैत्यं पुनः गिरि-

34. शिखरीपरि श्रीअभिनंदनजिनस्य विशालमंदिरं तस्य प्रतिष्ठा<sup>46</sup> माघ सित त्र-35. योदश्यां बुधवासरे शास्त्रोक्तविधिना क्रिया कृता<sup>47</sup> श्रीरत्नसागरसूरिणामुप-36. देशंतः श्रीसंघपति निजपरिवारेण सह श्रीअभिनंदनादिजिनविंब<sup>48</sup> स्था-37. पिता ततः गुरुभक्तिसंघभक्तिशक्त्यानुशारेण कृतः गोहिलवंशविभुषण-<sup>49</sup>38. ठाकोरश्रीसूरसंघजीराज्ये पादलिप्तपुरे<sup>50</sup> मदनीत्सवमभूत् श्रीसंघस्य भद्रं

39. भूयात्[.] कल्याणमस्तु शुभं भवतु[.] ॥

माणिकसिंधुवरमुख्यसुनिवरेषु<sup>51</sup> ।

40. तत्तिशयवाचकवरविनयार्णवेन [I]

एषा प्रशस्ति श्रवणामृततुल्यरूपा<sup>52</sup>

संघ-

41. स्य शाशनसमुन्नतिकारलेखिः<sup>53</sup> १: ॥

वाचकमिनयसागरेणियं प्रशस्ति-

<sup>33</sup> Read L. 19: °कृति: । °जय: । °हृद्धि°.<sup>34</sup> Read °सुजी°<sup>35</sup> Read L. 21: °लाट्टि° । °अरर°.<sup>36</sup> Read °तिष्ठ°.<sup>37</sup> Read L. 24: °रुच्य° । °हृत्ते°.<sup>38</sup> Read क्रिया°.<sup>39</sup> Read L. 26: सुगि° । °चंद्र° । °रीत्या°.<sup>40</sup> Read L. 27: °क्रिया: । तस्मिन्°.<sup>41</sup> Read L. 28: °कृत° । °माने° । °चने°.<sup>42</sup> Read L. 29: तिथौ सप्तम्यां । °हृत्ते° । °शला°.<sup>43</sup> Read L. 30: °क्रियां । स संघ°.<sup>44</sup> Read L. 31: °विष° । °दिवपूर्वकं । पूजन°.<sup>45</sup> Read L. 32: °संघ° । पुनः°.<sup>46</sup> Read °जा°.<sup>47</sup> Read L. 35: °शास्त्री° । कृता°.<sup>48</sup> Read L. 36: °देशतः । °विंब°.<sup>49</sup> Read L. 37: °पितं । °कृतनुसा° । कृतः । °भुष°.<sup>50</sup> Read पुरे°.<sup>51</sup> Read °रेषु°.<sup>52</sup> Read L. 40: °लि: । °रूपा°.<sup>53</sup> Read शास° । °कार्यलेखि°.

L. 42. लिखिताः ॥

यावत् मेरु महिधर यावत् चद्रदिवाकरी<sup>54</sup> [I]

43. यावत्तीर्थ जिनेन्द्राणां[.] तावत् नदंतु मंदिरः<sup>55</sup> ॥ १ ॥

ओरस्तु [II]

#### ABSTRACTS.

No. xxxiv.<sup>56</sup> Samvat 1783, Māha sudi 5; *Siddhachakra*, dedicated by Aṇandabāi, wife of Shetā (Khetā) of the Śrīmālī *laghuśākhā*, inhabitant of Dhaṇapura; consecrated by *paṇḍitavara* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dīpachandra, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Jñānadharmaji, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārājī in the *śākhā* of Jinachandra Sūri, *yugapradhāna* of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, who awakened Pātisāhi Akabbara.

No. xxxv.<sup>57</sup> Samvat 1788, Māgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Bhīmamuni dedicated by Dulichand, son of Sā(hu) Kikā of the Kharatara *gachchha*; consecrated by *upādhyāya* Dīpachandragani.

No. xxxvi.<sup>58</sup> (Date as above); an image of Śrī-Yudhishtira [*shthira*] muni (remainder as above).

No. xxxvii.<sup>59</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1788, Śāka 1653, Māgha sudi 6, Friday; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Premaji (surnamed Cheulī, from his residence in Cheula), of the Śrīmālī *vṛiddhaśākhā*, at the request of *bhaṭṭāraka* Vijaya-Dayāsūri, and of the Tapā *gachchha*; consecrated by *bhaṭṭāraka* Sumatisāgara of the same *gachchha*.

No. xxxviii.<sup>60</sup> Samvat 1791, Vaiśākha sudi 8, *pushyārke*; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by *bhaṇḍārī* Ratnasimha, a *mahāmantrī*, who caused an edict of *amāri* to be proclaimed in Gujarāt, son of Udayakarāṇa (and Udayavantadevi), son of Shetasihajī, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Dīpājī, of the Osavāla *vṛiddhaśākhā* and the Nāḍūla-gotra; consecrated in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Dayāsūri, successor of Vijai-Kshamāsūri, of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xxxix.<sup>61</sup> Samvat 1794, Śāka 1659, Asāḍha sudi 10, Sunday; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated, and restoration of a temple made by *bhaṇḍārī* Harashachanda son of *bhaṇḍārī* Sivachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Rūpachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Tārachanda, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Nārāyaṇājī, son of *bhaṇḍārī* Bhānājī of the Oisavamśa *vṛiddhaśākhā*, Nāḍūla-gotra, dedicated in the victorious reign of Jinachandrasūri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*, by *paṇḍita* Devachandra, pupil of *upādhyāya* Dīpachandajī, pupil of *upādhyāya* Jñānadharmaji, pupil of *mahopādhyāya* Rājasārājī.

<sup>54</sup> Read L. 42: °खिता । °महीधरी । च°.

<sup>55</sup> Read °तीर्थ । नंदतु मंदिरः.

<sup>56</sup> On 1 *Siddhachakra* slab in the south corridor of the Kharataravasi Tūṅk.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 337.—J. B.

<sup>57</sup> On the base of the image, on the right side of principal one in the Pañcha Pāṇḍava temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 350.—J. B.

<sup>58</sup> In Pañcha Pāṇḍava temple, on the base of the principal image.—*Lists*, ib.

<sup>59</sup> Outside the door of a square temple opposite the south-west corner of the great Ādīśvara.—*Lists*, p. 197, perhaps No. 100.

<sup>60</sup> In the Vimalavasi Tūṅk, on right hand when going towards the Hāthipola, about half-way up.—*Lists*, p. 202, No. 247.

<sup>61</sup> In the south wall outside the shrine door of a temple in the Chhipāvāsi Tūṅk.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 357.

No. xl.<sup>62</sup> Samvat 1810, Māha sudi 13, Tuesday; an image of Sumatinātha, dedicated by the whole Saṅgha, *Saṅghavi* Kachara Kikā and the rest; dedicated by Sarvasūri.

No. xli.<sup>63</sup> Samvat 1814, Māgha vadi 5, Monday; a temple with a *śikhara*, dedicated by *Vo.* Kāsarisaṅgha, son of *Vo.* Lādhā, (and Prānakunara,) son of *Vo.* Dipachand, son of *Vo.* Sakalachanda of the Prāgvāṭa-vaṁsa, *laghuśākhā*, inhabitant of Rājānagara; consecrated by Udayasūri.

No. xlii.<sup>64</sup> Samvat 1815, Vaiśākha sudi 6, Wednesday; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by *masa* Kuyarajī Lādhā of Bhāvanagara; consecrated by Rājasāmasūri, of the Laghuposāla *gachchha*.

No. xliii.<sup>65</sup> Samvat 1822, Phālguna sudi 5, Thursday; two images in the Viśā, Deshavāla-Tapā *gachchha*'s *derī*, dedicated by *gāndhī* Parasottama Sūdarajī and by his nephew Amāidāsa and his brothers Nāthā and Kumbara, all of Meśāṇā. The inscription was incised by Kubera, in Samvat 1863, Chaitra sudi 2, Friday.

No. xliv.<sup>66</sup> Samvat 1843, Śāka 1708, Māgha sudi 11, Monday; an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Premachanda, of Rājānagara, a Śrīmālī of the *laghuśākhā* of the Kāśyapa gotra and Paramāra race, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlv.<sup>67</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1860, Śāka 1726, Vaiśākha sudi 5, Monday; an image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Harashachanda, son of Hirāchanda (and Kumārābāi), son of Sā Rāyakaraṇa, a Śrīmālī of the *vriddha śākhā*, a native of Damaṇa-bandira (Daman), honoured by the Phirangijāti Puratakāla pātasāhi (the king of Portugal).

No. xlv.<sup>68</sup> (Date as in the preceding); a new image in the new temple of Vijjakaṛā-Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Savaichanda, son of Premachanda Jhaverachanda and Joyatī, a Jhaverī (*jeweller*) of the Usavāla race in Surat, in the name of Premachanda and others, during the victorious reign of Vijaya-Daivachandrasūri, of the *gachchha* Vijaya-Ānandasūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlvii.<sup>69</sup> (Date as in No. xlv); a new image in the new temple of Asrahurā (Vijjakaṛā?) Pārśvanāth, dedicated by Jhaverī Premachanda, . . . . an Usavāla of Surat, belonging to the *gachchha* of Vijaya-Ānandasūri, in the victorious reign of Vijaya-Devachandrasūri, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri, *bhaṭṭāraka* of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlviii.<sup>70</sup> (Date as in No. xlv); an image of Sahasakuṭajī (*Sahasrakūṭa*), dedicated by Dāhābhāi, son of Sā Lālabhāi, grandson of Sā Bhātsāji, a Śrīmālī, at the request of Puṇyasāgarasūri of the A mchala *gachchha*, consecrated by Vijaya-Jinendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xlix.<sup>71</sup> Date and contents as of the preceding.

<sup>62</sup> In a temple on the south of the way to the Hāthīpola, in Vimalavasi Tuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 285.—J. B.

<sup>63</sup> On south side corner of a temple in the outer compound of the Ādiśvara temple.

<sup>64</sup> On the base of an image in a temple on the south side of the way to the Hāthīpola.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 291.

<sup>65</sup> In Modi Premachand's temple No. 84?

<sup>66</sup> In Vimalavasi Tuṅk, in a small temple on the south of the Vāghana-pola.—*Lists*, p. 204, No. 304.—J. B.

<sup>67</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tuṅk, on an image in the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 362.

<sup>68</sup> On the base of an image in the temple on the right upon entering the Tuṅk of Modi Premachand.—*Lists*, p. 208, No. 367.—J. B.

<sup>69</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tuṅk, on the base of the image in the temple facing the preceding.—*Lists*, p. 208, No. 364.

<sup>70</sup> On a column in the Śeshakoṭa in the Pañcha Pāṇḍava's temple.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 351.

<sup>71</sup> In the same temple.—J. B.

No. i.<sup>72</sup> Samvat 1860, Māhā sudya 13; a temple was begun and finished Samvat 1861, Phāguna vadi 5, Wednesday, by Virachanda, son of Pitāmara, grandson of Harashachanda, a Pārekh of Ahmadābād, of the Visā-Poravāla gachchha, and of the gachchha of Vijaya-Ānandasūri.

No. ii.<sup>73</sup> Vikrama Samvat 1861 and Śālivāhana Śāka 1726, Dhātā samvatsara Mārgaśīrsha sudi 3, Wednesday, Pūrvāshāḍha nakshatra, Vṛiddha Yoga, Gira Karana, in the victorious reign of Punyasāgarasūri, successor of Kirtisāgarasūri, successor of Udayasāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha, a kumda, called Ichhākumda, was dedicated by Ichchhābhāi, son of Nihālachandabbāi, a Śrīmālī of Surat; while the Gohil chief Unnadājī ruled over Pālītānā.

No. iii.<sup>74</sup> Samvat 1867, Chaitra sūda 15; an agreement in Gujarātī not to allow anybody to build temples in the Hāthī Pola.

No. liii.<sup>75</sup> Samvat 1875, Māgha vadi 4, Sunday; an image of Suvadhinātha (?), dedicated by Sosajī, son of Mūlajī and Māmnakumara, of Rādhnapura; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Sedugarasī, son of Mūlajī and (?); an image of Mallinātha, and a little temple (*dehari*) dedicated by Kāmṭiyā Hemaji, son of Tokarāsī.

No. liv.<sup>76</sup> Samvat 1885, Vaiśākha śukla akshayatriṭiyā, Thursday; a temple of Chandraprabha, built, at the request of the Śrāvikā Gulāvabenī, by Bābu Harsha-chandajī and Visanachandajī, sons of Jeṭhamallajī, Būranachandajī and Keśava-dāsajī, sons of Sāha Bohitthajī, of the Dūgada gotra, inhabitant of Bālūchhara; consecrated by Jinaharshasūri of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lv.<sup>77</sup> Samvat 1886, Śāka 1751, Māgha, śuklapaksha 5, Friday; an image of Puṇḍarīka gaṇadhara, dedicated for the welfare of his father by Lallubhāi, son of Seṭh Pānābhāi and his wife Mughivahu, daughter of Seṭh Vakhatachanda Khuśyālachanda of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated during the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara gachchha.

No. lvi.<sup>78</sup> (Date as above); a temple built and an image of Pārsvānātha, dedicated for the welfare of Bāi Rāmākumyara, wife of Sāha Harakhachanda, son of Sāha Mūlachanda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara, and for the welfare of her daughter Jhaverabāi, wife of Dosī Kusalachanda, in the reign of bhāṭṭāraka Rājendrasāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha.

No. lvii.<sup>79</sup> (Date as above); a *chaturvīṃśatīrthaka:apaṭṭa* with *hrīmṭkāra*, dedicated by Motichanda, son of Sāha Malukachanda, and Kusalabāi, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara; consecrated by the bhāṭṭāraka of the Kharatara gachchha.

No. lviii.<sup>80</sup> (Date as above); a *parameshṭī[shṭhi]pada*, with *Omkāra*, dedicated by the donor of No. lvii; consecrated as above.

<sup>72</sup> In Vimalavasi Tunk, to the south-east of the Chaumukh of a hundred pillars.—*Lists*, p. 202, No. 245.—J. B.

<sup>73</sup> On a tank by the roadside part of the way down the hill.

<sup>74</sup> On the wall, beside the Hāthīpola, or the gateway separating the enclosure of the Ādiśvara Bhagavān and the eastern section of the Vimalavasi Tunk.—J. B.

<sup>75</sup> In Modi Premachand's Tunk, in a cell or chapel in the north corridor.

<sup>76</sup> In a small temple to the south of Puṇḍarīka's.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 345.

<sup>77</sup> In Hemabhai's Tunk, at the entrance.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 408.

<sup>78</sup> On the seat of an image south of Puṇḍarīka's in the entrance to Hemabhai Vakhatchand's Tunk.

<sup>79</sup> In Hemabhai's Tunk, on the north wall of the Maṇḍapa of the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 407.

<sup>80</sup> In the same temple, on the south wall.—J. B.

No. lix.<sup>81</sup> (Date as above) ; a temple and an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated for her husband's welfare by Ichhāvahu, wife of Naginadāsa, son of Śeṭh Himabhāi, son of Śeṭh Vakhatachamda Khuśyālachamda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā, of the Ośa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara ; consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchha*.

No. lx.<sup>82</sup> Samvat 1887, Vaisākha sudi 13, *jñavāsara*. in the reign of Gohel Kāndhājī, *kuṃvara* Noghañajī, of Pādaliptanagara, a temple (*vihāra*) built, and an image of Kumthanātha by Gajamalaājī Parakh, son of Himatarāma, son of Sāha Tilokachamda of the Luṇṇiyā gotra, Ukeśa jñātīya Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Ajameranagara ; consecrated by Devachamda, in the reign of *bhaṭṭ*. Jinaharshasūri, of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxi.<sup>83</sup> Samvat 1888, Vaisākha vadi — — *śorivāsare* (!), three images of Chandraprabha, etc., dedicated by Khemakuvarabāi, wife of Nihālachamda, son of Sāha Pāmnāchamda, Ośavāla of Ahmadābād ; consecrated by Devachandra, in the reign of Jinharshasūri of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxii.<sup>84</sup> Samvat 1889, Śaka 1755, Vaisāsha śukla 13, Wednesday ; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Ujamabāi, daughter of Vakhatachamda, an Ośavāla of the Vṛiddhasākhā, inhabitant of Rājanagara ; consecrated in the reign of Śāntisāgarasūri of the Sāgara *gachchha*. A small temple in the Moṭī ṭunk near Puñchabhāi's temple by the same.

No. lxiii.<sup>85</sup> (Date as above) ; an image of Rishabhadeva, dedicated by Paradhāmnava, wife of Sūryamala, son of Śresṭhī Vakhatachamda, of the Vṛiddhasākhā of the Ukesa race, inhabitant of Rājanagara ; consecrated in the Sāgara *gachchha* (?).

No. lxiv.<sup>86</sup> (Date as above) ; an image of Chandraprabha, dedicated by Kapurachamdaājī, inhabitant of Sirohi, son of Pubachamda Jasarupājī, younger brother of Jasarupājī, son of Patāji Pārakh ; consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxv.<sup>87</sup> (Date as above), *chaturmukha bimba*, dedicated for the welfare of Hemabhāi by his whole family, *viz.* Naginadāsa, his wife Ichhāvahu, his younger brother Premābhāi, his wife Sāmkalivahu and his sisters Rukhamāñī, Prasana, Moṭikumara—Hemābhāi's wife Kamkuvahu, parents Śeṭh Vakhatachamda and Jadāvabāi, grandfather Khusālachamda, Ośavālas of the V. S., inhabitants of Ahmadābād ; consecrated by Śāntisāgara of the Sāgara-*gachchha*.

No. lxvi.<sup>88</sup> Date as above, but sukra 12, Wednesday (?) ; a *pañchaparameshṭi*-[*shṭhi*]-*paṭṭa*, containing an *Ōmkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No. lxii) ; consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha* (?).

No. lxvii.<sup>89</sup> Samvat 1889, Śaka 1754 Vaisāsha, śuklapaksha 12, Wednesday, a *chaturvimsatīrthamkarapaṭṭa*, containing a *Hrīmkāra*, dedicated by Ujamabāi (see No. lxvi), consecrated in the Tapā *gachchha* (?).

<sup>81</sup> In a shrine in Hemabhāi's Ṭunk.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 413.—J. B.

<sup>82</sup> Outside Kharataravasi Ṭunk, in a temple at the north-east corner.—*Lists*, p. 207, No. 347.—J. B.

<sup>83</sup> In one of the shrines round the court of Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, on the north side.

<sup>84</sup> In a small shrine on the south corridor of the same.

<sup>85</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭunk in a shrine in the south corridor room No. 4.

<sup>86</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, north corridor, room No. 2.

<sup>87</sup> In the shrine of the temple in the north-east of the court.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 412.

<sup>88</sup> In the principal temple in Hemabhāi's Ṭunk, on the south wall, see No. lviii.

<sup>89</sup> In Hemabhāi's temple, in the Maṇḍapa north wall, east corner, see No. lviii.—J. B.

No. lxviii.<sup>90</sup> Samvat 1891, Māgha, śita 5, Monday, during the reign of Gohel Khāmdhājī, his son being Noghanājī and his son Pratāpasīnghājī, of Pālītānā, an image of Rishabha, dedicated by Imdrajī, son of Nihālachamda, of the Yadugaḍa-gotra, Ośavāla race, Bṛihat-Śākhā, inhabitant of Makasudāvād-Bāluchara; consecrated by Paṃ. Devachandra, pupil of Paṃ. Jayavamtājī, in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxix.<sup>91</sup> Samvat 1892, Vaiśākha, śita 3, Friday, in the reign of Gohel Khamdājī (etc., see No. lxviii), images of Sambhavanātha, Pārśvanātha and Śī-talanātha, dedicated by Mahetābakumāra, wife of Bābu Pratāpasīnghājī, brother of Bābu Bahādarasīnghājī, son of Bābu Rādhāsīnghājī, of the Yadugaḍa-gotra, Ukesa race), Bṛihat-Śākhā, of Makasudāvād-Bāluchara; consecrated in the reign of Jinaharsha of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha* by P. Devachandra, pupil of P. Jayabhadra, pupil of P. Kanaka Sekharājī.

No. lxx.<sup>92</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha vadi 2, Wednesday; a temple built and image of Ādinātha dedicated by Phūlakumyara, daughter of Anopabhāi and Manachhi, Anopabhāi being son of Vakhatachamda (see above, No. xlv); consecrated by Śāmtisāgara of the Sāgara *gachchha*.

No. lxxi.<sup>93</sup> (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmtinātha dedicated by Ujalivahu, wife of Phatebhāi, son of Motichamda, Vṛiddha-Śākhā, Ośavāla, inhabitant of Rājanagara, consecrated by Śāmtisāgara of the Sāg. ga.

No. lxxii.<sup>94</sup> (Date as above), temple built and image of Śāmtinātha dedicated by Bhagubhāi, son of Phatebhāi (wife Acharatavahu), son of Motichanda (see No. lxxi); consecrated by Śāmtisāgara of the Sāgara-gotra.

No. lxxiii.<sup>95</sup> (Date as above), a temple built in Hemābhāi's ṭuṅk and image of Ajitanātha dedicated by Sā Lashamīchamda, (wife Pāravati), son of Sā Jesamgha, son of Sā Hīrāchamda, of the Vṛiddha-Śākhā, Usavāla, inhabitant of Khambhanagara.

No. lxxiv.<sup>96</sup> Samvat 1893, Jyeshṭha śudi 3, Wednesday; an image of Gomukha Yaksha, dedicated by Bāphanā Gumāmnachamdājī Bahādarāmallaājī of Jeśalameru, consecrated by Jinamahēmdrasūri of the Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. lxxv.<sup>97</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Premachanda, etc. (see next inscription), consecrated by Padmavijaya, etc. (see next inscription).

No. lxxvi.<sup>98</sup> Samvat 1893, Śāka 1758, Māgha śukla 10, Wednesday; an image of Pārśvanātha dedicated by Ajab and Mānakumara, the first and second mothers of Sā Pitāmara, son of Sā Sākalachamda, son of Sā Premachamda, son of Sā Dāmodaradāsa of the Laghu Śākhā of the Śrīmāla race, inhabitants of Ahammadāvād, consecrated by

<sup>90</sup> In temple outside the gate of Puṇḍarika temple of the Kharataravasi Ṭuṅk and next to that containing inscription No. lx.—*Lists*, p. 206, No. 341.—J. B.

<sup>91</sup> Outside the enclosure of the great Chaumukha on the east, next to preceding on the base of an image.—*Lists*, p. 206. No. 339.

<sup>92</sup> In Hemābhāi Ṭuṅk, west corridor, room No. 1.

<sup>93</sup> In the same Ṭuṅk in a shrine in the west corridor.

<sup>94</sup> In Hemābhāi's Ṭuṅk, west corridor, room No. 5.

<sup>95</sup> In the Hemābhāi Ṭuṅk, north corridor, first room.

<sup>96</sup> In the shrine of Gaumukha, at the entrance to the Chaumukha temple.—*Lists*, p. 205 No. 311.

<sup>97</sup> Sākalachand Premachand's Ṭuṅk, on the seat below the image (Chintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha), in a cell in the west corridor of the principal temple.—*Lists*, p. 212, No. 494.

<sup>98</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand's Ṭuṅk, on the seat of Puṇḍarika, facing the principal temple.—J. B.



Rûpavijayagani, pupil of Padmavijayagani, a Samvijñamārgī, of the line of Vijayasīhasûri, in the Samvijñayamārgīya—Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxxvii.<sup>99</sup> (Date as above), an image of Padmanātha, dedicated by Sâ Mûlachamda, son of Sâ Karmachamda, son of Sâ Premachamda (etc., see above) consecrated by Rûpavijayagani (etc., see No. lxxvi).

No. lxxviii.<sup>100</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmmanātha, dedicated by Amarachamda (and family), son of Ratnakhimachamda and Devakûara Bât, son of Premachamda and Ichhâbât of the Osa race, Laghu Śākhâ, inhabitant of Mumbâi, consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Dhaneśvarasûri of the gachchha of Vijaya-Āṇamdasûri, called the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. lxxix.<sup>1</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sâ Sâhavisimgha, son of Sâ Keśirisimgha, son of Sâ Khusâlachamda, son of Sâ Nâhâlachamda, an Osavâla of the Vṛiddhasākhâ, inhabitant of Ahamadâvâd, consecrated by Śāntisâgarasûri of the Sâgara *gachchha*.

No. lxxx.<sup>2</sup> (Date as above), an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by Khemachamda (and family), son of Śeṭh Motichamda and Divâlî Bât, son of Śeṭh Amichamda and Rupâ Bât; an Osavâla of the Vṛiddhasākhâ and Nâhaṭâgotra, inhabitant of Mumbai-bindara (*Bombay*), consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, successor of Jinaharshasûri of the Bṛihat-Kharatara *gachchha* (Kharatara Pippaliya), during the reign of Gohel Pratâpasimghajî.

No. lxxxi.<sup>3</sup> (Date as above), image of Śeṭh Mo[ticham]da and his wife Ichhâvâlî set up by Śeṭh Khemachamda, in the Kharatara-Ghînaliya (*Pippaliya*?) *gachchha*.

No. lxxxii.<sup>4</sup> (Date as above), image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Śeṭh Amichamda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdra, (*Kharatara-Pippaliya-gachchha-ja-yu śrî-Jinadevasûri tatpatte bha-śrî-Jinachamdasûri vidyamâne saparikarasam-yute*).

No. lxxxiii.<sup>5</sup> (Date as above), an image of Supârsvanātha, dedicated by Rûpâ Bât, wife of Śeṭh Amichamda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, etc., (see the preceding No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxiv.<sup>6</sup> (Date as above), an image in the temple of *śrîvat*-Kesarîdevî (Ambâ), dedicated by Mumgîvahu, wife of Khemachamda (etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasûri, etc., (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxv.<sup>7</sup> (Date as above), an image of Puṇḍarîka, dedicated by Khemachamda (and family, etc., see No. lxxx); consecrated by Jinamahemdrasuri, etc. (see No. lxxxii).

No. lxxxvi.<sup>8</sup> Samvat 1897, Śāka 1763, Vaiśāka, śukla 13, Monday; an image

<sup>99</sup> In the temple in the north-east corner of Sâkalachand Premachand's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 213, No. 498.—J. B.

<sup>100</sup> In Motisâh's Ṭuṅk, in the temple on the south side of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 420.

<sup>1</sup> In Motisâh's Ṭuṅk, on the base of image in a temple on the north of the principal one.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 433.

<sup>2</sup> In Motisâh's Ṭuṅk, on the base of the principal image in the temple next to the preceding.

<sup>3</sup> Near the door below the image of the Śeṭh and his wife, in the principal temple in Motisâh's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 417.

<sup>4</sup> On the base of an image to the right of the principal image in temple No. 420.—*Lists*, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> On the base of an image to the left of the principal image in a temple to the north-east of the central one.

<sup>6</sup> On the base of image of Ambâ Mâtâ (Chakreśvari) to the right of the principal temple in Motisâh Amichand's Ṭuṅk.

<sup>7</sup> On the base of Puṇḍarîka, in the temple at the entrance of Motisâh's Ṭuṅk; the temple of Puṇḍarîka always faces the principal shrine of Ādinātha.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 418.—J. B.

<sup>8</sup> On the base of image in a temple behind the principal one in Motisâh's Ṭuṅk.—*Lists*, p. 210, No. 421.

of Ādinātha, dedicated by Phulachamda, son of Kapurachamda and Kasali, son of Pārekha Jiboghā (?) and Lashamī, Śrīmālī of the Vṛiddha Śākhā, inhabitant of Mumbāibidar (*Bombay*), consecrated in the reign of Vijaya Devidrasūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. lxxxvii.<sup>9</sup> Samvat 1900, Śāka 1765, Māgha śukla 7, Friday; a temple built by Kshemachamda.

No. lxxxviii.<sup>10</sup> Samvat 1903, Śāka 1768, Māgha, kṛishṇa 5, Friday; an image of Rūpabāi (etc., see No. lxxxiii), dedicated by Kshemachamda; in the reign of Jinamahimdrasūri of the Brihat-Kharatara Pīpaliya gachchha.

No. lxxxix.<sup>11</sup> Samvat 1905, Vaiśāsha, śukla 1, Monday; an image of Ādinātha, dedicated by mehetā Motichamda, son of m. Khetasī, Ośavāla of the Vṛiddha-Śākhā, inhabitant of Pālanapūra; two other images of Ādinātha, dedicated by his wives Rāmākuyara and Imdara, two more images of Ādinātha, dedicated by Maṅgali, son of metā Īśvara and Jñānavahu, son of Rāmākuyar and Motīchamda, as well as by Dilubāi, wife of Khetasī, son of Mūlachamda, in the reign of Devimdrasūri of the Tapā gachchha.

No. xc.<sup>12</sup> Samvat 1905, Śāka 1770, Māgha, śukla 5, Monday; a temple built, thirty-two images of Chamdraprabhu and other Jinas dedicated, a dharmasālā 120 gaja long and 40 gaja broad, built in Pālitanā, south side, an upāsar in Pālitanā for the Amchala gachchha restored, (all) by Sā Hīrajī and Sā Virajī with their wives Purabāi and Līlā Bāi, they being sons of Sā Narasī and Kuarabāi, son of Bhāramalla, and Marṅka Bāi Ośavalas of the Laghu-sāsha, and Nāgaḍā-gotra, members of the Amchala gachchha, inhabitants of Nabhinpura in Kachha, the pious works being made by the advice (upadeśāt) of Muktiśāgarasūri of the Amchala gachchha.

No. xci.<sup>13</sup> Pedigree and record of the benefactions of Śeṭh Vakhatachanda, his son Hemābhāi and his grandson, the late Nagarśeṭh Premābhāi of Ahmadābād. He belonged to the Osavāla-jñāti, the Addai Śākhā, the Śīsodiā-vaṁśa, the Kumkumalola-gotra, worshipped the gotra-devī Āśāpurī, the Kshetrapāla Baraḍā. The pedigree includes (1) [K]ulautapatirājā Sāmāntasamgha rāmno, (2) his son Kuarapāla, converted to Jainism by Achāraja Dharmagoshasūri, (3) his son Sā Harapati, (4) his son Sā Vachchhā, (5) his son Sā Sehasakaraṇa, (6) his son Śeṭh [Sā]mtidāsa of Rājanagara, a courtier (rājasabhāśragāra) in the time (pravartte) of Dalipatipātasāha—Sāhajāmgājī, his son Śeṭh Lakhamichamda; (8) his son Shusālachamda (Khushālchand), wife Jhamaku; (9) their son Seṭh Vashatachamda (Vakhatchand). Then follow the names of the latter's wives, children and grand-children, an enumeration of his, and his family's benefactions with dates, from V. S. 1864 to 1905 and a paṭṭāvali of the Sāgara-gachchha; (1) Rājasāgarasūri; (2) Vṛiddhisāgarasūri; (3) Lakshmīsāgarasūri; (4) Kalyāṇasāgarasūri; (5) Punyasāgarasūri; (6) Udayasāgarasūri; (7) Ānandasāgarasūri; (8) Śāntisāgarasūri, V. S. 1905.

No. xcii.<sup>14</sup> Samvat 1908, Chaitra vada 10, Wednesday; a temple built in the Muhatā

<sup>9</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand's Ṭuṅk, on the left side wall, near the shrine door of the temple on the south-east.—*Lists*, p. 213, No. 499.

<sup>10</sup> On the base of a female image near the door of the principal temple in Motīśh's Ṭuṅk.

<sup>11</sup> In Motīśh's Ṭuṅk, south corridor, first room.

<sup>12</sup> In the Kharataravasi Ṭuṅk in a temple outside the Chaumukh enclosure and behind that of Narsi Keśavji.

<sup>13</sup> In Hemābhāi Vakhatachand's Ṭuṅk, on the front wall, at the south corner, outside the principal temple of Ajitarāth, built by Premābhāi.—*Lists*, p. 209, No. 407.—J. B.

<sup>14</sup> In Motīśh's Ṭuṅk, in a room in the south corridor.

Moti-vasi (Motisñāh's Tuñk), by Vṛiddhishamḍajī, son of Mubatā Pañchāna and Punyakuara, of the Ośa race, inhabitants of Vīkānera; consecrated by Pañ. Devem-drakuśala, brother of Āṇamḍakuśala of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xciii.<sup>15</sup> Samvat 1908, Vaisāsha kṛishṇa 7, Monday; an image of Dharmanāthajī, dedicated by Khusālabhāi, son of Dīpachamḍa, a Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Rājānagara

No. xciv.<sup>16</sup> (Date as above), an image of Śumatinātha, dedicated by Jeṭhābhāi, another son of Dīpachamḍa (see No. xciii).

No. xcvi.<sup>17</sup> (Date as above), an image of Rishabha, dedicated in the reign of Harkhamḍasūri by Jeṭhābhāi (&c., see No. xciv) of the Pāyachamḍa(?) *gachchha*, consecrated by Pañ. Āṇamḍakuśala.

No. xcvi.<sup>18</sup> Samvat 1910, Chetra, śukla 15, Thursday; in the reign of Rājārjēvara Mahārājādhirāja (!) Gohil Śrī Noghaṇa, his son being Prātāpasimghajī, of Pālītāṇā, a new temple built and eight images of Adijina, Suvrata, Ādinātha, Naminātha, Ādinātha, Śruvata, Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Śeṭh Vaghamalaji, son of Agarakuvarabāi and Dhanarūpamalla, Osavāla of the Vṛiddha Śākhā and Śrī-Muñmīyā gctra, inhabitants of Ajamera, consecrated in the reign of Jinasaubhāgyasūri, successor of Jina haśha of the Khar. ga. by Hemachandira, younger pupil (*laghusikshya*) of Māmnasumdarajī, of Harshakirtti, pupil of Dayāvilasajī, pupil of Jayabhadrajī, pupil of Pañ. Kanakasesharajī.

No. xcvi.<sup>19</sup> Samvat 1911, Phālguna, kṛishṇa 2 Monday,<sup>20</sup> an image of Abhinamdanasvāmīmūlanāyaka, dedicated in the Motivasitūnka by Sā Kālidāsa, son of Bāi-Deva and Bhagavāna, son of Sā Harashachamḍa, a Viśā Poravāḍa, inhabitant of Rājānagara; consecrated by Pañ. Āṇamḍakuśala in the reign of Devimdrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. xcvi.<sup>21</sup> Samvat 1913, Māgasara, śudi 6; *Navāsare*, an image of Śāntinātha, dedicated by Śeṭh Phattebhāi, son of Sā Motibhāi and Rupakumvarabāi, of the Sisodīāsāshā and Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ammadāvād.

No. xcix.<sup>22</sup> (Date as above), an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Seṭh Chagana-bhāi, son of Siradārakumvarabāi and Sā. Mānaśushabhāi, of the Sisodīā sāshā and the Kumkamalola-gotra, inhabitant of Ahamadāvād.

No. c.<sup>23</sup> (Date as above), an image of Abhinamdana, dedicated by Samarathakuarabāi, daughter of Pradhānakumvarabāi and Śeṭh Surajamalabhāi, Osavāla of the Sisodīā sāshā and the Kumkamalola gotra, inhabitant of Ahamadāvād.

No. ci.<sup>24</sup> Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mārgaśīrsha, sūdi 7, Monday; an image of Dattajina, dedicated by Bāi Aindra, wife of Sāhā Velachamḍa Mānyekachamḍa of Rājānagara.

No. cii.<sup>25</sup> Samvat 1914 (written 19014), Mārgaśīrsha, vadi aikame,<sup>26</sup> Wednesday (*vārabuddhe*); an image of Śūvrattajina, dedicated by Bāi Harakumyyara, wife of Mānikachamḍa Khimachamḍa, an Usa of Rājānagara.

<sup>15</sup> In Motisñāh's Tuñk, in a room in the south corridor, next the preceding.—J. B.

<sup>16</sup> In the same room as the preceding.

<sup>17</sup> In the same place as in No. xciii.

<sup>18</sup> In the Chaumukh enclosure, on the east wall of a marble temple behind the great one.—*Ziela*, p. 206, No. 325.

<sup>19</sup> In Motisñāh's Tuñk, in a room in the south corridor.—J. B.

<sup>20</sup> Date on the image 903.

<sup>21</sup> In Hemabhai's Tuñk, south wing, room No. 33.—J. B.

<sup>22</sup> Hemabhai's Tuñk, south wing, No. 32.

<sup>23</sup> In the same corridor, No. 31.

<sup>24</sup> In Motisñāh's Tuñk, south corridor, No. 28; see No. cvi.

<sup>25</sup> In Motisñāh's Tuñk, south corridor, No. 22.—J. B.

<sup>26</sup> Date on the image Samvat 1693.

No. ciii.<sup>27</sup> Samvat 1916, Vaiśākha, kṛiṣṇa 6, Thursday, (*uttarāślādhānakshatra samkrānti mesha, sūrjo udayāt ghaṭi 1, pala 45*); a temple (*Śrīcāsupājyaprasāda*) built, *yātrā* and various benefactions made by an inhabitant of Kapaḍavaṇaja, a Nemba by race, of the Vṛiddha-sāśhā and Maṇiyāṇa-gotra, called Sā Hīrāji, his son Gulabachamda and wife Manakuvara, their son Pārekha Mithubhai and wife Benakumvara, their son Karamachamda and wives (1) Bāi Jaḍava, (2) Bāi Śiven, consecrated in the reign of Vidyānamdasūri, successor of Dhānesarasūri of the Ānandasūri *gachchha* by Gaṇi Raṁgavijaya, pupil of Paṁ. Viravijaya, pupil of Paṁ. Dhīravijaya, a *samvega-pakshi*, pupil of Paṁ. Khemāvijaya of the Tapā *gachchha*, during the reign of *rājā-dhīrāja* Pratāpasimghaji.

No. civ.<sup>28</sup> Samvat 1916, Śāka 1781, Phālguna, kṛiṣṇa 2, Friday; an image of Ajitanātha, dedicated in the new temple in the Vakhatachamdasī, by Śeṭh Anopachamda, son of Vakhatachamda (etc., see No. xci), and by his wife Adhīra and daughter Bāi Ddhīrya (Dhiraj), in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha*.

No. cvi.<sup>29</sup> Samvat 1922, Mārgasara, vadi 7, Thursday; an image of Aranātha, dedicated by Sivaprasāda, son of Modī Namidāsa, Ośavāla of the Vṛiddha Śākhā and the Chhājeḍā gotra, inhabitant of Kāśī, consecrated by Hīrāchamdra, pupil of Paṁ. Devachamda, by command of (?) Jinamuktisūri of the Brihat-Kharatara *gachchha*.

No. cvii.<sup>30</sup> Samvat 1924, Māgha śukla 10, Monday<sup>31</sup>; an image of Sitalanāthaji, dedicated by Sā Amolakakāsalā, a Dasā-Poravāḍa of the Laghu-Śākhā, inhabitant of Viśālanagara (Visalnagar?) in Gujara-deśa; his sons were Mūlachamda, Mayāchamda, Ravichamda, their sons Gokala, Dīpachamda and Shimachamda; consecrated in the reign of Vijaya-Devendrasūri of the Tapā *gachchha* by Paṁ. Ratnavijaya.

No. cviii.<sup>32</sup> Samvat 1928, Māgha śukla 13, Thursday; an image of Pārśvajina, in their own temple (*deharī*) in the Ṭuṅk of Seṭh Motisā, dedicated by Prāgaḷi and his father Galālachamda, the latter being the son of Bāi Iratana and Khimaji, son of Jhaverī Velāji of Navānagara.

No. cix.<sup>33</sup> Samvat 1930, Chaitra vada 2; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Sā Māmnakachamda Motichamda, of Amadāvād.

No. ex.<sup>34</sup> Vikrama-Samvat 1939, Mahāmāsa, kṛiṣṇa 12, Tuesday; an image of Sūn-tinātha, dedicated by Nānāpujā Sā Pitaṁbaradāsa, a Poravāḍa of the Laghu Śākhā inhabitant of Amadāvād.

No. cxi.<sup>35</sup> Samvat 1940, Śāka 1805, Vaiśākha śukla 3, Monday (*ishṭa ghaṭi 3 pala 10 suryodayāt*); during the reign of Goyala Sūrasimghaji of Pālītānā, in the time of Vivekasāgarasūri of the Amchala *gachchha*, an image of Ādinātha dedicated in Sā Keśava Nāyaka's Ṭuṅk in the temple of Puṁḍarika, by Sūbhā Trikama, who lives in Nalinapura, in Kachchha and in Mu[m]bāibimdar (*Bombay*), an Ośavāla of the Laghu śākhā and Shotā-gotra; consecrated by Muni Shetasi.

<sup>27</sup> In the Bālābhāi Ṭuṅk, near the shrine door of the temple in the south-east.—*Lists*, p. 212, No. 493—J. B.

<sup>28</sup> In Hemabhāi's Ṭuṅk, in another room, No. 27 of the same *Dhāmṭi*, with No. c.

<sup>29</sup> In Motisāh's Ṭuṅk, in a room in the south corridor, No. 28; in the same room as No. ci.

<sup>30</sup> In Motisāh's Ṭuṅk, in the south corridor room No. 23.—J. B.

<sup>31</sup> Date on the image—Samvat 1903.

<sup>32</sup> In Motisāh's Ṭuṅk, in the south corridor room No. 30—J. B.

<sup>33</sup> In Motisāh's Ṭuṅk, south corridor No. 35.

<sup>34</sup> In Sāka's chand Premachand's Ṭuṅk, west side corridor, small shrine No. 18, under an image.

<sup>35</sup> In the shrine of Puṁḍarika at Keśarji Nāvak's temple in Vimulavasi Ṭuṅk.—J. B.

No. cxii.<sup>36</sup> Samvat 1940, Māgha śukla 6, Saturday; an image of Pārśvanātha, dedicated by Parasatāmīdhayā (?), son of Jayasīmha Himachamda, a Śrīmālī of the Vṛiddha Śākhā, inhabitant of Amatavāma (?), consecrated by Paṁnyāsa Gulābavijaya-gaṇi, pupil of Paṁnyāsa Maṇivijaya.

No. cxiii.<sup>37</sup> Samvat 1940, Phālguna śukla 3, Friday; an image of Dharmanātha, dedicated by Rāmachamda Phulachamda, a Vṛiddha Śrīmālī, inhabitant of Aṇahilapura; consecrated by Paṁnyāsa Gulābavijaya gaṇi, pupil of Paṁnyāsa Maṇivijaya-gaṇi of the Samvijña-paksha of the Tapā gachchha.

No. cxiv.<sup>38</sup> Samvat 1943, Pausa, kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī, Monday; a *Vāsudhāyajina*, dedicated by Sā Kevala Lakhamīcha(m)da, a Dasā-Saramālī (Śrīmālī) of Amadāvād, his wife Kesarabāī, his son Chunilāla, with his wife Parasanaabāī, and their daughter Bena Sāmkuṇa.

No. cxv.<sup>39</sup> Samvat 1943, Māgha sukala 10, Thursday; an image of Sā(m)tināth, dedicated by Sā Lalu Vakhatachamda, a Viśā-Osavāla of Amadāvād, his wife Bāī Adhīr, his daughter Dhīraja, and his sons Vādīlāla and Bholābhāī.

No. cxvi.<sup>40</sup> No date; an image of Śreyāṁsa, dedicated at the request (*upadeśa*) of Kalyāṇasāgarasūri<sup>41</sup> of the Amchala gachchha, consecrated on Vaiśākha sudi 3, Wednesday.

No. cxvii.<sup>42</sup> Samvat 15... (P P) ... sudi 5; buddhe, an Aṣṭāpada, dedicated by Jhaverachamda (?), mentions also the name of Udayasāgarasūri.

#### No. cxviii.<sup>43</sup>

- L. 1. ॥ श्री ॥ सं १६५० [प्र] चै° पूर्णि-
2. मायां सुविहितसाफचीर-
3. सागरप्रोक्तासशीतपादानां
4. निजवचनरंजितसाहित्री-
5. अकब्बरप्रदत्तश्रीसिद्धशै-
6. लानां भटारकश्रीविजयसे<sup>44</sup>
7. नसूरिप्रमुखसुविहित-
8. भक्तिभरसेव्यमानपादा-
9. रविदानां श्री ६ श्रीहीरवि-
10. जयसूरिपादानां माहात्म्यप्रो-
11. णितसीहिनिर्मितसकल<sup>45</sup>

12. सत्वद्रव्यग्रहण[सु]त्तिका-
13. यां प्रथमचैत्रीपूर्णमायां [त-]
14. च्छिष्यसकलवीचककोटि<sup>46</sup>
15. कोटीरश्मिकोटिश्री ६ श्रीवि-
16. मलहृषगणिमि<sup>47</sup> । श्रे° पं° देव°
17. हर्ष गं श्रीशत्रुजयक्रतकल<sup>48</sup>
18. पं° धनविजय गं पं° जयवि-
19. जय गं जसविजयहसवि<sup>49</sup>
20. जय गं मुनि [वे]सलादिसुनि-
21. शतद्वयपरिकरितैर्निर्वि-
22. <sup>50</sup>—कीकता यात्रा इति भद्रम् [॥]

Samvat 1650, Chaitra, full moon day; Vimalaharsha, pupil of bhāṭṭāraka Hiravijaya, of the Sāpha gotra, which latter was honoured by Sāhi Akabbara and received from him the Siddhasāila (*Śatrumjaya*), made a pilgrimage, together with 200 other monks.

<sup>36</sup> In a cell of Keṣavji Nāyak's temple in the Vimalavasi Tunk, east corridor.—J. B.

<sup>37</sup> In some place as the preceding.

<sup>38</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand's Tunk, on the seat below the image in the temple to the right of the principal one.

<sup>39</sup> In Sākalachand Premachand, under an image, west side, corridor 17.

<sup>40</sup> On the base of an image in a temple outside the Hāthi-pola, north side.—*List*, p. 201, No. 234.

<sup>41</sup> This name shows that the inscription belongs to Samvat 1675 or 1683.—1676 is the date of the temple.—J. B.

<sup>42</sup> On a brass plate in Modi Premachand's temple, see No. xlii.—J. B.

<sup>43</sup> On the south wall of the temple of Ādiśvara Bhagavān temple.—J. B.

<sup>44</sup> Read भटारक°

<sup>45</sup> Read साहि°

<sup>46</sup> Read वाचक°

<sup>47</sup> Read णिमि;

<sup>48</sup> Read संजय° । कृतकल°

<sup>49</sup> Read हस°

<sup>50</sup> Read की°

## VII.—VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SÂNCI STÜPAS.

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The subjoined transcripts of a large number of the votive inscriptions, found on the Sânci, or more correctly Kâkanâda,<sup>1</sup> Stûpas Nos. I and II, have been prepared according to impressions by Drs. Burgess and Führer. The former took impressions of about twenty inscriptions in the beginning of 1889, and Dr. Führer, who visited Sânci during the cold season of 1889-90, made copies of the whole collection. Compared with Sir A. Cunningham's collection,<sup>2</sup> *Bhilsa Topes*, plates xvi—xix and xxi, the present ones show a hundred and ten inscriptions less for Stûpa I, and twenty-seven less for Stûpa II. On the other hand, there are, counting the duplicates, forty-one inscriptions from Stûpa I and five from Stûpa II which I cannot trace in Sir A. Cunningham's work. The missing inscriptions are probably incised on stones, which may have been lost in the repairs executed some years ago, or during the forty years which have elapsed since the preparation of Sir A. Cunningham's book. The most serious loss is that of Sir A. Cunningham's No. 177 (*Bhilsa Topes*, plate xix), see also *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. I, Plate xx<sup>3</sup>, which, as I have already pointed out in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 124, seems to contain a second version of Aśoka's so-called Kośambī edict on the Allahâbād Pillar. This much appears highly probable from a comparison of the middle portions of the two inscriptions:—

## Allahâbād.

. . . . . saṅgham [ . ]  
[Bho]khati bhikhu-va bhikhunī-vā. [pi]  
chā [ . ] (2) dā[tā]ni [d]u[sā]ni . nam  
dhāpayitu ānapesa . v. s. y. y. [ . ]

## Sânci.

. . . . . saṅgham (3)  
Bhokhati bhikhu [v\*] ā bhikhuni [vā\*]  
[ . ] dātā (4) ni du[sā]ni s[ā\*]nam .  
[dh\* ā]p[a\*]yit [u\*] anā[p\*]e (5) sasi  
visapetaviye [ . ] Ichhā hi me sā (6) ti  
saṅghasa \* mage chilathitike siyā ti ( 7 ).

Assuming a new sentence to begin with *bhokhati* L. 5, the remainder of the Sânci version may be translated as follows:—

“Monks and nuns will dine,<sup>5</sup> (*and*) causing white cloths to be put down for them, (*you*) will order it to be spread. For my wish is this, that the path of the Community (*of Buddhist monks*) may endure for a long time.”

The order is evidently addressed to an official, probably to the *mahāmātra* in charge of Mālvā, just as the edict on the Allahâbād Pillar gives directions to the governor of

<sup>1</sup> See J. F. Fleet: *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, p. 31.

Inscriptions found only in Sir A. Cunningham's collection will be referred to in the sequel, according to his numbers to which C is prefixed.

<sup>2</sup> During the repairs under Major Keith, many loose stones were built into the dome, some of which may have borne short votive inscriptions. The Aśoka edict was on a fragment of a large pillar, which still lies at the great stûpa. This and others may possibly have been overlooked by Dr. Führer in his hurried visit.—J. B.

<sup>3</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's two facsimiles (A, *Bhilsa Topes*, Plate xix; B, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. I Plate xx) have the following readings, which I have corrected:—

L. 4, *ta bhikhu* . . . *i chaddāto* (A) *chā bhikhuni yi khuddā* (B);

L. 5, *dupāni* (A), *du[sā] pir* (B); *sanāth* (A, B); *chhavañ anāte* (A); *pāyita anā* (B);

L. 6, *vidhapetaviye* (A).

L. 7, *tiñ saṅghamsa* (A), *tiñ* (B); *milathitikeñ* (A).

I do not dare to propose a restoration of the first three lines of the Sânci version. Mr. Prinsep's and Sir A. Cunningham's attempts (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 260 f.) do not seem to me successful.

<sup>5</sup> Or perhaps “(*if*) a monk or a nun will dine, (*then*) etc.”

Kosambi. According to Childers, *Pali Dictionary* (sub voce *dussa*), it was customary with the Buddhists to spread white cloths on the seats prepared for the reception of distinguished monks. It is this mark of honour which both versions order to be shown to the monks and nuns visiting the sacred places. The concluding sentence of the Sānchi version, which probably was omitted on the Allahābād Pillar, may mean either that the king wishes the tenets (*mage*) of the Buddhist monks to exist for a long time, or that he desires the visits of the faithful to the sacred places to continue for a long time. The wording of this inscription shows the peculiar breadth which the Beloved of the Gods affects in his edicts, and we have the phrases, familiar to every reader of the latter, "for it is my wish" and "that . . . may endure for a long time." Finally, it must be pointed out that *chilathitika*, instead of which the dialect of Mālvā would have required *chirathitika*, as well as the final *e* of the masculine nominative singular *mage*, is a Magadhim, and that (as already stated by Sir A. Cunningham) the letters of the Sānchi version show the type of Aśoka's Rock and Pillar edicts. This inscription furnishes, therefore, the proof that the pillar at the South Gate, on which it has been found, dates from Aśoka's times. It, further, permits us to infer that those inscriptions on the railings of the Stūpa, which show the same characters, belong to an equally early period. The latter inference agrees with Sir A. Cunningham's views, who, besides, has assigned the inscriptions on the gateway to much later times.<sup>6</sup> According to his opinion all the latter documents belong to the first century A.D., because their characters are of the same type as his No. 190, which records a donation of Vāsīṭhiputa Ānanda, *āvesani* or foreman of the artisans of king Siri-Sātakaṇi. Identifying this Sātakaṇi with the third king of the Andhra dynasty, Sir A. Cunningham assigns to him, in accordance with Professor H. H. Wilson's calculations, the years 19-37 A.D., and thus places the date of Ānanda's inscription in the beginning of the first century of our era. Though I fully agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the Sātakaṇi of his No. 190 to be the third Andhra king of the Paurāṇik lists, I must differ from him regarding the date. The characters of his inscription No. 190, as well of the others on the Sānchi gateway, are in my opinion much earlier than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nānāghaṭ inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Aśoka's times. It deserves also to be noted that among the inscriptions of the Śeṭh Nāgapiya two, our Nos. 85 (= C. 182) and C. 192, are in the later characters, while one, our No. 7 (= C. 13) on Stūpa No. II, shows the same characters as Aśoka's inscriptions. Such a vacillation is easily explicable, if Nāgapiya lived in the second century B.C. But it is difficult to understand on the supposition that his donations were made two centuries later. Further, there is another important argument, which makes it probable that the first Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Andhra dynasty ruled, not after the beginning of our era, but about the middle of the second century B.C. I can only agree with Dr. Bhagvānlāl<sup>7</sup> in identifying the first Andhra Sātakaṇi with the Sātakaṇi, whom Khāravela, king of Kalinga, protected in the second year of his reign. The

<sup>6</sup> *Dhula Types*, pp. 271 ff. Sir A. Cunningham's assertion that the occurrence of the name *Gotiputra* (in our No. 49) possesses a great value for determining the age of the railing, is of course no longer tenable. Correctly interpreted, *Gotiputra*, in Sanskrit *Gaṇtiputra*, means only that the royal scribe *Subāhita* was the son of a lady of the *Gota* or *Gaupla* race. It by no means follows that she was the same person as the *Goti* or *Gaupti* who bore the famous Buddhist teacher of Aśoka's times.

<sup>7</sup> *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orient.*, vol. III, 2, p. 146. Dr. Bhagvānlāl, who assumes that the Maurya era began with Aśoka's conquest of Kalinga, fixes the beginning of Sātakaṇi's reign at 50 B.C.

thirteenth year of Khâravêla corresponds with the year 165 of the Maurya era (Bhagvânâlâl, *op. cit.* p. 149). Assuming, as I believe must be done, that the Maurya era begins with the coronation of Chandragupta, which fell between 322—312 B.C., Khâravêla's second year lay between 169 and 159 B.C., and Siri-Sâtakani was on the throne about that time. For these reasons I must assign our Nos. 83—88 and Sir A. Cunningham's Nos. 178, 179, 183, 184, 186—192, 194—196 to the first half of the second century B.C. To the same, and partly even to a later, period belong also our Nos. 13 (C. 25), 21 (C. 39), 51 (C. 112), 96, 108, 111 and 123. Among these, Nos. 13, 51 and 96 particularly show the characteristics noticeable in the inscriptions of the first century A.D., *viz.* the inverted *da*, the square *sa*, the angular *ma*, and the *anusvâra* above the line. All these inscriptions, with the exception of No. 21, are very badly engraved and not much better than mere scrawls. Their occurrence on the railings among much older documents may possibly be explained by the supposition that they record repairs of older broken *vedikâs*.

With respect to the age of the inscriptions on Stûpa II, it is important to note that one person, who contributed to the gateways of Stûpa I, appears as donor of a piece of the railing. This is Śeṭh Nâgapiya, whose case has already been noticed.<sup>8</sup> It is further remarkable that Balaka, the pupil of Arâhaguta-Sâsâdaka, occurs in No. 19 (C.) of Stûpa II, while his teacher is named as donor in No. 18 (C. 35) of Stûpa I. These two facts point to the conclusion that portions of, or perhaps the whole, railing were erected somewhat later than Aśoka's times. But the interval cannot be very great, because, as Sir A. Cunningham has pointed out (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 291), the letters of the inscriptions on Stûpa II fully resemble those of Aśoka's edicts. And it agrees with this estimate, as Sir A. Cunningham has likewise stated (*loc. cit.*),<sup>9</sup> that the Stûpa II contained the relics of contemporaries of Aśoka, of Moggaliputta, who, according to the Buddhist works, presided at the third Council of Pâtâliputra, and of Majhima who was sent as missionary to the districts in the Himâlâya and is called in the inscription on the relic box *savahemavatâchariya* "the teacher of the whole Haimavata (district)."

The language of the inscriptions likewise agrees with the assumption that they belong to the third century B.C., and to the first half of the second. It differs very little from the literary Pali and still less from the dialects of Aśoka's edicts, and it shares all the peculiarities of that of the Bharhut inscriptions,<sup>10</sup> which latter, with the exception of the inscription over the gateway, on the evidence of their characters belong to the time of the Maurya dynasty.

The inflected forms show, like the Bharhut inscriptions, a mixture of the case terminations used in the eastern and western versions of Aśoka's edicts. This is particularly noticeable in the genitives of the feminine stems in *i* and *â*, which sometimes end in *ya* or *yâ*, and sometimes in *ye*. Not traceable in Pali and Aśoka's edicts is the ablative in *âto*, which occurs three times in I, 51, 59, and 64. It is found once in the Bharhut inscription No. 116. It is very common in the Jaina Mathurâ inscriptions,<sup>11</sup> and the

<sup>8</sup> It is also possible that Nâgila, the pupil of Aya, mentioned in No. 1 of Stûpa II, may be identical with the venerable Nâgila, whose relatives according to No. 84 (C. 181) made a portion of the gateway of Stûpa I.

<sup>9</sup> I cannot agree with Sir A. Cunningham that there were relics of ten contemporaries of Aśoka. There are only two names which agree with those mentioned in the *Dîpavansa* and the *Mahâvansa*.

<sup>10</sup> See Dr. E. Hultzsch's excellent edition of these documents in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XL, p. 68 ff. The references in the sequel give his numbers and readings.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, p. 372.



original from which the Śaurasenī termination *ādo* and the Mahāshtrī *āo* have been derived. Peculiar is also the nominative, instead of the crude form, at the end of the first part of a compound. It occurs once in I. 3, where *kekaṭeyakasa jamata-vijitasa* is a negligent spelling for *kekaṭeyakasa jāmātā-vijitasa*, and takes the place of the grammatically correct *jāmātu* or *jāmāti-vijitasa*. The same anomaly is repeatedly observable in the Bharhut inscriptions, see e.g. No. 10, *isimigo-jātaka*, and it is very common in the Jaina Mathurā inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> Further, the use of the feminine affix *ā* at the end of female names in *devā*, e.g. *Soṇado* [*de*]vā, I, 8; *Dhamadevā* II, 3; which agrees with that of the Bharhut inscriptions e.g. in *Chāpadevā*, No. 22, differs from the Pali. But it would be correct even in Sanskrit, if the compounds are taken as Bahuvrīhis and in the sense of "she whose god is Sona, Dhama, or Chāpa."<sup>13</sup>

The word-forms are in general of the type of the Pali and of Aśoka's Gīrnār edicts. Even the *ra*, which is never changed to *īa*, is occasionally preserved in groups of consonants. And it is worthy of note that in the name *Prātīṭhānasa*, I. 12, even the spelling of the initial syllable agrees exactly with that used in the Gīrnār inscriptions for words like *prāṇa*, *priya* and so forth. The *ā* stroke is attached to *ra*, and both are placed above the *pa*, which thus shows at the top the well-known wavy line. Some of the words, which differ from those used in Pali and Aśoka's edicts, are at least formed according to principles prevalent or traceable in the most ancient Prakrits. *Bhichhu*, which appears far more frequently than *bhikkhu*, shows the change of *ksha* to *chōhha* or *chha* observable in Pali *achchhi*, a variant for *akkhi*, and Aśoka's *chhudaka* for *khudaka* and other words.<sup>14</sup> The only remarkable point is that the form with *chha* does not occur in this particular case in Pali, nor in Aśoka's edicts, but that it is found repeatedly in the Bharhut inscriptions<sup>15</sup> see, e.g., Nos. 27, 31, 65, 120. *Nhusā*, I. 22, which clearly stands for Sanskrit *snushā* "daughter-in-law" has been formed according to the principle applied in Pali to medial *sn*. It is interesting, because neither the Pali nor Aśoka's dialects admit the group *nh* in the beginning of this or any other word. The Pali forms for *snushā* are *sunisā*, *sunhā* and *husā*.<sup>16</sup> *Nusā*, a further corruption of *nhusā*, appears in our inscription, I. 73. The proper name *Patīṭhiya*, I. 22, 23; no doubt represents the Sanskrit *pratīṭhita*, and thus shows an elision of a medial *ta*. Such elisions are rare in the most ancient Prakrits. Nevertheless, a number of similar forms has been collected in Professor Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik*, p. 56.

A large number of other peculiarities which the Sānchi and Bharhut inscriptions exhibit are, I think, merely graphic and partly due to negligent spelling. Among these I would reckon :—

- (1) The frequent omission of a medial long *ā*, e.g. in *danam* for *dānam*, I. 6, 49, 82, *jamata* for *jāmātā*, I. 3, *Achalaya* for *Achalāya*, I. 6, *Soṇado*[*de*]vaya for *Soṇadevāya*, I. 8, *upasikāye* for *upāsikāye*, I. 20, *Asvadevaye* for *Asvadevāye*, I. 30, *Yasilaya* for *Yasilāya*, I. 33, *pajāvatīyā* for *pajāvatīyā*, I. 48, *bhatu* for *bhātu*, I. 63, *Samidatasa* for *Sāmidatasa*, I. 65, *Avisinaye* for *Avisināye*,

<sup>12</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, p. 375.

<sup>13</sup> Such compounds would fall under the general rule of Pāṇini, IV, 1, 4, which teaches that nouns in *a* take *ā* in the feminine.

<sup>14</sup> See E. Müller : *Pali Grammar*, p. 55 ;—Kuhn : *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, p. 52.

<sup>15</sup> Another abnormal *chha* occurs in *sechha*, Sanskrit *saiksha* and Pali *sekha*, Bharhut inscriptions, No. 15.

<sup>16</sup> The latter probably stood in I, C. 58, where Sir A. Cunningham gives a meaningless *pusa* ; see below, note 27.

I. 79, *Arapāna* for *Arápānā* (ablative), I. 89 *Jitamitaye* for *Jitāmitāye*, I. 101, *Vedisakaya* for *Vedisakāya*, I. 117, *Dhamasenaya* for *Dhamasenāya*, II. 9, and *Nāgapalitaya* for *Nāgapālītāya*, II. 10.<sup>17</sup>

(2) The occasional omission of short *i*, e.g., in *Dhamarakhatāye* for *Dhamarakhitāye*, I. 76, and *bhichhunayā* for *bhichhunīyā*, I. 119

(3) The almost invariable omission of medial *anusvāras*, e.g. in *Udubaraghara* and its derivatives (see Appendix, List V), in *Nadinagara* and its derivatives (see *ibidem*), *Tubavana* (*ibidem*), *Upidadata* (see Appendix, List III), in the proper names beginning with *Dhama*<sup>o</sup> (see Appendix, Lists I-V), and in *atevāsi* for *amtevāsi* I. 12, 66, 88, 112.

It seems to me that the omission of the long *ā* is due everywhere to carelessness, and has for its ultimate cause the custom, common even in late times among clerks and tradesmen, of omitting the vowel-marks altogether; for, the real existence of forms like *jamata*, *jataka* and *jitamita*, in the spoken language, has little probability. As regards the omission of *i*-strokes and of the *Anusvāras*, it is possible to conceive also of other explanations. The syllables in which the *i* is omitted stand, one and all, in *thesi*, i.e. immediately before or after the syllable which bears the stress-accent. A vowel which is placed in such a position is very indistinct, and it is not impossible that *na* and *kha* were sometimes actually pronounced instead of *ni* and *khi* in words like *bhichhūnayā* and *Dhamarakhatāye*. A good many vowel-changes in the literary Prakrits are due to this principle, and a still greater number in the modern vernaculars of India. It must also be noted that in *Aśoka*'s inscriptions *aya* appears occasionally instead of *iya*,<sup>18</sup> and for the same reason.

With respect to the omission of the *Anusvāra* it must be borne in mind that the spelling *dhama*<sup>o</sup> instead of *dhamma*<sup>o</sup> is perfectly admissible, because in these inscriptions a single consonant does duty for a double one, and hence *dhama* may be read *dhamma*, as the word is invariably spelt in Pali. Further, *Upidadata* and *Tubavana* may stand for *Upīdadata* and *Tūbavana*, because long *ī* and *ū* are marked very rarely in these, as in other old inscriptions. But forms like *Upīdadatta* and *Tūbavana* are again admissible in Pali and other ancient Prakrits, where *ī* and *ū* may be put for *im* and *um* as in *sīha*, *visati* and so forth. And it must be noted that the form *Īda* for *Indra* occurs repeatedly, e.g. in L. 1 of the large *Nānāghāt* inscription, *Archæological Rep. West Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60. A form like *Nadinagara* may be a negligent spelling for *Nādinagara*, which actually occurs in our inscription I. 7; for the Pali and the other Prakrits show in a number of cases *ā* for *am*, e.g., in *dāthā* for *damshtrā*, *saṇḍāsa* for *saṁdamśa* and so forth. It is no matter of surprise that the dialect of the inscriptions should show these changes more frequently than the literary language of the Buddhist canon. These explanations of the omission of the *Anusvāra* seem to me more probable than the assumption that it is simply in every case due to negligence.

Turning to the contents of the inscriptions, the latter offer, in spite of their extreme brevity, a good many points of interest. Among the two hundred and eighty-five in-

<sup>17</sup> Analogous cases are extremely common in the Bharhut inscriptions, and it will suffice to quote one sentence, No. 155, *yaṁ brāhmaṇa arāyesi jatakaṁ*, which, as Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out, is a quotation from *Jātakas*, vol. I, p. 293, verse 61 (Fausböll), where the text has *yaṁ brāhṛtaṇa arādesi*.

<sup>18</sup> See M. Senart's collection of such forms in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 304; and my additions in *der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, p. 154, to which instances *chetaya* for Sanskrit *chaitya*, Pali *chetiya*, has to be added from the Bharhut inscription No. 11.

scriptions, contained in Sir A. Cunningham's and the present collections, there are ten, recording donations by corporate bodies or families. The remainder give the names of individual donors. If a certain number of mutilated, or according to the facsimiles inexplicable, inscriptions are left out, and if the homonymous donors are considered to be the same persons,<sup>19</sup> we find among them fifty-four monks and thirty-seven nuns, as well as ninety-one males and forty-five or forty-seven females, who probably were lay members of the Buddhist sect.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, it is not improbable that two persons, bearing slightly different names, may be identical. Thus the monk Jonaka, I, C. 152, may be the same as the monk Jonhaka, I, 75.

Among the corporate bodies making donations, there are, according to the explanations given below, two villages, Vejaja I, 17, and Pāḍukulikā II, 1. Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 240 and p. 280) takes in both cases *grāma* as a personal name or as a part of such. But *grāma* is not used in such a manner, and the translation of *Vejajasa gāmasa dānam* by "Gift of Vejajjagrāma," is grammatically inadmissible, as that could only be *Vejajagāmasa dānam*. On the other hand, the form of the two names agrees well with the suggestion that they denote villages, for, Pāḍukulikā corresponds to Pāṇḍukulikā, 'the little dwelling,' or the little sanctuary of Pāṇḍu, i.e. the Nāga Pāṇḍu, and the word Vejaja closely agrees in its ending with the terminations *aj*, *ej*, and *ij*, which occur in hundreds of Indian village names as corruptions of the affixes *aya*, *eya* and *īya*<sup>21</sup>. Its first part corresponds to Sanskrit *vaidya*, which possibly may be an abbreviation of *Vaidyanātha*.<sup>22</sup> Pious donations, made by villages or towns, do not occur frequently in the inscriptions<sup>23</sup>, and those recorded on the Sānchi Stūpas possess a particular interest for, though, perhaps, they do not prove that all the inhabitants of Vejaja and Pāḍukulikā were Upāsakas of the Buddhist Saṃgha, they yet indicate that their most influential men, the members of the village Panch, belonged to the Bauddha sect, and that Buddhism had gained a footing among the agricultural population of Mālvā. Of equal interest is the mention of a *Bodhagoṭhī*, in I, 25, 26. The compound corresponds to *Bauddhagoṭhī*. A *goṭhī* is a committee of trustees in charge of a temple or of a charitable foundation. The inscriptions teach us, therefore, that the village of Dharmavardhana possessed a Bauddha shrine, or perhaps a Vihāra, which was managed by such a committee. The fact that Goshṭhīs existed in the third century B.C. is of some importance. The term *goṭhī* occurs also in I, 51, where it is preceded by the word *Barulamisāya* or *Barulamisāna*. I am unable to explain the latter term. The collective gift of the *Vedisakā dāntakārā*, or workers in ivory of Vedisa, I, C. 189, probably indicates that these artisans formed a guild, or *śreṇī*, such as the Nāsik inscriptions mention repeatedly.

Among the remaining inscriptions of this class, which mention the Vākiliyas of Ujjain, I, 27, C. 21, all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila, I, 84, and the Upāsikās

<sup>19</sup> This is, of course, by no means certain, because in some cases persons bearing the same names are clearly distinct. Thus Asvadevā, the mother of Bahadata (I, 30), is certainly not the same person as Asvadevā, the mother of Samika (I, C. 83), nor the nun Isidatā of Madhuvana (I, C. 132), the same as the nun Isidatā of Kurāra.

<sup>20</sup> The number of the Upāsikās is uncertain, because possibly the Oḍi, mentioned I, 82, may be identical with the nun Oḍi, II, 11, and because the interpretation of I, 21 is uncertain.

<sup>21</sup> The map of Gujarāt furnishes e. g., Adāraj, Arnej, Kāmlej, Kamrej, Pariyaj, Palej, Prāntij, Sarkhej. Among these Kamrej (also Kāmlej), east of Surat, was called in Sanskrit *Karmarāja* or *Kamañiya* (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 193).

<sup>22</sup> Vaidya occurs as the name of a village in the Nepal inscriptions; *Ind. Ant.* vol. IX, p. 175.

<sup>23</sup> The Bharhut inscription No. 16 mentions a gift of the town of *Karahakāṭa* (Karahakāṭa-nigamasa).

or female lay worshippers of Navagâma, I, C. 53, the first two are the most interesting. If, as I believe to be the case, the Vâkalâ devî, the mother of Ahimita, mentioned in I, C. 8, belonged to this family, it must have been a royal, or at least a noble race. With this supposition, *Vākiliya*, further, must be considered to stand for *Vākaliya*. It would then correspond to Sanskrit *Vārkalīya* and *Vâkalā* to *Vārkalā*. Both forms might be somewhat irregular patronymics from *Vrikala*, which name is found in the mythological lists of the *Purāṇas* (see the Petersburg Dictionary, *sub voce*).

Proceeding to the inscriptions which mention donations made by monks and nuns, the first point, which must strike every reader, is their great number, which is proportionally greater than that found on any other Stūpa except at Bharhut or in the caves. As the Buddhist ascetics could not possess any property, they must have obtained by begging the money required for making the rails and pillars. This was no doubt permissible, as the purpose was a pious one. But it is interesting to note the different proceedings of the Jaina ascetics, who, according to the Mathurā and other inscriptions, as a rule, were content to exhort the laymen to make donations and to take care that this fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. Another interesting point in which these inscriptions again agree with those of the Bharhut Stūpa is the entire absence of all mention of the Buddhist sects, which are frequently named in the Nāsik, Kārlé, Amarāvati and other inscriptions. There are, on the other hand, a few specifications or titles given to certain monks and nuns, which are not without importance. Two terms of this kind, *Sutātikinī* or *Sūtātikinī*, I, 79, 80, “a female reciter of the *Suttanta* or the *Sūtras*” and *dhamakaṭhika*, I, C. 191, “a reciter of the Dhamma,” have been recognised by the earlier decipherers. But, a third very interesting one, *pachanekayika*, I. 66, has escaped detection. *Pachanekayika* is a negligent spelling for *pāchanekāyika* or *pañchanekāyika*, which former occurs in the Bharhut inscription No. 144, in Sanskrit *pāñchanaikāyika*, and means, as Dr. Hultsch has translated it, *loc. cit.*, “one who knows the five Nikāyas.” The five Nikāyas are (see Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, *sub voce*) the five divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the Dīghanikāyo, Majjhimanikāyo, Saṃyuttanikāyo, Aṅguttaranikāyo and Khuddakanikāyo. The title furnishes, therefore, a clear proof of the existence of these divisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* at the time when the inscription was incised. And this time must be the third century B.C., as the letters of the inscription fully agree with those of Aśoka’s edicts.<sup>21</sup> The discovery that the five great subdivisions of the *Sutta Piṭaka* existed at so early a period lends some support to the view of those scholars who, like Professor Oldenberg, identify the titles of some of the treatises mentioned in Aśoka’s longer Bairāt edict with portions of the Majjhimanikāyo and Aṅguttaranikāyo. *Yugapajaka*, I, 74, which I translate tentatively by “the path-(finder) of the age,” seems to be a new title.

Among the individual monks named in the inscriptions, there are none who can be identified with any of the great men in the Buddhist scriptures. But the names of some, *e.g.* Bhaṃḍuka and Tisaka, agree with such as are found in Dr. Wenzel’s *Index*. Aya-Pasanaka, I, 5, must, however, have been a man of some importance, as two pupils of his are mentioned on a pillar of the Sonārī Tope No. I. Monks and nuns, who

<sup>21</sup> See also Dr. Hultsch’s remarks on this and other clerical titles in the Bharhut inscriptions, *op. cit.*, p. 58, and on the quotation from the *Jātaka*, *ibidem*, p. 76.

had one pupil, there are several. Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kâboja, Prâtiṭhâna, Chirâtî, and perhaps also Oḍî, consist of adjectives derived from the names of countries, towns and races. In these cases it would seem that the real name of the donors has been left out. Some similar names occur among the laymen—thus the name of Kekateyaka, I. 1. 3, the father of Dhama- and father-in-law of Vijita, apparently stands for Sanskrit Kaikateyaka, and means 'he of the Kikata country or Magadha.'

As regards the persons who are not marked as monks, and presumably were laymen, the specifications of their social position, which are sometimes added, possess some interest. To the highest rank belongs the Vâkalâdevî, I, C. 8. Descending lower in the social scale, we have a *gahapati*, or village landholder,<sup>25</sup> I, 22, 23. Next we find numerous persons bearing the title *seṭhi*, *sheṭh*, or alderman, II, 11, 35, 57, 85, 99, 115; C. 45, C. 46, C. 94, II, C. 8. Simple traders *vâṇija* or *vânika* are mentioned I, 47, 81, 91, C. 119. A royal scribe *râjalipikara* occurs I, 49, a professional writer, *lekhaka*, I, C. 48, a (royal) foreman of artisans, *âvesani*, I, C. 190, a trooper, *asa-vârîka*, I, 117, and a humble workman, *kamika*, I, 10. The prevalence of merchants and traders seems to indicate, what indeed may be gathered also from the sacred books of the Buddhists, that this class was the chief stronghold of Buddhism. The mention of professional writers is of some importance on account of the great age of the inscriptions. Among the epithets given to females the repeated occurrence of the old Pali title *pajâvatî*, literally 'a mother of children,' I, 8, 46, 95, 117; C. 45, C. 46, C. 62, is not without interest, and the fact that some females are named merely 'the mother of N. N.,'<sup>26</sup> and, that others proudly associate the names of their sons with their own,<sup>27</sup> is worthy of note. Very peculiar is the phrase I. 73, *Tâpasîyânam nusâya Mitâya* 'of Mitâ, the daughter-in-law of the Tâpasîyas'. The inscriptions I. C. 58, C. 59 and C. 67, of which unfortunately no impressions are accessible, indicate that the Tâpasîyas were a family or tribe residing in Ujjain.<sup>28</sup> If Mitâ is called the daughter-in-law of this community, that looks very much like a confirmation or practical illustration of a view regarding the legal position of married women mentioned as existing, but combated as objectionable by Âpastamba, *Dharmasûtra*, II, 10, 27, 3. He says, "For, they declare that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone)." I must content myself for the present with pointing out the possibility of a connexion between the wording of our inscription and the passage of Âpastamba. In order to prove it, more inscriptions containing the same or similar statements, and further information regarding the Tâpasîyas, are required.

<sup>25</sup> See Prof. Rhys Davids: *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XI, p. 257, note.

<sup>26</sup> See I, 2, 59, 72, 108; I. C. 37; C. 66; C. 166.

<sup>27</sup> See e. g. I, 30; C. 83. Similar cases occur frequently in other Buddhist, and also in the Jaina inscriptions.

<sup>28</sup> According to Sir A. Cunningham's copies the three inscriptions run as follows:—No. 58, *Ujjeniya Tapasayâna Pusanajaya dânam*; No. 59, *Ujjeja, Tâpasâyânâ Isimâtasa dânam*; No. 67, *Ujjeniya Tâpasîyendâ Sihadataya dânam*. None of the texts can be quite correct. I suspect that the real readings are: (1) *Ujjeniya Tapasîyâna kusâ-Nadâya dânam*, "The gift of Nadâ (*Nandâ*), daughter-in-law of the Tâpasîyas, from Ujjain;" (2) *Ujjeniya Tâpasîyânâ Isimitasaddânam*. "The gift of Isimita (*Rishmitra*) of the Tâpasîyas, from Ujjain;" (3) *Ujjeniya Tâpôsîyânâ Sihadataya dânam*, "The gift of Sihadatâ (*Simhâdattâ*) of the Tâpasîyas from Ujjain." If we combine the information conveyed by these inscriptions with the statement of our No. 73, it is evident that the Tâpasîyas were a family or tribe, settled in Ujjain. I do not think it necessary to assume, with Sir A. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 365), that they were ascetics. We have also Pârivrâjaka Râjâs, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 97ff. I may add that Sir A. Cunningham identifies, *loc. cit.*, the Tâpasîyas with the "Tabasi Magorum" and the "Tabasa gens" of the classical authors.

The names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Paurāṇik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. A very large proportion of the names, *e.g.* Araha, Arahaka, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadāsa, Arahadāsi, Arahatapālita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapālita, Budhila, Budhapālita, Bodhi, Sagha, Saṃghila, Saghadinā, Saghadeva, Saghamita and Saṃgharakhita, is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable group of proper names, *e.g.* Asāḍa, Mulā (*i.e.* *Mūlā*), Muladatā, Phaguna, Poṭhaka, Pusa, Pusaka, Pusinī, Pusagiri, Pusarakhita, Poṭhaka, Poṭhādevā, Rohinī (*Rohiṇī*), Sātīla, Svaticguta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras, and points to the conclusion that the rule of some *Grīhyasūtras*,<sup>29</sup> which recommends the use of *nakshatranāmāni*, was practically obeyed. The same inference may be drawn from almost all other collections of ancient inscriptions and from various ancient Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works. There are further some names, such as Agisimā (*Agniśarmā*), Agido-[de]vā, Bahadata (*Brahmadatta*), Mahida, Mitā, Vesamanadatā, Visvadeva, Yamarakhitā, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some, Nāgā, Nāgila, Nāgadatta, and so forth, bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists and the heterodox sects. Finally, the names Vinhukā, an abbreviation for Vishṇudattā or Vishṇurakhitā, Upidadata or Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), Balaka and Balamitra (connected with one of the heroes of the legend of Kṛishṇa, Baladeva or Balarāma, who is also called Bala), furnish evidence for the development of Vaishṇavism, while Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), Nam digiri,<sup>30</sup> Sāmidata (*Svāmi*-, *i.e.* *Kumāra-datta*), Samika and Samikā (*Svāmika*, *Svāmikā*), Sivanadi (*Śivanandī*) do the same service to Śaivism. It is also possible that Isadata and Himadata are likewise Śaiva names. If the former has been correctly read,<sup>31</sup> it corresponds to Sanskrit Íśadatta. The other two may be connected with Himā, a name of Durgā. They may, however, be also derived from *Hima*, "the moon."

The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion, as well as of such as are connected with Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumption that their bearers or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, not only during the third century B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishṇavism and Śaivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism. By exactly the same method of analysis which has been here applied to the names on the Sānchi Stūpa, it is possible

<sup>29</sup> See, *e.g.*, *Hir. Gri. Sū.* II, 4, 13.

<sup>30</sup> I would explain *Nandigiri* by "he whose mountain (*i.e.* protection) is or may be Nandin," on the analogy of *Dantidurga*, for which name *Dantivarman* appears. *Devagiri*, *Himagiri*, *Dhamagirika*, *Sibagiri* may be explained similarly, though *Devagiri* and *Himagiri* may also be considered as personal names derived from mountain names. *Vijha*, *i.e.* *Vindhya* furnishes a certain instance of the latter kind.

<sup>31</sup> Possibly the correct form may be *Isidatā*, *i.e.* *Āśhidatta*, (compare *Isiguta*).

to extract from those occurring in the canonical works of the Buddhists, the proof that the Pāurāṇik religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, e.g., we learn from the *Bhikkhupācchittiya*, II, 1, that the ox of a Brahman in Takshasilā was called Nandivisālo "as big as Nandi," it is not doubtful that the animal had received its name in honour of Śiva's vehicle, and that Śaivism was popular at the time when the *Suttavibhaṅga* was composed and probably earlier.

The last point which calls for remark is the identification of the numerous geographical names which the inscriptions offer. A small proportion of the latter causes no great difficulty. Erakina, as must be read instead *Dharakina*, is without doubt the modern Eraṇ in the Sāgar district of the Central Provinces, which on the ancient copper coins is called Erakana or Erakaṇa, and in Sanskrit Airikiṇa.<sup>32</sup> Mahisati is the ancient town of Māhishmatī, identified with the modern Mandal,<sup>33</sup> Pokhara, the ancient Pushkara and the modern Pokhar near Ajmīr, Pratīthāna (the base of the male proper name Prātīthāna) either Allahābād<sup>34</sup> or Paīthān on the Godāvarī, Ujenī, the modern Ujjain, and Vedisa the modern Besnagar.

Further Kuraghara, which appears five times, I would identify with the village of Kuraraghara, which according to the Buddhist scriptures lay in Avantī or Eastern Mālvā, and was the residence of Mahākachchāyana.<sup>35</sup> Kuraraghara is, of course, the etymologically correct form of the name, and Kuraghara, a corruption by a kind of haplophony, which occurs more frequently in geographical and other names. The *Indian Atlas*, Quarter Sheet, No. 53 N.E., shows in 23° 38' N. Lat., and 77° 5' E. Long., an apparently not inconsiderable place, called 'Kurawar,' which may be the modern representative of Kuraghara.

With respect to the remaining towns and villages it is difficult to offer more than more or less uncertain conjectures, because there is no indication to which part of India they belonged, and because many of the names occur scores of times on the map of India, and more than once even in the immediate neighbourhood of Sānchi-Kākanāda. Thus it is possible to suggest that Tubavana may be identical with the southern district of Tumbavana mentioned in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā*, XIV, 15, or with its chief town; that Sonara, the etymon of the adjective Sonaraka, is the modern Sonārī close to Sānchi where some stūpas exist; that the name of Pādāna, the etymon of the adjective Pādāniya, is preserved in the modern Parana, Lat. 23° 36' N. and 76° 38' E. Long. (*Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N. W.*); and that Na(m)dinagara and Kāpāsīgāma correspond with the modern 'Nandner', Lat. 23° 4' N. and Long. 76° 6' E. (*Ind. Atl. Q. Sh. No. 53 N.W.*) and Kapasi Lat. 23° 28' N. and Long. 77° 54' E. But it must not be forgotten that there were, and are, several 'Nandinagaras' and Nandners, and that another 'Kapasi' is found at no great distance in Lat. 23° 55' N. and Long. 77° E. The same remarks apply with still greater force to such places as Madhuvana, Udubaraghara, the etymon of the adjective Udubaraghariya, and Aba, i.e. Amba, the etymon of *Abeyaka*; for the corresponding modern Madhuban, Mahu, Umra or Umrer and Ambagam are found over and over again in the neighbourhood of Sānchi and in more distant districts. For the present it is not advisable to do more

<sup>32</sup> Fleet: *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 18, note 2.

<sup>33</sup> Cunningham: *Ancient Geography*, p. 488.

<sup>34</sup> Jhāsi, opposite to Allahābād,—see Führer: *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 138.—*Ed. E. I.*

<sup>35</sup> See Dr. Wenzel's Index: *Jour. Pali Text Soc.*, 1888.

than to note the names and to point out some of the possibilities which they suggest. All of them may, hereafter, become important. Hence they have been given in alphabetical order, just as well as the personal names, in the Appendix to this paper.

## TOPE I.

No. 1 = C. 1.

केकटेयकपुतस धमसिवस दानं [1\*]<sup>35</sup>

“The gift of Dhamasiva (*Dharmaśiva*), son of Kekaṭeyaka (*Kaikaṭeyaka*).

No. 2 = C. 4.

धमगिरिकस मातु दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Dhamagirika's (*Dharmagirika's*) mother.”

No. 3 = C. 5.

केकटेयकस जमत विजितस दानं [1\*]<sup>36</sup>

“The gift of Vijita, son-in-law<sup>37</sup> of Kekaṭeyaka (*Kaikaṭeyaka*).

No. 4 = C. 6.

कादस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Kâda (*Kânda*).”

No. 5 = C. 13.

अयपसनकस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]<sup>38</sup>

“The gift of the monk Aya-Pasanaka (*the venerable Prasannaka*).”

No. 6 = C. 14.

नदिनगरा अचलय भिखुनिया दानं [1\*]<sup>39</sup>

“The gift of the nun Achalâ, from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 7 = C. 15.

नदिनगरा काबोजस भिखुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Kâboja (*Kâamboja*) from Nâdinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 8 = C. 16.

सिहरखितस पजावतिय सोणदीवय दानं [1\*]<sup>40</sup>

“The gift of Soṇadevâ (*Suvarṇadevâ* or *Śoṇadevâ*), wife of Siharakhita (*Simharakṣhita*).”

<sup>35</sup> Possibly ककटेयक°, but see No. 3. Below this is a modern Devanâgarî inscription : रा श्री सावदेव प्रणमति नित्यं [1\*] ‘The king (P), the illustrious Sâvadera, adores constantly.’

<sup>36</sup> An apparent c-stroke above the last ण is an accidental scratch.

<sup>37</sup> जमत seems to stand for जामावा, the nominative being used instead of the stem.

<sup>38</sup> There are three impressions showing these words, and the differences in the shape of the letters seem to indicate that they have been derived from three different inscriptions.

अचलय stands for अचलाय and दानं for दान.

<sup>40</sup> सोणदीवय is meant for सोणदेवाय.



No. 9 = C. 19.

धमरखितस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*).”

No. 10 = C. 20.

अठस कमिकस दानं [1\*]<sup>41</sup>

“The gift of Aṭha (*Artha*), the labourer (?).”

No. 11 = C. 23.

L. 1. सामनेरस

2. अबेयकस

3. सेठिनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Sāmanera,<sup>42</sup> the Abeyaka Sheth (*i.e. the Sheth of a town or village called Aba or Amba, in Sanskrit Āmra-grāma*).

No. 12 = C. 24.

प्रातिष्ठानस भिक्षुनो हाटियस अतेवासिनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the Prātiṣṭhāna monk (*i.e. the monk from Pratiṣṭhāna*), pupil of Hāṭiya.”

No. 13 = C. 25.

उदुबरधरियस सीहरखितस दानं [1\*]

The gift of Sīharakhita (*Simharakshita*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).”

No. 15 = C. 30.

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकाये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No. 16 = C. 33.

L. 1. [गो]तिपुत्तस

L. 2. भंडुकस

L. 3. भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Bhaṁḍuka, son of Gotī (*i.e. of a mother of the Gaupla race*).

No. 17 = C. 34.

L. 1. वेजजस गामस दा

L. 2. नं [1\*]<sup>43</sup>

“The gift of the Vejjaja village.”<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The *i*-stroke is expressed by a prolongation of the upper right limb of म.

<sup>42</sup> With the proper name Sāmanera (*S. āmanera*), literally “a novice,” compare the name *Samand*; Bharhut Inscts., ed. Hultzsch. No. 29, and *Samana*; I, C. 179.

<sup>43</sup> The न is faint and blurred, the Anusvāra distinct. Both stand above the line.

<sup>44</sup> Regarding the correctness of Prinsep's interpretation, which the above translation follows, see the Introduction.

No. 18 = C. 35.

अरहगुतस सासादकस भिक्षुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sâsadâ.”

No. 19 = C. 36.

L. 1. सुभगस

L. 2. कोरघरस दन [1\*]

“The gift of Subhaga, inhabitant of Kuraghara (*Kuraragriha*).”<sup>45</sup>

No. 20 = C. 38.

वुदिनाये उपसिकाये दानं [1\*]<sup>46</sup>

“The gift of Vudinâ (*Vyudîrṇā*), a female lay-disciple.

No. 21 = C. 39.

का[कणा]ये भगवतो पमाणलठि [1\*]<sup>47</sup>

“The measuring-staff of the Divine one (*Buddha, the gift*) of Kâkanâ<sup>48</sup> (i.e. probably *kâkinî*, “the little crow”).

No. 22 = C. 40.

तुववना गहपतिनो [प]तिठियन्हुसाय वेसमन[दत्त]ये दानं [1\*]<sup>49</sup>

“The gift of Vesamanadatâ (*Vaiśravanadattâ*), daughter-in-law of Patiṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*), a *gahapati* from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).<sup>50</sup>

No. 23 = C. 41.

तुववना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दानं [1\*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Patiṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*) from Tubavana (*Tumbavana*).

No. 24 = C. 43.

नदावुनो च नादिविरोहिंस च दानं [1\*]

“The gift both of Nadâvu (*Nandâyu*?) and of Nâdivirohi (*Nandivirohin*).”

No. 25 = C. 73.

बोधगोठिय धम्मवटनना दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the Bauddha Committee of Trustees from Dhamavadhanana (*Dhamavardhanana*).”<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Regarding this name see the Introduction.

<sup>46</sup> The vowels of the first two syllables of the first word, and of the last two syllables of the second word, are not quite distinct.

<sup>47</sup> Possibly कादणायै is to be read.

<sup>48</sup> Dr. Bhagvānlal Indrāji according to Mr. Fleet, *Corp. Insc. Ind.* vol. III, p. 31, took कादणायै to stand for काकणादे.

<sup>49</sup> The fourth and fifth consonants of the last word but one are not certain. At first sight they look like रुदा.

<sup>50</sup> Regarding the precise meaning of गहपति, see the Introduction.

<sup>51</sup> Regarding the explanation of Bodhagoṭhī, see the Introduction. Though the term *Dhamavardhanana* occurs twice, it is probably a mistake for *Dhamavardhana*. Only the latter gives a sense, and its Sanskrit equivalent is mentioned as a village-name in the *Rāmāyana*, I, 74, 10, see the *Petersb. Dict.*; s. v.

No. 26.

वोधागोटिया धमवटनना दानं [1\*]<sup>52</sup>No. 27 = C. 76.<sup>53</sup>

उजेनिया वाकिलियाना दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the Vākiliyas, from Ujjain.”

No. 28 = C. 78.

चिरातिय भिङ्गुनिया दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the nun Chirātī (*Kirātī*)”

No. 29 = C. 79.

सधनस भिङ्गुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Sadhana (*i.e.* *Sa-dhana* or *Sad-dhana*)”.

No. 30 = C. 80.

अस्वदेवये बहदतमातु दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Asvadevā (*Āśvadevā*), mother of Bahadata (*Brahmadattā*)”.

No. 31 = C. 81.

उगिरियक्स स्वतिगुतस दानं [1\*]<sup>54</sup>“The gift of Svātiguta (*Svātigupta*), an inhabitant of Ugirā.

No. 32 = C. 82.

अरहगुताये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Arahagutā (*Arhadguptā*)”.

No. 33 = C. 84.

यसिलय अतेवासिनि संघरखिताये दानं [1\*].

“The gift of Saṃgharakhitā (*Samgharakshilā*), pupil of Yasilā (*Yakīlā*)”.

No. 34 = C. 86.

यसिलाये दानं [1\*]<sup>55</sup>“The gift of Yasilā (*Yakīlā*)”.

No. 35 = C. 87.

सेठिनो पटिकमकारिकाना दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the Sheṭh, the great executor of repairs”.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> This is apparently a second inscription of the same import as No. 25, not a second impression of No. 25. For the size of most letters does not agree in the least and the termination of the first word ends in या instead of in य.

<sup>53</sup> See also I, C. 11.

<sup>54</sup> The subscribed व of स्वतिगुतस is not quite distinct.

<sup>55</sup> Possibly यसिलाये to be read.

<sup>56</sup> I take पटिकमकारिकाना as *pluralis majestatis*, agreeing with the singular सेठिनो, see above, vol. I, p. 573.

No. 36 = C. 90.

उपिददत्तस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Upidadata (*Upendradatta*).”

No. 37 = C. 92.

वाघुमता सघदिनाय भिक्षुनिय दानं [1\*]<sup>57</sup>“The gift of the nun Saghadinā (*Samghadattā*) from Vâghumata.”

No. 38 = C. 93.

यखिय भिक्षुनिये वेदिसा दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the nun Yakhi (*Yakshi*) from Vedisa (*Vidiśā*).”

No. 39 = C. 95.

कुररिये तापसिया मातु दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Kurari, the mother of Tâpasi.”<sup>58</sup>

No. 40 = C. 99.

कापासिगामा अरहस दानं [1\*]<sup>59</sup>“The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Kâpâsigâma (*Kârpâsigrâma*).”

No. 41 = C. 101.

कटकजुया भदकस दानं [1\*]<sup>60</sup>“The gift of Bhadaka (*Bhadraka*) from Kaṭakañu.”

No. 42 = C. 102.

अपथकस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Apathaka (*Apārthaka*).”<sup>61</sup>

No. 43 = C. 103.

भोगवदनकस अजितिगुतस [1\*]

“(The gift) of Ajitiguta (*Ajitigupta*?), inhabitant of Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavardhana*).”

No. 44 = C. 104.

मोरसिहिकटि अरहदिनस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Morasihikaṭu (*Mayârasimhikaṭa*).”

No. 45 = C. 105.

भोगवधन धमरखितय सिवनदिनो मातु [1\*]<sup>62</sup>“(The gift) of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*), mother of Sivanadi (*Sivanandin*) from Bhogavadhana (*Bhogavardhana*).”<sup>57</sup> Perhaps वाघुमती.<sup>58</sup> Tâpasi may be either a proper or a family name, as there was a Tâpasiya family (see the Introduction).<sup>59</sup> There are two impressions with these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.<sup>60</sup> The letters are much blurred.<sup>61</sup> I take the name to be formed from *apārtha*, “who has renounced (the acquisition of) wealth.” It may, of course, also correspond with Sanskrit *alpārthaka*, ‘poor.’<sup>62</sup> There are two impressions bearing these words. The differences of the characters show that they have been derived from two different inscriptions.

No. 46 = C. 107.

नवगमकसमिकाये उज्जेनि[ह]रा दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Samikā (*Svāmikā*), inhabitant of Navagama (*Navagrāma*) from the district of Ujjain.<sup>63</sup>

No. 47 = C. 108.

L. 1. सिरिगुतस

L. 2. वानिजस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the merchant Siriguta (*Śrīgupta*)."

No. 48 = C. 109.

सुवाहितस पञ्चवतिया मम्मिमाया दानं [1\*]<sup>64</sup>

"The gift of Majhimā (*Madhyamā*), wife of Subāhita.

No. 49 = C. 110.

L. 1. सुवाहितस गोतिपुत-

L. 2. स राजलिपिकरस

L. 3. दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the scribe Subāhita, son of a Goti (i. e. of a mother of the Gaupla race)."

No. 50 = C. 111.

तिरिडपदा नागाय उपासिकाय — —<sup>65</sup>

"(The gift) of the female lay disciple Nāgā, from Tiridapada (Tiridapadra?)."

No. 51 = C. 112.

वरुलमि[साय] गोठिया दान[वि]दिसातो [1\*]<sup>66</sup>

"The gift of the Barulamisa Committee from Vedisa (*Vidiśā*)."

No. 52 = C. 113.

L. 1. धमरखिताये भिक्कुनिय काचुपथे

L. 2. दानं [1\*]<sup>67</sup>

"The gift of the nun Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarākshitā*) in Kāchupatha."

No. 53 = C. 114.

धमरखितस काचुपथस भि[कु]नो दान [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarākshita*), inhabitant of Kāchupatha."

<sup>63</sup> *Ujjenihāra* may stand for *Ujjeni-dhāra* (see E. Müller: *Pali Grammar*, pp. 40-41). *Dhāra* is the well-known ancient revenue term, corresponding to the modern Collectorate. It follows that *Navagāma* was situated in the neighbourhood of Ujjain.

<sup>64</sup> There is a second copy, which bears only सुवाहितस पञ्चव[त] ... The letters show that it has been taken from another inscription.

<sup>65</sup> The last two syllables दानं and half the preceding य are wanting in the impression.

<sup>66</sup> Possibly वरुलमिसान.

<sup>67</sup> Possibly भिक्कुनिये; According to Sir A. Cunningham's copy the letter स has been lost after काचुपथे. I am, however, unable to make any sense out of such a reading.

No. 54 = C. 115.

संधानस भिक्कु दानं [1\*]<sup>68</sup>

“The gift of the monk Samdhâna.”

No. 55 = C. 116.

पुसगिरिनो नावगामकस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagâma (*Navagrâma*).”

No. 56 = C. 117.

भिक्कुस पाडानियस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Bhichhuka (*Bhikshuka*), inhabitant of Pādâna.”

No. 57 = C. 124.

L. 1. सामनेरस अबेय-

L. 2. कस सेठिनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Sâmanera, the Abeyaka Sheth.”<sup>69</sup>

No. 58 = C. 125.

नदिगुतस दाना भिक्कुनो [1\*]<sup>70</sup>

“The gift of Nadiguta (*Nandigupta*), the monk.”

No. 59 = C. 127.

अरा[पा]नातो अरहदिन — — — [1\*]<sup>71</sup>

“(The gift) of Arahadina (*'s mother*) from Arâpâna.”

No. 60 = C. 128.

तंबलमडा कुज — दानं [1\*]<sup>72</sup>

“The gift of Kuja—(?) from Tam̐balamada.”(?)

No. 61 = C. 129.

— धुवना धमगुतस भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]<sup>73</sup>

“The gift of the monk Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) from Madhuvana.”

No. 62 = C. 131.

महागिरिनो भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Mahâgiri.”

No. 63 = C. 135.

उपसिभस फगुनस भत्तु भिक्कुनो [1\*]

<sup>68</sup> Read भिक्कुनो.

<sup>69</sup> See above, No. 11.

<sup>70</sup> The apparent *â*-stroke at the end of दाना may possibly be an *anusvâra*, run together with the द

<sup>71</sup> Sir A. Cunningham completes स मातु दानं.

<sup>72</sup> Last sign of कुज—is not decipherable. I suspect that कुजर, i. e. कुञ्जर, is meant (see Bharhut Inscr.). No. 104.

<sup>73</sup> Restore मधुवना.

“The gift of the monk Upasijha (*Upasidhya*), brother of Phaguna (*Phāḷ-guṇa*).”

No. 64 = C. 136.

भोगवटनातो इसिरखिताय [1\*]

“(The gift) of Isirakhitā (*Rishirakshitā*) from Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavar-dhana*).”

No. 65 = C. 139.

समिदतस भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]

‘The gift of the monk Samidata (*Svāmidatta*).’

No. 66 = C. 140—141.

L. 1. देवगिरिनो पचनेकयिकस

L. 2. भिक्कुनो स अतेवसि — णो [१1\*] 74

“(The gift) of the monk Devagiri, who knows the five Nikāyas, 75 and of his pupil.”

No. 67 = C. 142.

पुसकस भिक्कुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Pusaka (*Pushyaka*) the monk.”

No. 68 = C. 143.

चुडस च धमरखितस च भिक्कुनं दानं [1\*]

“The gift both of Chuḍa (*Kshudra*) and Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*).”

No. 69 = C. 144.

उज्जेनिये अगिसिमये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Agisimā (*Agniśarmā*) in Ujjain.” 76

No. 70 = C. 145.

L. 1. [प्रा]तिठान्स भिक्कुनो दानं

L. 2. अ[यतिस]कस अंतेवासिनो [1\*] 77

“The gift of the monk Prātiṭhāna 78, pupil of Aya-Tisaka (*the venerable Tishyaka*).”

No. 71 = C. 146.

बुधरखितस भिक्कुनो दानं एजावतस [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*), the Bḷāvata.” 79

74 Though the last sign looks like णो, I suspect that the writer meant to give *Sa-alevāsino dānam*.

75 See the Introduction.

76 Possibly अगिसिमये is to be read.

77 Possibly पतिठानस or पतिथानस.—The other three bracketed syllables are very faint.

78 See above, No. 12.

79 The etymological meaning of एजावत would be “endowed with desire.” This, of course, does not suit here. I take the word to be an adjective, derived from the name of a town.

No. 72 = C. 148.

अरापाना असाडस मातु दानं [1\*]<sup>80</sup>

“The gift of Asāḍa's (*Aśhādha*'s) mother, from Arāpāna.”

No. 73 = C. 149.

L. 1. उजेनिया ताप-

L. 2. सियानं नुसा-

L. 3. मिताय

L. 4. दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Mitā (*Mitrā*), daughter-in-law of the Tāpasiyas, from Ujjain.”

No. 74 = C. 150.

[भ]रडियस सपुरिसस युगपजकस दानं (1\*)<sup>81</sup>

“The gift of the Bharadīya, the holy man, the path-(finder) of the age.”<sup>82</sup>

No. 75 = C. 153.

जोहकस भिहुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnaka*).”

No. 76 = C. 154.

धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये दानं [1\*]<sup>83</sup>

“The gift of Dhamarakhatā (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.”

No. 77 = C. 155.

माहमोरगिन्हा सिहगिरिनो दानं [1\*]<sup>84</sup>

“The gift of Sihagiri (*Simhagiri*) from Māhamoragi.

No. 78 = C. 160.

L. 1. धम[सि]रिया भिहुनिये मडलक्खिकटिकाये

L. 2. दानं [1\*]<sup>85</sup>

“The gift of the nun Dhamasiri (*Dharmaśrī*), inhabitant of Maḍalachhikaṭa (*Maṇḍalākshikaṭa*?).”

No. 79 = C. 161.

L. 1. अविसिनये सूतातिकिनिया

L. 2. मडलक्खिकटिकाये दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Avisinā (*Avishaṇṇā*),<sup>86</sup> who is versed in the Sutta-Piṭaka, an inhabitant of Maḍalachhikaṭa.”

<sup>80</sup> Possibly असाडस is to be read. But the wavy line below the ड is probably accidental.

<sup>81</sup> The left side of the initial म has been almost cut away in the impression.

<sup>82</sup> Or, perhaps, the gift of the holy man of Bharadā, etc.

<sup>83</sup> Meant for धमरखताये मधुवनाकाये.

<sup>84</sup> Possibly माहमोरगिन्हा. Though there is a second inscription of this individual, I, C. 28, I suspect that we should read *Mahāmōragirimhā*, from the great Mayūragiri. Compare Bharhut Inscr. Nos. 81, 94, 95, where *Mōragirimhā* occurs.

<sup>85</sup> The third sign of धमरसिरिया has been originally यि, which afterwards was altered to सि.

<sup>86</sup> Compare Pali *nissinna* for *nishanna*, and the male name *Avisana*; Bhar. Inscr. Nos. 141, 142.



No. 80.

L. 1. अविसिनाये सुतातिकिनि—

L. 2. मडलक्किटिकाय दानं [i\*]<sup>87</sup>

No. 81 = C. 162.

L. 1. सघदेवस वेरोहकटस

L. 2. वाणिजस दानं [i\*]

“The gift of Saghadeva (*Samghadeva*), a trader, inhabitant of Virohakaṭa.”

No. 82 = C. 167.

L. 1. ओडिय

L. 2. नदिनग-

L. 3. रिकय दन [i\*]

“The gift of Oḍi, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 83 = C. 180.

अरहदिनस भिखुनो पोखरेयकस दानं [i\*]

“The gift of the monk Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).”

No. 84 = C. 181.

L. 1. भदतनागिलस

L. 2. सवानं जातीनं-

L. 3. दानं धमो [i\*]<sup>88</sup>

“A pillar, the gift of all the relatives of the venerable Nāgila.”

No. 85 = C. 182.

कोररस नागपियस अक्कावडे सेठिस दानं धमो [i\*]

“A pillar, the gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), inhabitant of Kurara,<sup>89</sup> a Sheth in Achhāvaḍa.”<sup>90</sup>

No. 86 = C. 184.

बुधपालोताया भिखुने[या] दानं [i\*]<sup>91</sup>

“The gift of the nun Budhapālītā.”

No. 87 = C. 185.

पोठकस भिखुनो दानं [i\*]<sup>92</sup>“The gift of the monk Poṭhaka (*Proshṭhaka*).”

No. 88 = C. 193.

अयचुडस अतेवासिनी बेलमित्रस दान धमो [i\*]

“A pillar, the gift of Balamitra, the pupil of the venerable Chuḍa (*Kshudra*).”<sup>87</sup> Restore सुतातिकिनि.<sup>88</sup> There are two impressions. One shows in l. 2 सवानं and the other सविनं, as Sir A. Cunningham reads. The latter reading gives, however, no sense.<sup>89</sup> The proper form of the name is *Kurāra*; see No. 98.<sup>90</sup> This means probably that Nāgapiya had his shop in Achhāvaḍa.<sup>91</sup> Meant for भिखुनिया.<sup>92</sup> The apparent 4-stroke after पोठ is in my opinion accidental.

No. 89.

अरपान देवकस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Devaka from Arapâna (*Arápâna*).”

No. 90.

अरहदिनस दानं रमोरज[हि]कडि — —<sup>83</sup>

“The gift of Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*) in Ramorajakaḍi (?).

No. 91.

अस्ववतिया इसिगुतस वणिजस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the merchant Isiguta (*Rishigupta*) from Asvaratî (*Aśvavatî*).”

No. 92.

इसिकस भिखुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Isika (*Rishika*).”

No. 93.

L. 3. इसिकस रोहा —

L. 2. णिपदियस दा —<sup>83</sup>

L. 1. नं [1\*]

“The gift of Isika (*Rishika*), inhabitant of Rohiṇipada.”

No. 94.

इसिरखितस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakshita*).”

No. 95.

L. 1. उजेनिया विस्वदे-

L. 2. वस पजावतिया

L. 3. मुलाय दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Mulâ (*Mūlā*), wife of Visvadeva (*Viśvadeva*), from Ujjain.”

No. 96.

[उ]दुंबरवरिय [स]चमि[तस] दा[न 1\*]<sup>84</sup>

“The gift of Sachamita (*Satyamitra*), inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragṛiha*).

No. 97.

L. 1. क[ट]क[ञ्ज]कस अयपतुडस<sup>85</sup>

L. 2. भिखुनो दानं[1\*]

“The gift of the monk, the venerable Patuḍa (?), inhabitant of Kaṭakañu.”

<sup>83</sup> The impression seems to be incomplete. The last word probably ended in यस and designated Arahadina as inhabitant of *Ramorajahikada* (?).

<sup>84</sup> The inscription has to be read from below. Read रोहिणि<sup>२</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> This is a mere scrawl, and the bracketed letters are mostly uncertain.

<sup>86</sup> Most of the letters of l. 1 are very faint, and the first bracketed one is not certain.

No. 98.

कुरारा सवलितस दानं[\*]

“The gift of Samvalita from Kurāra.”

No. 99.

L. 1. कौरघरस सेठिनो

L. 2. सीहस दानं[\*]

“The gift of the Sheṭh Siha (*Siṃha*), inhabitant of Kuraghara.”

No. 100.

गिरिगुताय भिक्कुनिया दानं[\*]

“The gift of the nun Girigutā (*Giriguptā*).”

No. 101.

जितमितये भिक्कुनिये वडिवहनिकाये दानं[\*]

“The gift of the nun Jitamitā (*Jitāmitrā*), inhabitant of Vaḍivahana.”

No. 102.

धमताय दानं पुजवढनियाये [\*]<sup>96</sup>“The gift of Dhamatā (*Dharmadatā*), inhabitant of Puñavaḍhana (*Punyavar-dhana*).”

No. 103.

धमदत्तस भिक्कुनो दानं अ[य]भडुकिय[स] [\*]<sup>97</sup>“The gift of the monk Dhamadata (*Dharmadatta*), pupil of Aya-Bhaḍuka (*Ārya-Bhaḍuka*, No. 16).”

No. 104.

L. 1. [पिय]धमाय

L. 2. बोधिय च

L. 3. कौरघरिन

L. 4. भिक्कुनिनं दानं [\*]

“The gift of Piyadhamā (*Priyadharmā*) and Bodhi, the nuns of Kuraghara.”

No. 105.

पुसये भिक्कुनिये नदिनगरिकाये दानं [\*]

“The gift of the nun Pusā (*Pushyā*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 106.

L. 1. पोखरा हिम-

L. 2. गिरिनो दानं [\*]

“The gift of Himagiri from Pokhara (*Pushkura*).”

No. 107.

पोरविखिकस धम्मसिवस दानं [\*]

“The gift of Dhammasiva (*Dharmaśiva*), inhabitant of Puravikha(?).”<sup>96</sup> Probably धमदत्ताय is to be read.<sup>97</sup> अयमडुकियस looks almost like अहमडुकियस; but see No. 122, where the reading, given above, is plain.

No. 108.

वेदकरा नंदिगि[रि]मातु द[र]नं [१\*]

“The gift of Namdigiri's mother from Bedakara.”

No. 109.

[भोगवढ]नकस महि[द] — — —<sup>93</sup>

“(The gift) of Mahida (*Mahendra*), inhabitant of Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavar-anāṇa*).”

No. 110.

L. 1. मधुवनिकाये दुधरखितये भिडुनिये

L. 2. दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the nun Budharakhitā (*Buddharakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhu-  
vana.”

No. 111.

महिसतिय देवभगस [दा]नं [१\*]

“The gift of Devabhaga (*Devabhāga* ?) from Mahisatī (*Māhishmatī*).”

No. 112.

L. 1. यखिलस भिडुनो अयदेवगिरिनो अते-

L. 2. वासिनो दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*), pupil of the venerable Devagiri.”

No. 113.

L. 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L. 2. स निगडिस दा-

L. 3. नं [१\*]

“The gift of Nigaḍi, inhabitant of Rohaṇipada (*Rohiṇipada*).”

No. 114.

L. 1. रोहणिपदिय-

L. 2. स बुलिकस

L. 3. दानं [१\*]

“The gift of Bulika,<sup>99</sup> inhabitant of Rohaṇipada.”

No. 115.

L. 1. रोहणिपदियसि

L. 2. सेठिनो नागदि-

L. 3. नस दानं [१\*]<sup>1</sup>

“The gift of Sheth Nāgadina (*Nāgadatta*), inhabitant of Rohaṇipada.”

<sup>98</sup> Restore महिदस दानं.

<sup>99</sup> Compare the *Buli* tribe (Wenzel: *Index*, sub voce) of *Allakappa*.

<sup>1</sup> Read पदियस; the सि stands above the line, and is a correction.

No. 116.

वाडिवहना छडिकस भिक्कुनो दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the monk Chhadika (*Chhardika* ?) from Vādivahana.”

No. 117.

L. 1. वेदिसकय [हं]सरखितास असवारकस

L. 2. पजावति — नागदता[य] दानं [१\*]<sup>2</sup>“The gift of Nāgadatā (*Nāgadattā*), wife of the cavalierist Hamsarakhita (3) (*Hamsarakshita*), an inhabitant of Vedisa (*Vidiśā*).”

No. 118.

समिकाये सधितिकाये दानं [१\*]

“The gift of Samikā (*Svāmikā*) and of her daughter.”

No. 119.

सिरिदिनाय भिक्कुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the nun Siridinā (*Śrīdattā*), inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandina-gara*).”

No. 120.

सोयसस दानं भादनकटियस [१\*]

“The gift of Soyasa (*Sauyaśasa*), inhabitant of Bhādanakāṭa.”

No. 121.

[रे]वाये उज्जेनिकाये उपसिकाये दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the female lay disciple Revā, inhabitant of Ujjain.”

No. 122.

— — — स भिक्कुनो दानं अयभंडुकियस [१\*]<sup>3</sup>“The gift of the monk . . . , pupil of the venerable *Bhaṇḍuka*.”<sup>4</sup>

No. 123.

L. 1. — — — — [ते] कन

L. 2. [नी] रुहकस

L. 3. — — [म] — — त — स उ

L. 4. — रि — —

TOPE II.

No. 1 = C. 3.

पाडुकुलिकाय गामस दानं [१\*]

“The gift of the village of Pāḍukulikā (*Pāṇḍukulikā*).”<sup>2</sup> The letters are mostly faint, and the bracketed one is very doubtful.<sup>3</sup> Possibly another स may have stood in the beginning.<sup>4</sup> See above, Nos. 16 and 103

No. 2 = C. 4.

बुधिलस भोग[व]टनकस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Buddhila (*Buddhila*), an inhabitant of Bhogavaḍhana (*Bhogavar-dhana*)."

No. 3 = C. 5.

धमदेवय देनं मितसिरिय अत्तेवासिनि[य] [1\*]<sup>5</sup>

"The gift of Dhamadevā (*Dharmadevā*), (who is) a pupil of Mitasiri (*Mitraśrī*)."

No. 4 = C. 6.

इसिलस भिखुनो दाना [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Isila (*Rishila*)."

No. 5 = C. 11.

विभस भिखुनो दानं [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Vijha (*Vindhya*)."

No. 6 = C. 12.

यखिलस भिखुनो दान [1\*]

"The gift of the monk Yakhila (*Yakshila*)."

No. 7 = C. 13.

L. 1 नागपियस अक्काव[ड]

L. 2 स सेठिस दानं [1\*]

"The gift of Nāgapiya (*Nāgapriya*), a Sheṭh of Achhāvaḍa."<sup>6</sup>

No. 8 = C. 14.

L. 1 सपकाय कोररिय दान

L. 2. भिखुनिय [1\*]

"The gift of the nun Sapa k â (*Sarpakâ* ?), an inhabitant of Kurara."<sup>7</sup>

No. 9 = C. 16.

L. 1. धमसेनय कोररिय दान भिखुनि

L. 2. य [1\*]

"The gift of Dhamasenâ (*Dharmasenâ*), an inhabitant of Kurara, a nun."<sup>8</sup>

No. 10 = C. 17.

नागपालितय दान यभो [1\*]

"A pillar, the gift of Nāgapālītâ."

No. 11 = C. 25.

[ओ]डिय भिखुनिय यभो दान [1\*]<sup>9</sup>

"A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍi."

<sup>5</sup> Read दानं; the third letter of मितसिरिय was originally an मि, which was afterwards corrected to सि.

<sup>6</sup> This inscription can be restored in accordance with No. 85, and C. 192 of Tope I.

<sup>7</sup> Properly कुरार; see I, 98.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly ओडाय.

No. 12 = C. 30.

सघमितस सोनरकस दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Saghāmīta (*Saṅghamītra*), an inhabitant of Sonara (*Sonārī*).”

No. 13 = C. 32.

अ[गि]लस दानं अधपोरिकस [1\*]

“The gift of Agīla (*Agnīla*), inhabitant of Adhapura (*Ardhapura*).”

No. 14 = C. 33.

यसोगिरिनो दानं भिक्खुनो [1\*]

“The gift of Yasogiri (*Yasogiri*), a monk.”

No. 15 = C. 36.

गडाय नादिनागरिकाय [1\*]

“(The gift) of Gaḍā, inhabitant of Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).”

No. 16 = C. 38.

अयनादुकस भिक्खुनो दानं [1\*]

“The gift of Aya-Nāduka (*the venerable Nāduka*), a monk.”

No. 17.

पुसरखितस दानं [अ]यस अतेवासिनो [1\*]

“The gift of Pusarakhita (*Pushyarakshita*), the pupil of Aya (*Ārya*, i.e. the venerable one).”

No. 18.

सिहाय दान [1\*]

“The gift of Sihā (*Siṃhā*).

No. 19.

L. 1. सुमनस भिक्खुनो

L. 2. दानं [1\*]

“The gift of the monk Sumana (*Sumanas*).”

No. 20.

धमगुतस पुसिनिया च दान [1\*]

“The gift of Dhamaguta (*Dharmagupta*) and Pusiniya (*Pushyanikā*).”

No. 21.

विसाखस पाडा — यस [1\*]<sup>9</sup>“The gift of Visākha (*Viśākha*), an inhabitant of Pāḍā[na].”<sup>9</sup> Restore पाडानियस, according to I, 56.

APPENDIX.—LISTS OF NAMES.

I.—*Monks.*

Arahadina I, 83, 90.  
 Arahaguta I, 18; II, C. 19.  
 Arahaka II, C. 34.  
 Balaka II, C. 19.  
 Balamitra I, 88.  
 Bham̐duka (Gotiputa) I, 16; °kiya, 103, 122.  
 Bharadiya I, 74.  
 Budharakhita I, 71.  
 Chhadika I, 116.  
 Chuda I, 68; (aya—) I, 88.  
 Devagiri I, 66, (aya—) 112.  
 Dhamadata I, 103.  
 Dhamagiri I, C. 178.  
 Dhamaguta I, 61.  
 Dhamarakhita I, 9, 53, 68.  
 Dhana I, C. 31.  
 Dhanaka (aya—) I, C. 151.  
 Gotiputa—see Bham̐duka.  
 Hāṭiya I, 12.  
 Isika I, 92 (93?).  
 Isila II, 4.  
 Jonaka I, C. 152.  
 Jonbaka I, 75.  
 Kāboja I, 7.  
 Kāda I, 4.  
 Mahāgiri I, 62.  
 Nadiguta I, 58.  
 Nagadina I, C. 10.

Nāduka (aya—) II, 16.  
 Nāgarakhita II, C. 39.  
 Nāgila (bhadata—) I, 84; II, C. 1.  
 Pasanaka (aya) I, 5.<sup>10</sup>  
 Patuḍa (?) I, 97.  
 Pothaka I, 87.  
 Prāṭiṭhāna I, 12, 70.  
 Pusa I, C. 29, C. 158.  
 Pusagiri I, C. 21.  
 Pusaka I, 67.  
 Pusrakhita II, 17.  
 Rahila (aya—) I, C. 37.  
 Sadhana I, 29.  
 Saghamita II, C. 7.  
 Sagharakhita II, C. 40.  
 Saṁdhāna I, 54.  
 Samidata I, 65.  
 Sumana II, 19.  
 Tisaka (aya—) I, 70.  
 Upasijha I, 63.  
 Vājuka (bhadata—) I, C. 122.  
 Vejha II, 5.  
 Visākha I, C. 123.  
 Vira I, C. 186.  
 Yakhadā[di]na I, C. 50.  
 Yakhila I, 112; II, 6.  
 Yasogiri II, 14.

II.—*Nuns.*

Achalā I, 6.  
 Arabadāsi I, C. 175.  
 Avisinā I, 79, 80.  
 Balikā I, C. 159.  
 Bodhi I, 104.  
 Budhapālita I, 86.  
 Budharakhita I, 110.  
 Chirātī I, 28.  
 Dhamadevā II, 3.  
 Dhamarakhita I, 52.  
 Dhamasenā II, 9.  
 Dhama[s]iri I, 78.  
 Dūpasā (?) I, C. 170.  
 Gadā (II, 15?), C. 21, 36.  
 Girigutā I, 100.  
 Hana (?) I, C. 2.  
 Isidāsī I, C. 169; II, C. 22.  
 Isidatā I, C. 132, 133.  
 Isidinā I, C. 147.

Jitamitā I, 101.  
 Kaḍi I, C. 65.  
 Mitasiri II, 3.  
 Mulā II, C. 21.  
 Odatikā I, C. 26.<sup>11</sup>  
 Oḍḍi (I, 82?); II, 11.  
 Phagulā II, C. 18.  
 Piyadhamā I, 104.  
 Pusā I, 105.  
 Saghadinā I, 37.  
 Sapakā II, 8.  
 Saṁgharakhita I, 33.  
 Sedi II, C. 43.  
 Siridinā I, 119.  
 Valā II, C. 15.  
 Yakhi I, 38; (Yakha) C. 187.  
 Yamarakhita II, C. 20.  
 Yasilā I, 33 (34?).

<sup>10</sup> *Pasanaka* occurs as teacher of *Dhamaguta* and *Sagharakhita* in the inscription on a pillar of the Sonāri Topes No. I, Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxiii.  
<sup>11</sup> This corresponds to Sanskrit *aradātikā*, literally 'the puro one.'



## III.—Male names, not marked as clerical.

Agila II, 13.  
 Abimita I, C. 8.  
 Ajitiguta I, 43.  
 Apathaka I, 42.  
 Araba I, 40.  
 Arahaka I, C. 165 (see also List I).  
 Arahadâsa I, C. 100.  
 Arabadina I, 44, 90.  
 Arahatapâlita I, C. 164.  
 Asâda I, 72.  
 Aṭha (kamika) I, 10.  
 Bahadata I, 30.  
 Bahula II, C. 35.  
 Bhadaka I, 41.  
 Bhichhuka I, 56.  
 Budhapâlita (seṭhi) II, C. 8.  
 Budharakhita II, C. 10, 23.  
 Budhila I, C. 32; II, 2.  
 Bulika I, 114.  
 Chadaguta I, C. 97.  
 Chheta I, C. 66.  
 Dadata (?) I, C. 89.  
 Damaka (?) I, C. 174.  
 Devaka I, 89.  
 Devabhaga I, 111.  
 Dhamadata I, C; 173.  
 Dhamagiri I, C. 56.  
 Dhamagirika I, 2; C. 166.  
 Dhamaguta II, 20.  
 Dhamapâla I, C. 134.  
 Dhamarakhita II, C. 2.<sup>12</sup>  
 Dhamasiva I, 1, 107.  
 Dhanagiri I, C. 157.  
 Disarakhita (?) I, C. 42.<sup>13</sup>  
 Gohila I, C. 77.  
 Gopâla I, C. 12.  
 Gotiputa,—see Subâhita.  
 [Ham]sarakhita I, 117.  
 Himagiri I, 106.  
 Isadâta (?) I, C. 52.  
 Isiguta (vânija) I, 91.  
 Isika I, 93 (?) (compare also List No. II).  
 Isipâlita I, C. 179.  
 Isimita I, C. 59.  
 Isirakhita I, 94.  
 Kekatēyaka I, 1, 3.  
 Kuja (?) I, 60.

Kujara I. C. 94.  
 Mahida I. 109.  
 Mulagiri (lekha) I. C. 48.  
 Nadâva I. 24.  
 Nâdivirohi I. 24.  
 Nagadina I. C. 74.  
 Namdigiri I. 108.  
 Nâgadina I, 115.  
 Nâgapiya (seṭhi) I, 85; C. 192; II. 7.  
 Nigadi I, 113.  
 Opedadata I, C. 62-64.  
 Patitbiya (gabapati) I, 22, 23.  
 Phaguna I, 63.  
 Pusagir I, 55.  
 [Sa]chami[ta] I, 96.  
 Sadatba (?) I, C. 168.  
 Sagha I, C. 192.  
 Saghadeva I, 81.  
 Saghamita II, 12.  
 Samana I, C. 179.  
 Saṁghila I, C. 163.  
 Sâmanera I, 11, 57.  
 Samika (vânika) I, C. 83, C. 119.  
 Saṁvalita, I 98.  
 Sâtîla I, C. 98.  
 Sîbhagiri I, 77; C. 28 (?) (facsimile, *Sapaga, ano*).  
 Siharakhita I, 13.  
 Siriguta (vânija) I, 47.  
 Siripâla I, C. 120.  
 Sivanadi I, 45.  
 Sila (seṭhi) I, 99.  
 Siharakhita I, 13.  
 Sona I, C. 57.  
 Soyasa I, 120.  
 Subâhita, Gotiputa (râjalipikara) I, 13, 49.  
 Subhaga I, 19.  
 Svaticuta I, 31.  
 Upidadata I, 36.  
 Vaḍa (?) I, C. 172.  
 Vâdha I, C. 47.  
 Vajaguta I, C. 3.  
 Vijita I, 3.  
 Vimala I, C. 138.  
 Visa I, C. 77.  
 Viśākha II, 21 (see also List I).  
 Visvadeva I, 95.  
 Yasopâla I, C. 27, 156.

<sup>12</sup> If the following *seṭhasa* stands for *saikshasya*, this person was an ascetic.

<sup>13</sup> The name is probably wrong.

IV.—Females, not marked as muns.

Agido[de]vā I, C. 17.  
 Agis[i]mā I, 69.  
 Arabhagutā I, 32.  
 Asvadevā I, 30 ; C. 83.  
 Balakā I, C. 61.  
 Budhā I, C. 64.  
 Dāsā I, C. 46.  
 Dhamatā [datā] I, 102.  
 Dhamarakhitā I, 15, 45, 76.  
 Gaḍā II, 15 (compare also List II).  
 Himadatā I, C. 93.  
 Isimitā I, C. 54, 69.  
 Isirakhitā I, 64.  
 Kā[kā]nā I, 21.  
 Kanī I, C. 85.  
 Kurarī I, 39.  
 Majhimā I, 48.  
 Mayadatā I, C. 62.  
 Mitā (Tāpasīyanam nusa) I, 73.  
 Mulā I, 95.  
 Muladatā I, C. 60.  
 Nāgadatā I, 117.  
 Nagamitā I, C. 72.  
 Nāgāpalitā II, 10.  
 Nāgā I, 50 ; C. 45.

Oḍi I, 82 (compare also List II).  
 Padonā (?) I, C. 51.  
 Patolā (?) II, C. 28.  
 Poṭhādevā, I, C. 44.  
 Pusinī II, 20.  
 Revā, I, 121.  
 Rohunī (?) I, C. 55.  
 Sagharakhitā II, C. 22.  
 Saghā I, C. 106.  
 Sāmidarā [tā] I, C. 176.  
 Samikā I, 46, 118.  
 Semākā (?) I, C. 91.  
 Sihā II, 18.  
 Sihadatā I, C. 67.  
 Sonado[de]vā I, 8 ; C. 17.  
 Subhagā I, C. 18.  
 Tāpasī I, 39.  
 Vākalā devī I, C. 8.  
 Vasulā I, C. 88.  
 Vesamanadatā I, 22.  
 Vinhukā II, C. 24.  
 Vipulā I, C. 70.  
 Vudinā I, 20.  
 Yakhadāsī I, C. 171.  
 Yasilā I, 35 (see also List No. II).

Geographical names.

Abeyaka (adj.) I, 11, 57.  
 Achhāvaḍa I, 85 ; (adj.) I, C. 192 ; <sup>14</sup> II, 7.  
 Adhaporika (adj.) II, 13.  
 Ananimitaka (?) (adj.) II, C. 10.  
 Arāpāna I, 59, 72, 89.  
 Asvavati I, 91.  
 Bedakara I, 108.  
 Bhasikāḍa I, C. 156.  
 Bhādanakāṭiya (adj.) I, 120.  
 Bhogavadhana<sup>15</sup> I, 45 ; °*vaḍhana*, I, 64 ; C. 137 ;  
 °*vaḍhanaka*, (adj.) I, 43, 109 ; II, 2.  
 Chahatīya (adj.) I, C. 158.  
 Dhamavaḍhanana (read °*vaḍhana*) I, 25, 26.  
 Ejāvata (adj.) I, 71.  
 Erakina<sup>16</sup> I, C. 98.  
 Kāboja (proper name) I, 7.  
 Kāchupatha (adj.) I, 52, 53.  
 Kamdaḍigāma I, C. 47 ; °*gāmiya* (adj.) I, C.  
 45, 46.  
 Kāpāsīgāma I, 40.  
 Kaṭakaññu I, 41 ; °*kaññuka* (adj.) I, 97.  
 Kaṭakareyaka (adj.) I, C. 100.  
 Kekaṭeyaka (proper name) I, 1, 3.

Kuraghara I, C. 69 ; C. 71-72 ; *Koraghara* (adj.)  
 I, 19, 99, 104.  
 Kurāra I, 98 ; *kurariya* (adj.) I, C. 138 ; C.  
 192 ; <sup>17</sup> *kurarī* (adj.) I, C. 133 ; *korara* (adj.)  
 I, 85 ; II, 8, 9 ; C. 15.  
 Maḍalachhikaṭika (adj.) I, 78, 79, 80 ; C. 159.  
 Madhuvana I, 61, <sup>18</sup> C. 132 ; °*vanika* (adj.) I, 15,  
 76, <sup>19</sup> 110.  
 Māhamoragi, I, 77 ; *Mahāmo*<sup>20</sup> I, C. 28.  
 Mahisati I, 111.  
 Morasibikaṭa I, 44.  
 Nadinagara I, 6 ; C. 170 ; *Nādi*<sup>21</sup> I, 7 ; *Nadina-*  
*garika* (adj.)<sup>22</sup> I, 82, 105 ; C. 147, 169 ;  
*Nādinagarika* (adj.) I, 119 ; II, 15.  
 Navagamaka (adj.) I, 46 ; °*gāmaka*, I, 55 ; °*gā-*  
*mika*, I, C. 53.  
 Pādāniya (adj.) I, 56 ; II, 21.<sup>21</sup>  
 Pāḍukulikā II, 1 ; *Paḍukulini*[kī]ya (adj.)  
 II, C. 8.  
 Pokhara I, 106 ; °*reyaka* I, 83 ; <sup>22</sup> C. 23, 39.  
 Poravikhika (adj.) I, 107.  
 Prāthithāna (proper name) I, 12, 70.  
 Puñnavāḍhaniya (adj.) I, 102.

Ramorajahikaḍi (?) I, 90.

<sup>14</sup> *Achharada*, on facsimile.

<sup>15</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 95.

<sup>16</sup> *Dharakina*, on facsimile.

<sup>17</sup> *Kararāya*, on facsimile.

<sup>18</sup> First syllable obliterated.

<sup>19</sup> Spelt °*randāka*.

<sup>20</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, No. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Third syllable obliterated.

<sup>22</sup> *Pokhamreyakaḍa* [sa], on copy.

Rohanipadiya (adj.) I, 113, 114, 115; *Rohāni*<sup>o</sup>  
I, 93.  
Sāhakagāmiya (adj.) I, C. 97.  
Sāsādaka (adj.) I, 18; II, C. 19.  
Sonaraka (adj.) II, 12.  
Tambalamaḍa I, 60.  
Tiriḍapada I, 50.  
Tubavana I, 22, 23.  
Udubaraghariya (adj.) I, 13; II, C. 41;  
C. 42; *Uḍumbara*<sup>o</sup> I, 96.

Ugīreyaka (adj.) I, 31.  
Ujenī I, 27, 69, 73, 95; C. 11, 12, 49, 55-68,  
70, 77; *ka* (adj.) I, 121.  
Vāḍivahana I, 116; *Vaḍivahanika* (adj.) I,  
101; *Vāḍya*<sup>o</sup> (adj.) II, C. 24.  
Vāghumata I, 37; C. 118.  
Vediśa<sup>23</sup> I, 38; *Vediśaka* (adj.) I, 117; C. 189;  
*śika* I, C. 26.  
Vejaḥa I, 17.  
Verohakaṭa (adj.) I, 81.

### VIII.—HARSHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA VIGRAHARAJA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1030.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription lies among the ruins of an ancient temple on the top of a hill, called Harsha or "Unchāpahar," which is near the village of "Harasnāth" in the Shaikhāwati province of the Jaypur state of Rājputāna, about 7 miles south of Sikar and 60 miles north-west of Jaypur, Long. 75° 15', Lat. 27° 31', *Indian Atlas*, quarter-sheet No. 33, N. E. There it was discovered, in 1834, by Dr. G. E. Rankin and Sergeant E. Dean, who both sent facsimiles of the inscription which it bears to the Asiatic Society of Bengal early in 1835. And, Dr. Rankin's copy having on the way become so much injured as to be totally illegible, the inscription was edited shortly afterwards from Mr. Dean's facsimile by the Rev. Dr. Mill, with a lithograph prepared by Lieutenant Kittoe, and an account of the ruins on the hill Harsha by Mr. Dean, in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. IV, pp. 361-400.<sup>1</sup> In the course of last year Mr. Fleet kindly presented me with a pencil rubbing of the inscription, found among Sir A. Cunningham's papers, which, though it helped me to amend Dr. Mill's readings in many places, was yet not sufficiently clear to furnish a trustworthy text throughout. I therefore applied for assistance to Dr. Burgess, and owing to his interest and exertions in the matter I am now able to re-edit the inscription from two excellent impressions, obtained by Colonel S. S. Jacob for Dr. Burgess; they were prepared by Mr. Lāla Rām Bakhsh of Jaypur.

According to Mr. Dean's account the inscription is on a slab of black stone, about 3½" thick and 3' square. It consists of 40 lines of writing which cover a space of about 2' 11" broad by 2' 10" high. Small portions of the inscribed surface are broken away at the four corners, and the right and left margins are slightly damaged; besides, about a dozen *aksharas* have become illegible in the body of the inscription by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The rest of the writing is well preserved, and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{7}{16}$ " and  $\frac{3}{4}$ "; it is largest at the top and becomes gradually smaller towards the bottom. The characters

<sup>23</sup> See also *Bharhut Inscriptions*, Nos. 22, 32, 85, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See also Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III, pp. 932—937.

are the ordinary northern alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs, and they are skilfully formed and well engraved. The names of the writer and the engraver are not given. The language is Sanskrit, and by far the greater portion of the inscription, to nearly the end of line 33, is in verse. This poetical part is called a *prāśasti*, and was composed by Dhīranāga, the son of the *karāṇika* Thiruka (verse 45).—In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; before *r*, *t* is always doubled after a vowel, e.g., in *vichittra*, line 4, and *sūtradhāro* and *dagdha-ttripura*, line 6; and a single *j* is written instead of *jj* in *ujvalah*, line 16, and *visphurajūāna*, line 22. The dental *n* is employed instead of *anvāra* in *dhvansa*, line 22; the dental sibilant instead of the palatal in *auttarevvaraḥ*, line 22, and in *Chāṇḍasiva*, line 29 (in a verse which offends against the metre); and the dental nasal has been incorrectly changed to the lingual in *prasannaḥ*, line 15, and wrongly retained in *nirnnāśitā*, line 17.—Both the verses and the prose part of the inscription contain some words which are not given by the dictionaries or are employed in an unusual sense. To such words attention will be drawn in the notes on the translation.<sup>2</sup>

The proper object of the poetical part of the inscription, which consists of 48 verses, is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva, worshipped under the name of Harsha, on the hill Harsha, by the Śaiva ascetic Allāṭa, and the completion of other works of piety by Allāṭa's disciple Bhāvadyota. But more interesting is the account which is furnished, by way of introduction, of the princes to whose kingdom the hill Harsha belonged and by whom the ascetics were patronised, and of their wars with other princes who have not yet become known from other sources. And the value of the inscription is enhanced by the fact that it yields a considerable number of names of districts and places, and contains several dates, for one of which the corresponding European date may be given with absolute certainty.

The first twelve verses of the inscription are mainly devoted to the glorification of the god Śiva or, as he is more particularly styled here, Harshadeva, of his place of residence, the mountain Harsha, and of the temple erected to the god on that hill. After that the poet, in verses 13-27, celebrates a line of princes belonging to the Chāhamāna family, who are said to have become illustrious through their devotion to the god Harsha. The first prince mentioned is—

1. Gūvaka I., said to have been famous as a hero in the assemblies of the Nāgas and other princes (v. 13). His son was—
2. Chandrarāja (v. 14); his son—
3. Gūvaka II. (v. 14); and his son—
4. Chandana, who defeated or slew in battle the Tomara prince Rudrena<sup>3</sup> (v. 14). This prince was succeeded by his son—
5. Vākpatirāja, who put to flight Tantrapāla, a neighbouring chief, by whom he had been attacked (vv. 15-16). And he again was succeeded by his son—
6. Simharāja. This prince, though he is said to have subdued, amongst others, a Tomara leader, who appears to have been allied with a certain Lavana, was evidently defeated by his opponents and probably slain in battle (vv. 17-19). He was succeeded by his son—

<sup>2</sup> See notes 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 77, 78, 81 & 85.

<sup>3</sup> I take this name to be equivalent to Rudrapāla.

7. Vigraharāja, ruling at the time when the inscription was composed, who restored the fortune of his family; but nothing specific that need be repeated here is mentioned regarding him, except that he had a younger brother, named Durlabharāja (vv. 20-26). It will appear below that, besides Vigraharāja, Simharāja had two other sons, Chandrarāja and Govindarāja, and that he also had a brother, named Vatsarāja.

These seven princes are apparently mentioned in the same order in the inscription from Bijholi of which a rough reading is published in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LV, part I, p. 40. From verse 16 of the present inscription it appears that the country over which they held sway, and in which Harsha was situated, was called Ananta, a name which is repeated in verse 28. The princes with whom they are represented to have been at war I have not hitherto met with in any other inscription, but the fact that two of them are described as Tomaras leads me to suspect that at any rate some of them were ruling the country around Delhi, which we know to have passed from the Tomaras to the Châhamânas in later times.

The contents of the remaining verses of our inscription may be given in very few words. In the country Ananta there lived a sage Viśvarûpa, a devotee of Śiva, who followed the *Pañchârthala* doctrine (v. 28). He had a disciple named Praśasta (v. 29); and his disciple again was Bhâvarakta, also called Allaṭa, who was born in a family of Brâhmans of the Vârgaṭika tribe, and had come to Harsha from the neighbouring Rânapallikâ, a village where the *Sâmsârîka* doctrine was practised. Allaṭa built the magnificent temple of Harshadeva at which the inscription was afterwards put up, but died before he could accomplish all he had intended to do (vv. 30-34). And the works begun by him were therefore completed at his request by his disciple Bhâvadyota (vv. 35-42). The temple erected by Allaṭa was built by the architect Chaṇḍaśiva, a son of Virabhadra (v. 43), and completed on the 13th of the bright half of Âshâḍha of the year 1013 (line 32). And the sage Allaṭa is (in v. 48) reported to have died in the expired year 1027, when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with the *yoga* Śubha and the *nakshatra* Hasta, on a Monday. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, I find that the corresponding European date is Monday the 8th August, A.D. 970; for in northern Vikrama 1027 expired the *Simha-samkrânti* took place on the 26th July, A.D. 970, which was the 6th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada, and the third of the following bright half (of the same Bhâdrapada) was Monday the 8th August, when the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. and the *nakshatra* was Hasta up to 12 h. 29 m. and the *yoga* Śubha up to 13 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise. The date is interesting, because it is the earliest Vikrama date known to me in which the writer has quoted a solar *sumkrânti*, instead of giving us the name of the lunar month.<sup>4</sup>

To the poetical part of the inscription is appended, in lines 33-40, the following list of endowments of the temple of Harshadeva, which were received up to Âshâḍha-śudi 15 of the (Vikrama) year 1030, the date on which I take the inscription to have been composed:—

The king Simharāja, after having bathed at Pushkaratîrtha, had given the villages Simhagoshṭha in the Tûnakûpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and

<sup>4</sup> The practice is common enough in modern dates of Sanskrit MSS. written in the Bengali character.

Īśānakūpa<sup>5</sup> in the Paṭṭābaddhaka *viśhaya*, and Kaṇhapallikā in the Sarāḥkottā *viśhaya*; his brother Vatsarāja the village Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura *viśhaya*; the king Vigharāja the villages Chhatradhārā and Śamkarāṇaka (verse 25); Śimharāja's other sons Chandrarāja and Govindarāja two hamlets in the Paṭṭābaddhaka and Darbhakaksha *viśhayas*; Dhandhuka, an official of Śimharāja's, the village Mayūrapadra in the Khaṭṭakūpa *viśhaya*; and a certain Jayanarāja the village Kolikūpaka. Besides, fields had been given by various pious people, at Madrapurikā, Nimbadikā, Marupallikā, Harsha, and . . . [ka]lāvaṇapadra. And taxes on salt and on horses had been assigned for the benefit of the temple by the traders (?) of Śākambharī and by the horse-dealers from the north.

Of the localities in this list, to which may be added the village of Rāṇapallikā near Harsha, mentioned above, few have as yet been identified. Jayapura, Śākambharī and Pushkaratīrtha near Ajmere are well known. Of the rest, Rāṇapallikā must be the village "Rānoli," about 7 miles east of "Harasnāth" and one mile west of "Shishu;" and Nimbadikā, the village "Nimara," 4½ miles south of "Harasnāth," near a salt-lake which may have given its name to . . . [ka]lāvaṇapadra.

The inscription ends with the usual appeal to future kings to respect these endowments.

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

L. 1. . . . . [य]<sup>7</sup> ॥

सर्वविघ्नशम[नं सुरार्चितं]<sup>8</sup> पूर्वमेव शिव[यो]स्तनूद्वयम् ।

भुक्तिमुक्तिपरमार्थसिद्धिदं तं नमामि वर[दं] उ — उ उ <sup>9</sup>॥<sup>10</sup>—[1.]

. . . . .

2. . . . . [का]कुलितमानसैः ।

स्तूयमानस्तु सदैवैः पातु वस्त्रिपुरांतकः ॥<sup>11</sup>—[2.]

पादन्यासावनुना नमति वसुमती शेषभोगावलग्न

[वा(वा)]हृत्क्षेपैः स[मं?] — उ उ उ उ उ उ — — उ

3. — — कंचन्द्रैः ।

भिन्नावस्थं समस्तं भवति हि भुवनं यस्य नृत्ते प्रवृत्ते

स श्रीहर्षाभिधानो जयति पश्यतिर्दत्तविश्वानुकंपः ॥<sup>12</sup>—[3.]

सव्ये शूलं त्रिशिखमपरे दोष्णि [भि]क्षाक[पाल]

भूषा — — उ उ उ

4. [सु]जगः कंठिका नीलकंठे ।

नेदृश्वेषस्त्रिनयन मया कापि दृष्टो विचित्र

<sup>5</sup> See note 79.

<sup>6</sup> From impressions obtained, at the Editor's request, from Col. S. S. Jacob, C. I. E., and made by Lāla Rām Bakhsh of Jaypur.

<sup>7</sup> The words broken away at the beginning were probably श्री श्री नमः शिवाय.

<sup>8</sup> The *aksharas* in these brackets are slightly damaged at the top, but the reading is certain.

<sup>9</sup> The word broken away here was probably गङ्गानाम्.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Rathoddhatā.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

द्रत्यं गौयां प्रहसितहरः सस्मितः पातु युष्मान् ॥<sup>13</sup> —[4.]  
वेगोद्भूतार्थमादिग्रहगगनतलं व्यशुवाना जलौघै-  
न्यकुर्वाणा स[स][द्रान्\*]

L. 5. क्षय[व]लितजलानूर्मिमालासहस्रैः ।

देगादभ्यर्धितं वः शशधरधवला खर्दुनी चंद्रमौलि-  
मौली लीलां वहन्ती स्फुटविकटजटाव(व)न्धने चोदकायाः ॥ <sup>14</sup>—[5.]  
चंचच्चंद्रार्कतारं भुवननगनदीदी[प]सिं[धु]-

6. [प्र]पंचं

विश्वं देवासुराहिप्रमथमुनिवरैर्यक्षमर्त्यैः सनातम् ।  
यस्येच्छाशक्तिभावादसदपि सकलं जायते लीयते च  
सोव्याहो हर्षदेवो भुवनविरचनासूत्रधारोप्रमथः ॥ —[6.]  
नूनं वाणाग्निदग्धक्षिपुरसुररिपु-

7. [र्जा]तहर्षः सहर्ष-

रिंद्राद्यैर्दिवद्वैः क्षतनुतिनतिभिः पूज्यमानोक्ष शैले ।  
योभून्नान्नापि हर्षो गिरिशिखरभुवोर्भारतानुग्रहाय  
सो<sup>15</sup> ग्नाहो लिंगरूपो द्विगुणितभवनचंद्रमौलिः शिवाय ॥ —[7.]  
निर्यन्नेत्ता[ण्ड]-

8 [भा<sup>x</sup>]गुडानगुदहनरचि श्लोषसंभ्रान्तसत्तं(त्वं)

प्रान्तज्वालावलीढद्रुमव(व)हलमहाधूमधूमनायिताशम् ।  
मंरभारंभमीमस्वनमसमशरोच्छेदि यस्याशशंके  
दृष्ट्वा देवैः [स्व]रूपं<sup>16</sup> किमिय[म]समये संहतिर्वी(र्वी)भुवे[द्य]॥—[8.]

9. देवः पुरधगध्यास्ते यमभ्रंकषमुच्चकैः ।

हर्षख्यातिः स हर्षाख्यो गिरिरिष<sup>17</sup> पुनातु वः ॥ <sup>18</sup>—[9.]  
शूरस्येदं श्लोकं<sup>19</sup> ।

गांगं नो निर्वर्त्त[रांभ]ः प्रवहति न शुभा नंदनोद्यानलक्ष्मीः

सद्रत्नखण्डाण्युगमलविविधरुचो नैव — —<sup>20</sup>

10. [स्त<sup>2</sup>]थात्त ।

अन्यां धत्तं तथापि त्रियमतिशयिनीमेष शैलीद्वितीयां  
साक्षाच्छंभुर्यदास्ते तदपि हि परमं कारणं रम्यतायाः ॥ <sup>21</sup>—[10.]  
अष्टमूर्तिर्यमध्यास्ते सिद्धाष्टकविभुः स्वयम् ।  
महिमा भूधरस्यास्य परमः कोपि — ७ ८<sup>22</sup> ॥ <sup>23</sup>—[11.]

<sup>13</sup> Metre . Mandākrāntā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 5-8 : Sragdharā.

<sup>15</sup> Read स.

<sup>16</sup> Originally सरूपं was engraved, but the initial स seems to have been altered to स्व.

<sup>17</sup> Originally रेषा, altered to रिष.

<sup>18</sup> Metre . Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>19</sup> Read शूरस्यैव श्लोकः.

<sup>20</sup> The two aksharas here broken away were perhaps सौधा.

<sup>21</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.

<sup>22</sup> The word here broken away was perhaps विद्यते.

<sup>23</sup> Metre . Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

[illegible]



- L. 11. [एत\*]स्रग्णैण्डकांतिप्रवरतममहामण्डपाभोगभद्रं  
 प्रांतप्रासादमालाविरचितविकटापाण्डुपुच्छाभिरामम् ।  
 सेरोः शृंगोपमानं सुघटितवृषसत्तोरणद्वाररम्यं  
 नानासङ्गोद्युक्तं जयति भगवतो हर्षदेवस्य [ह\*]-
12. [स्र्यम्] ॥ <sup>21</sup>—[12.]  
 आद्यः श्रीगूवकाख्याप्रथितनरपतिश्चाहमानान्वयोभूत्<sup>25</sup>  
<sup>26</sup>श्रीमन्नागा[द्यः?]लोकप्रवरनृपसभालब्ध(व्)वीरप्रतिष्ठः ।  
 यस्य श्रीहर्षदेवे वरभवनमयी भौतली कीर्त्तिमूर्त्ति-  
 लोकेद्यापि स्थिरैषा प्रतपति परमैः —
13. — — — — [जैः?] ॥ —[13.]  
 पुत्रः श्रीचंद्रराजोभवदमलयशास्तस्य तीव्रप्रतापः  
 सुसुस्तम्याय भूपः प्रथम इव पुनर्गूवकाख्यः प्रतापी ।  
 तस्माच्छीचंदनोभूत्कितिपतिभयदस्तोमरेशं सदर्थं  
 हत्वा रुद्रेनभूष<sup>27</sup> समर[भुवि]
14. [व\*]लाद्ये[न लब्ध\*] जययोः ॥ —[14.]  
 ततः परमतेजस्वी सदा समरजित्वरः ।  
 श्रीमान्वाक्पतिराजाख्यो महाराजोभवत्सुतः ॥ <sup>28</sup>—[15.]  
 येनादैत्यं स्वसैन्यं कथमपि दधता वाजिवल्गा सुमुहु  
 प्रागेव चासितिभः सरसि क[रि]<sup>29</sup>रटङ्गिडिमैर्डुं
15. —[जैः?] <sup>30</sup>।  
 वन्द्यह्माभर्तुराज्ञां समदमभि[व]<sup>31</sup>हन्नागतोनंतपार्श्व-  
 क्षमापालस्तंक्षपालो दिशि दिशि गमितो द्वीधिषण्णः प्रसण्ण(न्न): ॥ <sup>31</sup>—[16.]  
 शूरस्येदं ।  
 लोकैर्यो हि महीतले ननु हरिचंद्रोपमो गीयते  
 त्यागैश्च[र्य]जयेयु कीर्त्ति\*]-
16. [र\*]मला धर्मश्च यस्योज्ज(ज्ज)लः ।  
 येनादायि हराय मंदिरकृते भक्त्या प्रभूतं वसु  
 श्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजसुनुरसमः श्रीसिंहराजोभवत् ॥ <sup>32</sup>—[17.]  
 हैममारीपितं येन शिवस्य भवनोपरि ।  
 पूर्णचंद्रोपमं स्वीयं मूर्त्ति य[श] उ [पिं?]डक[म्] ॥ <sup>33</sup>—[18.]
17. — <sup>34</sup> । तोमरनायकं सलवणं सैन्याधिपत्योद्धतं  
 युध्दे येन नरेश्वराः प्रतिदिशं निर्वा(र्णा)शिता जिष्णुना ।

<sup>25</sup> Metre of verses 12-14: Sragdharā.

<sup>26</sup> Read 'भूवर्द्ध'. The *akshara* यो, preceding मूत्, may possibly have been altered to ये.

<sup>27</sup> Originally undoubtedly श्रीमन्नागाव was engraved, but the *akshara* व appears to have been altered subsequently, and the only *akshara* which would suit the context appears to me to be द्य ; I am not certain, however, that the adopted reading is correct.

<sup>28</sup> This word, for which Dr. Mill has read रुद्रेन मूयः, is quite clear and distinct in the original.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>30</sup> This *akshara* might possibly be read वि.

<sup>31</sup> The lower portion of this *akshara* is not quite distinct.

<sup>32</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>33</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>34</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>35</sup> The word, here broken away, was probably either जिह्वा or हत्वा.

कारावेश्मनि भूरयश्च विष्टतास्तावद्धि यावद्दृष्टे  
तन्मुत्तर्यमुपागतो रघुकुले भूचक्रवर्त्ती स्वयम् ॥ <sup>35</sup>—[19.]

श्रीमा-

L. 18. [न्वि<sup>x</sup>]ग्रहराजीभूतत्सुतो वासवीपमः ।

वंशलक्ष्मीर्जयश्रीश्च येनैते विधुरोद्धृते ॥ <sup>36</sup>—[20.]

श्रीसिंहराजरहिता किल चिंतयंती भीतिव संप्रति विभुर्ननु की ममेति ।

येनात्मवा(बा)हुयुगले चिरसन्निवासं संधीरितेति ददता निज-

19. [रा<sup>x</sup>]ज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥ <sup>37</sup>—[21.]

येन दुष्टदमनेन सर्वतः साधिताखिलमहो स्ववा(बा)हुभिः ।

लीलयैव वशवर्त्तिनी कृता किंकरीव निजपादयोस्तले ॥ <sup>38</sup>—[22.]

यस्य चारु चरितं सतां सदा शृण्वतां जगति कीर्त्तितं जनैः ।

हृष्टिजातघनरोमकं-

20. ॐ —<sup>39</sup> जायते तनुरलं मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ —[23.]

मुक्ताहारैः सुतारैः प्रतरलतुरगैश्चारुवस्त्रैश्च शस्त्रैः

कर्पूरैः पूगपूरैर्मलयतरुवरैर्हंसभारैरुपारैः ।

उद्यद्धानैः समानैश्चलकुलगिरिभिर्हन्तिवारैः सदारै-

र्त्त्रिर्व्याजैः प्रातिर —

21. ॐ ॐ भिरिति भृतैः प्रभृतैर्यः सिधेवे ॥ <sup>40</sup>—[24.]

कृत्तधारारवग्रामो द्वितीयः शंकराणकः [1<sup>x</sup>]

तेनेमौ हर्षना[याय] [भ]क्त्या दत्तौ सशासनौ ॥ <sup>41</sup>—[25.]

श्रीमद्दुर्लभराजेन योतुजेन विभूषितः [1<sup>x</sup>]

लक्ष्मणेनेव काकुत्स्थो विष्णुनेव हलायुधः ॥ —[26.]

22. [महा<sup>x</sup>]राजावली चासौ शंभुभक्तिगुणोदया ।

श्रीहर्षः कुलदेवोऽस्यास्तस्माद्दिव्यः कुलक्रमः ॥ —[27.]

अनंतगोचरे श्रीमान् पण्डित श्रीत्तरस्व(श्व)रः ।

पंचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये<sup>42</sup> विश्वरूपोभवद्गुरुः ॥ —[28.]

दीक्षाजातमलध्वन्सविस्फुरन्ना-<sup>43</sup>

23. [ननि<sup>x</sup>]र्मलः ।

प्रशस्ताख्योभवच्छिथस्तस्य पाशुपतः कृती ॥ —[29.]

भा[व]<sup>44</sup>रक्तो[भ]वत्तस्य शिष्यो दिनामतोत्तटः ।

वार्गटिकान्वयोद्भूतसद्विप्रकुलसंभवः ।(॥) —[30.]

हर्षस्यासन्नतो ग्रामः प्रसिद्धो राणपञ्जिका ।

सांसारिककलान्नायस्ततो यस्य विनि[र्गमः ॥<sup>x</sup>] —[31.]

<sup>35</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>36</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>37</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>38</sup> Metre of verses 22 and 23: Rathoddhātā.

<sup>39</sup> The two akṣaras here broken away, were probably

<sup>40</sup> Metre of verses 25—32: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>41</sup> One would expect to read here पंचार्थलकुलाम्नाये, and I believe that the akṣara ला has been altered to ल already in the original.

<sup>42</sup> Read °क्षसविस्फुरन्ना°.

<sup>43</sup> Originally वि, but apparently altered to व.

<sup>44</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

L. 24. अल्लटच्छद्मना नंदी शिवासन्नस्थितिक्रमः ।

श्रीहर्षपाराधने नूनं स्वयं मर्त्यमवातरत् ॥ —[32.]

आजन्म त्र(त्र)ल्लक्ष्मारी दिगमलवसनः संयतात्मा तपस्वी

श्रीहर्षपाराधनैकव्यसनशुभमतिस्त्यक्तसंसारमोहः ।

आसीद्यो लब्ध(व्य)जन्मा भवतर[णधि]यां — ७

25.

— [प्री?] सुव(व)न्मु-

स्तेनेदं धर्मवित्तैः सुघटितविकटं कारितं हर्षहर्म्यम् ॥ <sup>45</sup>—[33.]

अस्मिंश्चंद्रांशैले गगनपथलिहोतुंगशृंगेप्रमेयं

हर्म्यं श्रीहर्षनामप्रथितपशुपतेः सद्दिमानो[प]मानम् ।

दृष्ट्वा सद्गोशुक्तं व(व)हुसुरभवनं कारितं येन

26.

— —

नासाध्यं किंचिदस्ति स्फुटमिति तपसो निःस्पृहाणां यतीनाम् ॥ —[34.]

आसीन्नैष्ठिकरूपो यो दीप्तपाशुपतव्रतः ।

ती[त्र]विगतपोजातपुण्यापुण्यमलक्षयः ॥ <sup>46</sup>—[35.]

सदा शिवसमाकारस्तस्येश्वरसमद्युतेः ।

भावद्योतोभवच्छिष्यः संदीपितगु-

27.

[रुक्म<sup>x</sup>]मः ॥ —[36.]

गुरोराज्ञामयं प्राप्य प्रतिष्ठासोः शिवालयम् ।

यथाप्रारब्ध(व्य)कार्याणामंगीकृतभरोभवत् ॥ —[37.]

पुरस्तात्पर्वतस्याधस्तितयं येन कारितम् ।

सत्कूपो वाटिका दिव्या गोप्रपा घटितोपलैः ॥ —[38.]

सदैव वह्ममानेन कूपेन स्वादुवारिणा ।

वाटिकासेच-

28.

. . . . प्रपाभरणन्तया ॥ —[39.]

सत्पुष्पैरर्चनं शम्भोः पयःपानं गवामपि ।

कार्यद्वयमिदं सारं दर्शितं पुण्यकांचिणाम् ॥ —[40.]

दिगंव(व)रं जटा भस्म<sup>47</sup> तल्पं च विपुलं मही ।

भिच्चा हन्तिः करः पात्नं यस्यैतानि परिग्रहः ॥ —[41.]

शिवभवनपु—

29.

— ७ [पा?]रं यदासीत्तदखिलसुपलोधैः पूरयित्वा गर्भोरिम् ।

समतलसुखगम्यं प्रांगणं तेन कांतं मच्छणतरशिलाभिः कारितं वं(व)धयित्वा ॥ <sup>48</sup>—[42.]

वीरभ[द्र]सुतः ख्यातः सूत्रधारीत्त चंडसिव<sup>49</sup> ।

विश्वकर्मेव सर्वज्ञो वास्तुविद्या[म]-

— ७ — [॥<sup>x</sup>] <sup>50</sup>—[43.]

[ये]न निर्मितमिदं मनोहरं शंकरस्य भवनं समंडपम् ।

<sup>45</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34 : Sragdharā.

<sup>46</sup> Metre of verses 35-41 : Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>47</sup> Originally मय, altered to मय.

<sup>48</sup> Metre : Mālinī.

<sup>49</sup> This word is perfectly clear in the impressions and can—  
not possibly be read in any other way. It offends against both  
the metre and grammar.

<sup>50</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anushtubh).

[म]र्द्धदेवमयचारुतोरणं स्वर्गखंडमिव वेधसा स्वयम् ॥<sup>51</sup>—[41.]

गंगाधरवरभवने करणकथीरुकसुतेन भक्तेन ।

अक्रियतेयं सुगमा प्रशस्तिरिह धीरनागेन ॥<sup>52</sup>—[45.]

यावच्छंभो ८ —

31. — ८ ८ नसरनदीचंद्रलेखापतित्वं

यावल्लक्ष्मीर्भूरारिरसि विलसति द्योतते कौस्तुभं च ।

गायत्री याव[दा]स्ते सततमुपनता प्रेयसी ब्र[ह्म]ह्मणोन्ते

कैलासावारमेतत्प्रतपतु भवनं हर्षदेवस्य तावत् ॥<sup>53</sup>—[46.]

अ . .

32. . [ह]तः शंभुः कथं कालस्य गोचरः ।

हर्म्यनिर्माणकालस्तु यथादृष्टो निव(व)ध्यते ॥<sup>54</sup>—[47.]

संवत् १०१[३] आषाढशुदि १३ शंभोः प्रासादसिद्धिः ॥ ॐ ॥

जातेब्दा(ब्दा)नां सहस्रे क्षिगुणनयुते सिंहराशौ गतेर्क्लं

शुक्ला यासोत्तृ[ती\*]-

33. [या] शुभकरसहिता सोमवारण तस्याम् ।

आदिष्टः शंभुनासौ [ध्रुव]ममलपदं दिक्षुना शुद्धसत्वं(चं)

लब्धा(ब्धा)र्द्धदेहभःवं शिवभवनमभिप्रस्थितो ह्यल्लटोय ॥ ॐ ॥<sup>55</sup>—[48.]

स्वस्ति । संवत् १०३० आषाढशुदि १५ निरुद्धं यथालब्ध(ब्ध)शसना[नां] . .

34 . तैव लिख्यते । महाराजाधिराजश्रीसिंहराजः स्वभोगे तूनकूपकदादशके सिंहगोष्ठं ।<sup>56</sup>

तथा पट्टव(व)डकविषये तैलककेशानकूपौ ।<sup>56</sup> सरकटविषये कण्हपल्लिकामेवं ग्रामांच्युतुर-  
चंद्रांकशिखरोपरि . . . [भ\*]-

35. गवते श्रीहर्षदेवाय पुण्येहनि श्रीमत्युष्करतीर्थे स्नात्वा स्रपनार्चनविलेपनोपहारः पदीपपर्व-

यात्तोत्सवाद्यमा शशंकतपनार्णवस्थितेर्यावच्छासनत्वेन प्रददौ । तथैतद्वाता श्रीवत्सराजः  
स्वभोगावासजय[पु][रविष\*]-

36. ये कर्हमखातग्राममदाच्छासनेन । तथा श्रीवेग्रहराजेन शासनदत्तग्रामद्वयमुपरिलिखित-

मास्ते । तथा श्रीसिंहराजात्मजौ श्रीचंद्रराजश्रीः गोविंदराजौ रामभोगावासपट्टव(व)डकविषये ।<sup>57</sup>  
दर्भकक्षविष[ये] . .

37. [षा]मंख्येन स्वहस्तांकितशासनौ [रु?]. . . [द]के पण्टकद्वयं<sup>58</sup> पल्लिकाग्रामौ भक्त्या वितेरतुः ।

श्रीसिंहराजोयदुःसाध्यश्रीधंधुकः खट्वकूपविषये स्वभुज्यमानमयूरप[द]ग्रामं स्वाम्यनुमतः  
प्रदत्तवान् । . . . .

38. हिलात्मजः श्रीजयनराजः<sup>59</sup> स्वभुज्यमानकीलिकूपकग्रामं भक्त्या हर्षदेवाय शासनेन दत्तवान् । (॥)

तथा समस्तश्रीभक्त्यह[द]ेष्ट्या शकंभर्या लवणकूटकं प्रति विंशोपकमेकं दत्तं । तथोत्तराप  
थीयहिडाविकानां [म] . . . .

<sup>51</sup> Metre: Rathoddhata.

<sup>52</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>53</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>54</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushūbh).

<sup>55</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>56</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>57</sup> The sign of anusvāra of the last akṣhara is doubtful.

<sup>58</sup> Originally श्रीजयनराजः, altered to श्रीजयनराजः.

L. 39. [च]टिकं प्रति द्रुम एको दत्तः ।(॥) पुण्यात्मभिर्दत्तानि देवमुच्यमानचेत्ताणि यथा । म[द्रा]-  
पुरिकायां पि[प्य]लवालिकाचेत्तं निम्ब(स्व)डिका[ग्रा]मि दर्भटिकाचेत्तं मरुपल्लिकायां [भा]-  
टके[त्तं] [ह]र्षे लाटकेत्तं . . . . .

40. . . . [क]लावणपट्रे सेक्यकचेत्तं तथात्तैव द्विहलिकानं[दि]मीमको वृहद्वलमिति ॥

सर्वानितान्भाविनी भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।

सामान्यीयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [::<sup>x</sup>] <sup>59</sup>—[49.]

## TRANSLATION.

[Om !]

[Om ! Adoration to Śiva !]

(Verse 1.) I adore him who removes all obstacles, the first-born of Śiva and his spouse, who is worshipped by the gods, [Gajānana,] the granter of boons, who gives enjoyment, salvation, and true perfection.

(2.) May the destroyer of Tripura guard you, who is <sup>60</sup> . . . . . with bewildered minds, but praised by the true gods !

(3.) Victorious is that Paśupati<sup>61</sup>, the bestower of compassion on all, who is named Harsha, the holy, at whose dancing the whole world verily changes its position ; [for] the earth, resting on Śeṣha's hoods, bends low beneath the tread of his feet, [while the sky]-with the sun and moon [rises high] with the lifting up of his arms.

(4.) " A three-pointed spear is in thy left hand, in the other an alms-dish ; the ornament . . . . . ; a serpent serves as necklace for thy blue throat ; nowhere have I seen, O three-eyed one, such wondrous vesture ;"—may Hara, smiling when thus jestingly addressed by Gaurī, guard you !

(5.) May the river of heaven, who with her masses of water pervades the sky where the sun and the planets are shaken by her velocity, and who with the thousands of lines of her waves puts to shame the oceans with their decreasing water ; who, white like the moon, appears like a graceful veil on the crest of the moon-crested (*god*), fast bound with huge uncouth tresses of hair ;—may she grant your petitions !

(6.) May the god Harsha, that unfathomable architect for the construction of the world, preserve you,—he by whose will and power all that was not is produced and vanishes again, the universe with its moving moon and sun and stars, with its expanse of worlds, mountains, rivers, islands and oceans, and together with the gods, demons, serpents, his own attendants, excellent sages, Yakshas and mortals !

(7.) May the moon-crested (*god*), who in the form of the Līṅga has (*here*) a twofold dwelling, promote your happiness ; he who—full of joy at having burnt Tripura, the enemy of the gods, with the fire of his arrow, (*and*) worshipped on this hill by the joyful divine hosts, Indra and the rest, who praised him and bowed down to him,—verily under the name of Harsha <sup>62</sup> stayed on (*these*) two mountain peaks for the welfare of Bhārata<sup>63</sup> !

(8.) When the gods saw how his own nature broke forth, like a mighty fire issuing from the hollow of his eye, frightening the creatures with its scorching rays, darkening

<sup>59</sup> Metre: Śālīni.

<sup>60</sup> The missing portion of the verse probably expressed the idea that Śiva is dreaded by the demons.

<sup>61</sup> i.e. Śiva.

<sup>62</sup> i.e. 'joy.'

<sup>63</sup> i.e. Bhāratavarsha, or India.

the quarters with thick volumes of smoke of the trees which were consumed by its flames all round, roaring terribly in its impetuous progress, (*and*) annihilating the god of love, they became afraid lest the destruction of the world had come, out of season.

(7. 9.) May this mountain Harsha, which grazes the clouds on high (*and*) on which the god Harsha, the destroyer of Pura, resides, purify you !

A hero speaks the following verse :—

(10.) The water of the torrents which flows here is indeed not that of the Ganges; here there is not the charming beauty of the garden of paradise; nor are there [palaces] here which glitter brightly all around with their jewelled and gilded pinnacles. Yet this hill possesses another, superior, unrivalled beauty; for that Śambhu dwells here in person is surely a paramount cause of loveliness.

(11.) Since the eight-formed (*god*), the lord of the eight perfections, himself dwells here, this mountain possesses supreme grandeur which baffles description.

(12.) Glorious is this mansion of the holy Harshadeva which is charming with the expanse of its spacious chapels, embellished with eggs of gold, (*and*) pleasing like the sons of Pāṇḍu by reason of the court-yards <sup>64</sup> which are formed by the flights of buildings along its sides. Surpassing in height the peak of Meru, it is beautified by an excellent porch at which a bull is skilfully carved, and is endowed with manifold objects of enjoyment.

(13.) First came the lord of men known as the illustrious Gūṭvaka, of the Châhamâna family, who attained pre-eminence as a hero in the assemblies of the foremost princes of the world, the illustrious Nâgas and the rest<sup>65</sup>; whose fame, remaining on earth in visible form, as an excellent dwelling for the holy Harshadeva, even now endures here and illumines with great . . . . .

(14.) His son was the illustrious Chandrarâja, of spotless fame and fierce valour; and his son was the valorous prince who again, like the first, was named Gūṭvaka. From him sprang, inspiring kings with fear, the illustrious Chandana, who, when he had slain on the battle-field the proud Tomara lord, prince Rudrena, by force secured the fortune of victory.

(15.) After him came his son, the Mahârâja named Vâkpatirâja, the illustrious, endowed with supreme splendour, ever victorious in battle;

(16.) Who, managing to sustain the spirit of his army, eager to loosen the reins of their chargers, forced Tantrapâla,—the ruler of the country adjacent to Ananta, who had come arrogantly defying (?) the command of the prince whom he should have honoured,—to wander, quieted, overwhelmed with shame, in every direction, after his elephants had before already been frightened . . . by drums . . . . . (?)<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> The reading of the second line of this verse is quite clear in the impressions, but owing to the word *vilâṭā* its meaning is not clear to me. *Vilâṭā* is apparently used here as a feminine substantive, and should, judging from the context, denote both a hall or court-yard and a female, related somehow to the Pāṇḍavas. In the former sense the word is evidently used also in verse 33, below; and as regards the other meaning, it may at any rate be noted that *Vikāṭa* is the name of one of the hundred sons of Dhītarāṣṭya.

<sup>65</sup> See note 26, above. I am doubtful about the correctness of my translation, but see no other way of explaining the original text.

<sup>66</sup> I do not properly understand the second line of this verse, which is damaged in the original. *Trāṣitabha* might of course also mean 'who had frightened the elephants.' The word *abhivahan* (supposing the reading to be correct) of the third line appears to be used in an altogether unusual sense. Dr. Mill's translation of the second line is: 'even he, having his elephant terrified and driven into a lake by the sounding cymbals of the hostile war elephants.'

A hero speaks :—

(V. 17.) Vākpatirāja's peerless son was the illustrious Simharāja, who verily all the earth over is sung of by people as the equal of Hariśchandra, of spotless fame for his liberality, majesty, and victories, and of resplendent virtue. He piously gave abundant wealth to Hara for a temple.

(18.) And on Śiva's dwelling he set a golden dome (?), his own fame in bodily form, resembling the full moon.

(19.) [After having defeated] the Tomara leader, proud of the command of armies, together with Lavana, the victorious one annihilated in war rulers of men in every direction. To him, who kept as many (*princes*) in his prison as he did in his house, the universal sovereign of the earth in Raghu's race came of his own accord to bring him final liberation.<sup>67</sup>

(20.) His son was the illustrious Vighraharāja, resembling Indra, who rescued both the fortune of his family and the Fortune of victory from the distress which had thus befallen them.

(21.) By him the Fortune of his realm, deprived of the illustrious Simharāja and as it were frightened at the idea who might now be her lord, was re-assured by offering her a lasting home in his two arms.

(22.) Having subdued with his arms the whole earth by overpowering the wicked on all sides, he easily made it obedient to his commands, so that it was like a servant bowing down at his feet.

(23.) When good men hear his noble conduct constantly celebrated by mankind throughout the world, their bodies again and again are closely covered all over with hairs erect through delight.

(24.) He has been served with many presents, offered without guile and exceedingly pleasing,—with strings of pure pearls, gay steeds, fine garments and weapons; with camphor, quantities of betel, first-rate sandal-wood and endless quantities of gold; and with spirited rutting elephants, huge like moving mountains, together with their mates.

(25.) Piously he has assigned by deeds two villages to the lord Harsha, the excellent village of Chhatradhārā and Śamkarānaka.

(26.) He is adorned by his younger brother, the illustrious Durlabharāja, as Rāma was by Lakshmaṇa, and as Halāyudha is by Viṣṇu.

(27.) This row of great kings had the origin of their virtues in devotion to Śambhu. The holy Harsha is their family-deity; through him has the family become illustrious.—

(28.) In the land of Ananta dwelt the blessed preceptor Viśvarūpa, learned and a devout worshipper of Uttareśvara, whose hereditary doctrine was that of the *Pañchārthas*.<sup>68</sup>

(29.) His disciple was Praśasta, a true worshipper of (Śiva) Paśupati, purified by knowledge which shone brightly because the rite of initiation had removed all stains from it.

<sup>67</sup> The following verse shows more clearly that Simharāja had been unfortunate in war and was probably killed in battle. The universal sovereign in Raghu's race, spoken of in this verse, I understand to be the divine Rāma (or Viṣṇu).

<sup>68</sup> This verse contains the two words *uttareśvara* and *pañchārthas*, which I have not met with elsewhere. The former is derived from *uttareśvara* which we have in *Uttareśvara-tīrtha*, the name of a Tīrtha, and *Uttareśvarāśrama*, the name of a Linga, and which apparently is a name of Śiva. *Pañchārthas* is evidently equivalent to *pañchārthika*, which occurs in line 6 of the Tewar stone inscription of Gayākarnadeva (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 211), and the meaning of which is apparent from the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, translation by Cowell and Gough, p. 103.

(*Vv.30 and 31.*) His disciple was Bhâvarakta, also called<sup>69</sup> Allaṭa, sprung from a family of holy Brâhmans belonging to the Vârgaṭika tribe, who had migrated from the well-known village of Rânapallikâ, near Harsha, where the hereditary doctrine is that of the *Sâmsârikas*.<sup>70</sup>

(32.) In Allaṭa surely Nandin<sup>71</sup> himself, whose place is ever near Śiva, had descended to the state of mortality, to worship the holy Harsha.

(33.) He who from his birth was a religious student, with mere space for his pure covering, with the soul completely controlled, and practising austerities; whose excellent mind was solely bent on worshipping the holy Harsha, and who had forsaken the infatuation of the outer world; who as soon as he was born was a dear friend ..... of those eager to cross (*the sea of*) life,—he caused to be built this mansion of Harsha with its well-constructed halls (?), with the wealth received from pious people.

(34.) When one sees how on this hill of the moon-decorated (*god*) which with its lofty peaks kisses the path of heaven he built this incomparable mansion of the holy Paśupati, celebrated under the name of Harsha,—this mansion which surpasses the palaces of the immortals and is a home for many gods, endowed with excellent objects of enjoyment,—it becomes evident to one that there is nothing which the penance of sages who have renounced all desires would not accomplish.

(35 and 36.) Of him, resplendent like Īśvara, the disciple was Bhâvadyota; always like Śiva himself in appearance, who shed light on the (*spiritual*) lineage of his preceptor. A perpetual religious student and fervently practising the vows of a Pâśupata ascetic, he by fierce austerities acquired holiness and got rid of the defilement of unholy deeds.

(37.) Having received the command of his preceptor about to depart for Śiva's home, he took upon himself to complete the works as they had been commenced.

(38.) To the east of the mountain, at the foot of it, he had three works executed, an excellent well, a beautiful garden, and a cistern for watering cattle, built of stone.

(39.) Watering the garden by means of a well of sweet water which never dries up ..... and filling the cistern.

(40.) To worship Śambhu with beautiful flowers and to give water to cattle to drink, these two things have been declared to be the best for people desirous of religious merit to accomplish.

(41.) Raiment consisting of mere space, matted hair, ashes, a broad couch formed by the earth, food received as alms, and the hand used as a drinking-cup,—these represented all his wants.

(42.) Having filled up with masses of stone all that immense .... which was [in front] of Śiva's temple, he caused to be made a beautiful court which, laid out with very smooth stones, is level and pleasant for walking.

(43.) The architect in this (*work*) was Chaṇḍaśiva, the famed son of Vîrabhadra, omniscient like Viśvakarman, in the art of building houses .....

(44.) He built this delightful house of Śaṅkara with its chapels, the beautiful porch which contains all the gods, like a portion of heaven made by the creator himself.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> This apparently is the meaning of *dvindmataḥ*, which does not occur elsewhere.

<sup>70</sup> What the doctrines of this sect were I have not been able to find out.

<sup>71</sup> An attendant of Śiva, commonly the bull on which he rides.

<sup>72</sup> In his account of the ruins of the temple, Mr. Dean speaks of a doorway relieved by an architrave of most elaborate sculpture, divided into twelve compartments, in each of which a group from the Hindu Pantheon occupies a place.



(V. 45.) Dhīranāga, the pious son of the *karṇika*<sup>73</sup> Thīruka, has composed this lucid eulogy here, at the excellent dwelling of Gaṅgādhara.

(46.) As long as Śambhu owns . . . . . the river of the gods and the moon's crescent, as long as Lakshmī sports and the Kaustubha glitters on the bosom of Mura's foe,<sup>74</sup> as long as Gāyatrī abides near Brahman as his ever-devoted spouse, so long may this Kai-lāsa-like dwelling of the god Harsha shine forth !

(47.) . . . . . how should Śambhu come within the range of time ? But the time when this mansion was built is recorded here, as we have learnt it.

In the year 1013, on the 13th of the bright half of Āshāḍha, was the temple of Śambhu completed.

(48.) When a thousand and three times nine years had gone,<sup>75</sup> and when the sun had entered the sign of the Lion, on the third bright lunar day joined with (the *yoga*) Śubha and (the *nakshatra*) Hasta, on a Monday,<sup>76</sup>—then that Allāṭa, commanded by Śambhu who desired to give him an eternal, undefiled, essentially bright home, departed for the abode of Śiva, about to obtain freedom from bodily existence.<sup>77</sup>—

May it be well !

The following is a record of the endowments as they were severally received up to<sup>78</sup> the 15th of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the year 1030 :—

The *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Simharāja, having on an auspicious day bathed at the sacred Pushkaratīrtha, made over by deed of gift to the holy Harsha-deva on the hill of the moon-decorated (*god Harsha*), to be his as long as the moon, the sun and the sea endure, four villages in his possession, *viz.* Simhagoshṭha in the Tūnakūpaka group of twelve, Traikalakaka and Íśanakūpa<sup>79</sup> in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya*, and Kaṇhapallikā in the Saraḥkoṭṭa *vishaya*, for the purpose of bathing, worshipping and anointing (*the god*), for oblations, incense and lamps, and for the celebration of processions on festive days.

Similarly his brother, the illustrious Vatsarāja, gave by deed the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura *vishaya* which he had become possessed of.

Similarly two villages, already mentioned above,<sup>80</sup> were given by deed by the illustrious Vigharāja.

Similarly the sons of the illustrious Simharāja, the illustrious Chandrarāja and the illustrious Govindarāja, piously presented by deeds bearing their signatures . . . . two hamlets<sup>81</sup> . . . . in the Paṭṭabaddhaka *vishaya* (*and*) the Darbhakaksha *vishaya* which they had become possessed of.

<sup>73</sup> *i.e.* a writer of legal documents.

<sup>74</sup> *i.e.* Vishnu.

<sup>75</sup> *i.e.* in the expired (Vikrama) year 1027.

<sup>76</sup> The name of the week-day is similarly put in the instrumental case in other dates, where we should have expected the locative.

<sup>77</sup> I take *vaideha* as an abstract noun, derived from *videha* 'bodiless.'

<sup>78</sup> The word of the original, so translated, is *niruddham*, which I have not met with in this sense elsewhere.

<sup>79</sup> The names of these two villages form in the original a Dvandva compound, which I cannot be sure of having resolved correctly.

<sup>80</sup> See above, verse 25.

<sup>81</sup> Owing to the mutilated state of the text I am unable to translate this sentence properly. In particular I do not see how the meaning of the word *pātaka* here differs from that of *pallikā*. On *pātaka* see the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 135.

The illustrious Simharāja's *duḥśādhya*,<sup>82</sup> the illustrious Dhandhuka, with the permission of his master, gave the village of Mayūrapadra which he possessed in the Khaṭṭakūpa *viśhaya*.

The illustrious Jayanarāja, the son of . . . . . hila, piously gave by a deed to Harshadeva the village of Kolikūpaka, possessed by him.

Likewise one *vimśopaka* on every *kūṭaka* of salt was assigned by the most illustrious . . . . .<sup>83</sup> at Śākambharī.

And one *dramma* on every horse was assigned by the . . . . . of horse-dealers<sup>84</sup> from the northern country.

The fields given by pious-minded people and now possessed by the god are as follows: at Madrāpurikā a *pippalavālikā*<sup>85</sup> field, at the village of Nimbaḍikā a *dar-bhaṭikā* field, at Marupallikā a *jhāṭa* field, at Harsha a *lāṭa* field, at . . . . [ka]-lāvanapadra a *sekyaka* field; likewise here at . . . . .<sup>86</sup> a big plough of land.

(Verse 49.) Rāmabhadra again and again entreats all the kings to come: this common causeway of religion to princes must at all times be guarded by you!

## IX.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SUBA OF DIHLĪ.

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The papers relative to Muhammadan inscriptions already published by scholars in India, especially those of the late Professor Blochmann, are so valuable that they have laid a solid foundation for further advances; but the number of inscriptions still unedited must be very large, and their collection and publication may be looked to with confidence for many additions to, and corrections of, our information.

The following inscriptions are from impressions taken by the Archæological Survey officers of the Panjāb circle at diverse places in the former *Sūba* of Dihlī.

### I.—JHAJHAR (جھجھر; in inser. No. 5 جھجھر).

Jhajhar is now the head-quarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in the Rohtak District. It is situated in the plain 35 miles west of Dihlī. The town is said to have been founded at the time of the first Muhammadan conquest of Dihlī, and is not seldom mentioned by the chroniclers. Many ruins testify its later importance. In 657 A.H. it is named among other cities which were conferred upon Nuṣrat Khān (*Tab. Nās*, p. 274); in 756 Firōz Shāh dug a large canal from the river Satlaj and prolonged it to Jhajhar, a distance of 48 *krōḥ* (Firishṭa, lithographed edition, vol. I, p. 262). In the *Āin-i-Akbarī* it is registered with 128,417 *biḡhas*, 1,422,451 *dāms*, *Sayūrgḥāl* 306,461 *dāms*, 60 cavalry and 1,000 infantry; the castes were Afghāns and Jats. In A. H. 967, when Akbar made his encampment at Jhajhar, Abu'l Ma'ālī, who was set free from his confinement at

<sup>82</sup> This word apparently denotes an office. In other inscriptions we find *duḥśādhyaśādhanika*.

<sup>83</sup> The word here left untranslated is *ḥammāha-deṣyā* about the reading of which there is no doubt. *Deṣī* apparently is used in the same sense which it ought to convey here in the Peheva inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 187, l. 8, and probably denotes 'a guild'; and in that case *ḥammāha* should denote a class of traders. For *vimśopaka* see *vimśopaka*, *ante*, vol. I, p. 166. *Kūṭaka* probably denotes a certain weight or measure (of salt).

<sup>84</sup> The original has *heḍāvika* instead of *heḍāvuka*, which occurs in the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya II, 30.

<sup>85</sup> The terms here left untranslated probably denote various kinds of grain.

<sup>86</sup> The words here omitted I do not understand.

Bayāna by Khān Khānān, dared to present himself before the emperor; but the latter was so greatly offended by this that he ordered the rebel again into imprisonment.

The town was almost ruined by the great famine of 1783 A.D., but has since regained its prosperity. The following twelve inscriptions belong to seven mosques in it, and date from the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Hijrat.

1. A loose stone (20½" by 18") from the destroyed Kālī Masjid, now in the house of Mardān 'Alī Shāh Bhattiān in the town of Jhajhar, bears the following inscription of four lines<sup>1</sup> :—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنا مسجدا لله بنا الله له مثله في الجنة  
بنا كرن این مسجد مجلس عالی خان اعظم بركزیده رحمان مرتبی جهان  
دارد خان بن مغفور مرحوم ملك الشرق علاء الدوله والدين ملك میان افغان  
سلمه الله عن الجذات و توج ثوابه بتاج الرضوان الخامس والعشرين من رمضان سنة تسع و تسعين  
وسبعماية

"The Prophet—may he be blessed!—says,—‘He who builds a mosque for Allāh, will have built for him a house like it by Allāh in Paradise.’"

"This mosque has been built by the high *Majlis*, the great Khān, the chosen of the Merciful, the educator of the world,—

"Dāūd Khān, the pardoned deceased son of the Malik Ashsharq ('Aladdaula) Waddīn Malik Miyān, the Afghān;—

"May God preserve him from bad accidents and crown his reward with the crown of Paradise!—on the twenty-fifth Ramazān 799 [22nd June 1397]."

The date falls in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh; an inscription of the same year has also been published by Blochmann in the *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 304.

2. Over the *mihrab* of the Bāzārwallī mosque in the middle of the town, a sandstone slab, measuring 28" by 15½", bears the following five lines :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
في زمانة عمدة الخلافت باسط العدل و رافت جلال الدين  
محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بناء مسجد ساخته مكرمه  
و محسنه بيكه لطباع نواب رومبخان فرمايش سركار خراج كتور  
في التاريخ السابع والعشرين ٢٧ من شهر رجب رجب قدره سنة سبعين تسعمائة ٩٧٠

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no God, etc.

"In the time of the pillar of the Kalifat, spreading justice and clemency, Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar *Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his

<sup>1</sup> Here, at Strassburg, I am unable to refer to the *Tārīkh-i-Badāonī*, the *Jaunpurnāma*, the *Miftāḥ attawārīkh*, Stewart's *History of Bengal* and other works. I have retained in the transcriptions of the inscriptions the spelling of the originals, adding no wanting dots, *hamzas* or *tashdīds*, the poetry excepted; but I have omitted the signs of the short vowels and the *jazmas* which often occur arbitrarily. For the short accounts of the places where the inscriptions have been found, I have consulted Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. To Dr. S. Landauer I am obliged for his kind assistance in the elucidation of some difficulties.

reign! the erection of the honoured

“And beautiful mosque<sup>2</sup>, the lady over natures (?), has been made by the *Naucāb* Rûmî Khân, governor of the *sarkār* Khwâj Katôr<sup>3</sup> (?),

“On the 27th of the month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 970 [22nd March 1563].”

This inscription is interesting because it gives new information about Rûmî Khân, who is not often mentioned in the histories. Blochmann has noted two services of his in his translation of the *Āin* (No. 111, p. 121), the one from A.H. 971—one year later than the present inscription—the other of A. H. 983 (No. 146, p. 441). His full name is not certain. Blochmann styles him Rûmî Khân Ustâd Jalabî.<sup>4</sup>

3. Over the northern outside arch of the mosque of Shâh Bura in the north of the town, is a sandstone, measuring 22" by 19", bearing the six lines :—

براه حق رحه افیق جرن داد	بنا این مسجد را عزم افتاد
بدور شه جلال الدین اکبر	که ایام بکام ار مقرر باد
چو کس برسد بدین توان نوکشت	محمد روست ابراهیم دلشاد
یقین ار همدم است با واصلان حق	که خاطر خستگان می سازد آباد
بتخصیص انک با قطب زمانه	سر خدمت بجا می آرند استاد
چو مقصود جهانست بده شاه	خدایا عمر ار را جاردان باد
که نه صد بود و نوزن شصت و ده و پنج	شهر رمضان که آنرا کرد بنیاد
	و صل الله علی محمد
زهاتف خواستم اتمام تاریخ	ندایم جاء سجده فیض ده داد

۹۷۶

Metre: *Haazaj*.

“When God the only one, put away (*my*) misfortune, the building of this mosque was designed.

“In the time of the king Jalâl addîn Akbar—may his days be equal to his desire!—

“Everybody who comes to that mighty one, becomes a new one; Muḥammad Ibrâhîm (*also*) is happy through him.

“He is true and a companion of the followers of God, he exhilarates the afflicted.

“To him especially the pole and time devote their service, the masters.

“As the design of the world is for ten kings, so, O God! may his glory be eternal!

“When nine hundred was increased by sixty and ten and five, it was in the month Ramazân that he laid the foundation. May the friendship of God be over Muḥammad!

<sup>2</sup> *Liṭibâ'* has been distinctly engraved, but perhaps *aṭbâ'* is to be read and *Bêga-ya* (i.e. *Bêg-i*) *aṭbâ'* synonymous with *daryâ khânlarî*—Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> The reading Katôr is somewhat doubtful; the word may be Ganaur or Kanaum, but even if read thus, we get none of the well-known *sarkârs* of the Moghul empire. The same strange use of *farmâyiš* occurs in Nos. 4 and 44.

<sup>4</sup> More famous was the homonymous *mîr âtash* of Humâyûn (died 942), who effected in 942 the conquest of the fort of Chanâr by the practice of old Zopyrus' stratagem, after having quitted the service of his former master Sultân Bahâdur of Gujarât, which treachery has given matter for the anecdote of Sultân Bahâdur's parrot in Khâfî Khân's *Muntakhab allubâb*. The Turks of Europe were celebrated in Asia for their knowledge of artillery, which was always the most remarkable weapon of the Turks in their wars with the Persian Shâhs, a fact that Shâh Tahmâsp I. in vain attempts to deny in his *Memoirs* (see my German translation of them, p. 129. Strassburg, Trübner).

'From the heavenly speaker I asked the date of completion, a voice gave me 'já (-yí) *sijda fayz da*' (Bestow a place of adoration). 976.' [Ramazân 976 began on the 17th February 1569]."

The words of the *táríkh* give only 975. The poetry is very poor and difficult to understand. I do not pretend that my readings are absolutely correct.

4. Over the central arch of the ruined mosque of Miyân Râib to the south of the Bâzârwallî Masjid is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 19" by 15", bearing the following five lines. This mosque is in the last stage of ruin, the yard being filled with filth and sweepings; it is no more used for religious purposes.

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

راشد ان محمد عبده ورسوله

کرده بناء عمارت مسجد میان رائب بن پیاره

فی التاريخ عشر من شهر ذي الحجة

سنه ۹۸۹ فرمایش میان دارد

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion;

"And I testify that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by Miyân Râib, son of Piyâra,<sup>5</sup> on the tenth of the month Zi-l-Hajj,

"In the year 989 [5th January 1582]. His commander (*was*) Miyân Dâúd."

5. The graveyard of Miyân Râib is situated half a mile east of Jhajhar, near the Buawalla tank. A red sandstone over the eastern gateway (27" by 13") bears the following inscription of four lines; the lettering is very poor:—

بدری شاه اکبر کز عدالت مبارکه تاج جهان را

ساختن [؟] چون دین بهتر معیر میان رایب ابن پیاره

قصبة پر نور جگر سلامت کیان [؟] همراه

سنه الفه اته (sic) ماه رمضان محمد دولتیاره اورتاجی [؟] .....

"In the time of Shâh Akbar, by whose justice came blessing upon the crown of the world

"Miyân Râib, son of Piyâra.

"The town full of light, Jajar, is the repose of all nobles;

"In the year 1002, in the month of Ramazân [began the 21st May 1591] . . . ."

The marble gravestone itself measures 3' 8" by 10½". It contains the *Kalîma* and the words *qabr-i-Miyân Râib*; round the open middle space runs the *Fâtîha*. At the foot of the stone the Persian sentence has been engraved 'هرچه آمد برقت Whatsoever came has gone'.

6. Over the outside central arch of the mosque attached to the tomb of 'Abd as-Samad, half a mile east of the town near the Buawalla tank, is a red sandstone slab (21" by 17"), containing the following six lines:—

خوش رواجیست دین اسلامی در زمانه خلیفه نور الدین

یا الهی بباد سال هزار عدل و انصاف استوار متین

کرد مسجد بنی اسمعیل      ایره رایب که ارست طالب دین  
 سال تاریخ از خرد جستم      خردم رهنمون هزار و عشرين  
 گوشه شیني فقير عبد الصمد      ابن مکن که قری عباسین  
 از طفیلی محمد عربی      دین داران بروضه خلد برین

Metre : *Khafif*.

"In a good career is the faith of Islām in the time of the king Nûraddîn (Jahângir) O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years!

"This masjid has been built by Ism'aîl Îrah Râib, who is a student of the faith.

"I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind (*said*) to me '1020' [began 16th March 1611].

"(I), a hermit, the poor 'Abd aş-Şamad, the son of Makan, who belongs to the family of the 'Abbassides,

"To the companions of Muḥammad the Arabian, the pious ones in the high Paradise."

In No. 11 'Abd aş-Şamad's father is named Mankan.

7. Over the gateway of Rustam Khân in the south of the town, on a sandstone, measuring 4 feet by 12½", are two lines, and flower arabesques:—

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله رحمة لا شريك له واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله  
 تاریخ دروازه رستم خان ابن محمد خان سریني سنه ۱۰۲۹

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion; and I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The date of the gateway of Rustam Khân, son of Muḥammad Khân Sarbani (*is*) 1029' [began 8th December 1619].

"Jahângir elevated the builder from a commander of 60 to a chief of 5,000 foot and 4,000 horse and named him Rustam Khân; besides he bestowed on him the government of Gujarât. He put much confidence in him and placed him in 1032 as general under the command of Prince Parwêz, after he had abandoned the service of the rebel Prince Shâhjahân. *Iqbâl. Jah.* 209, *Waqi'ât-i Jah.* in Elliot's *History*, vol. VI, p. 388."

8. Over the central arch of the same mosque as No. 6, on a red sandstone measuring 4' 7½" by 9", is an inscription of two lines; (not *in situ*):—

بدور جهانگیر شاه جهان      شد این روضه پر نور حسن شهید  
 تاریخ این روضه را کسی      هزار و سی و پنج سالش کشید

Metre : *Mutaqârib*.

"In the time of Jahângir, the king of the world, this light tomb of Ḥasan Shahîd has been made.

"The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035" [began 3rd October 1625].

9. Over the central outside arch of the Shaikhânwalla masjid, a soft sandstone slab, measuring 4' 11" by 8½", contained originally four lines, but the first, in Arabic, has almost vanished. Also the other lines are much injured, and some words are

missing, so that it is not possible to decipher fully the eighteen Persian hemistichs. I give only the beginning and the date:—

بحمدالله که در چهار کلام . . .	نهایت خویی چهار . . .
بدر شاه نورالدین جهانگیر	که عالی تر ز شاهان جهانست
بنای کرد رستم خان محمد خان	که در زمین بمثلش بی نشانست
(مرتب شد عمارت) بتاریخ دهم از ماه رجب	بسن الف و پنچ و سی . . .

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"In the time of Shâh Nûraddîn Jahângîr, who is more exalted than the kings of the world, Rustam Khân,<sup>6</sup> son of Muḥammad Khân, has built it, who has not his like on the earth."

In the verses that follow the beauty of the mosque is described. The building was completed on the 10th of the month Rajab in the year 1035 [the 7th April 1626].

10. Over the north-west arch of a small *burj* on the west side of the tank of Shâh Ghâzî Kamâl, a short distance north of the town, is a red sandstone, measuring 4' 11" by 8", and containing eight hemistichs, arranged in two lines:—

در زمانه خلیفه نور الدین	حوض نادر مثال کرد نشان
رای رایان رای در کهل	بهر راحت فراغ خلق جهان
سالی تاریخ از خرد جستم	خرم گفت در غلو بدان
کرشمیننی فقیر عبدالصمد	ابن منکن که صاحب عرفان
	سنه هزار سی و شش برد

Metre: *Khafif*.

"In the time of the king Nûraddîn the tank, which has scarcely its like, became a sign

"Of Râî Râyân Râî Darghal, for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world,

"I asked the mind the date-year; the mind spoke to me 'Know it in *ghulâw*.'

"(I) the poor hermit 'Abd as-Samad, the son of Mankan, who is a master of knowledge.

"The year was 1036" [began the 22nd September 1626].

The name of the builder is not certain.

11. Over the central outer arch of Kalâl Khân's masjid, half a mile outside Jhajhar towards the east 'near the Buawalla tank, on a red sandstone measuring 2' 9" by 7½", sculptured at the ends, is an inscription of three lines:—

بلطف و کرم عنایات کارساز جهان	شده مرتب و موجود این بلند مکن
بنای مسجد عالی کلال خان کرده	بدر عهد 7 خلاقی پناه شاه جهان
بسالی سی و نهم یک هزار شد موجود	خدای عز و علا داردش بامن و امان

<sup>6</sup> Concerning Rustam Khân, see above No. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Corrected from ناه خلاقی

Metre: *Mujtass*.

"By the grace and favour of the aids of the settler of the world, this high place has been arranged and constructed.

"Kalâl Khân has built this high mosque in the time of Shâhjahân, the refuge of men.

"It was in the year 1039 [began the 21st August 1629]. God—may he be honoured and exalted!—keeps it in safety and security."

## II.—PÂNÎPAT.

Pânîpat lies to the north of Dihlî, as the *Akbarnâma* (II, 35) says 30, according the *Munt. allub.* (I, 50) 40, *krôhs* distant. It dates back to the wars between the Pândavas and the Kauravas. The modern town stands upon a high mound composed of the *débris* of earlier buildings. Because of its importance in the Muḥammadan period it was frequented by the kings, especially by the Mughal emperors, so that its name occurs very often in the chroniclers. Bâbar, in his *Memoirs*, names it as a considerable city. Besides, it has at several times witnessed decisive battles which were fought on its plains and sealed the fate of the whole of Upper India. Tîmûr found it a place of consequence where were stored large provisions of wheat. In 933 A. H. Bâbar met Ibrâhîm Lôdî near Pânîpat and defeated him, his adversary himself being killed in the fight. The emperor considered the place of his victory a fortunate one and bestowed as a special favour the government of Pânîpat, together with the gift of the revenues due on one harvest, upon Sultân Muḥammad Anghulî, who had bravely assisted him in that battle (*Târikh-i-salâṭîn-i-Afūghina*; Elliot's *History*, vol. V, p. 34). Sixty years later, Akbar, or speaking more exactly Khân Zamân, conquered Hémû on the same field. On account of these victories Jahângîr, in his *Tuzaq*, speaks of Pânîpat as of a place 'which has always been a fortunate one for my ancestors' (Transl. of Lowe, p. 47). In 980 it was plundered, together with Sonpat and Karnâl, by the rebel Ibrâhîm Husain Mîrzâ. When Nâdir Shâh entered India, battles were again fought in the vicinity of Pânîpat. In A.D. 1761 Aḥmad Shâh Durrânî gained there his great victory over the Marâṭhas.

The *Âin* states the area of the district to have been 568,444 *bîghas*, its revenues were 10,756,647 *dâms*, 3,540, 632 *say dâms*, and its contingent amounted to 100 horse and 2,000 foot. It had a castle built of brick. The principal tribes were Afghâns, Gûjars and Rangbars. Two learned men born at Pânîpat in Akbar's reign were Shaikh Zamân, author of a commentary on the *Lawâih* and other excellent works (Badâ'unî, II, 258), and of the renowned surgeon Shaikh Hasan (*Âin*).

12. Over the central arch in the western wall of the tomb enclosure of Hâfiz Jamâl, half a mile north of the town, is now fixed the sandstone (3' 8" by 13½") which bears the following inscription. It has been transported thither from Munk, where (from its contents) it seems originally to have belonged to a mosque. The middle of the second line has been completely destroyed by the weather, which has injured also other words and has taken away all dots:—

امر بنا هذه العماره في عهد السلطان المعظم علاءالدنيا والدنس ابرالمظفر

مسعود شاه سلطان و حلد ملكه ... تركه مركب مطهر مصورعلا بدر الدوله والدنس [اس]

مسعود الامرا بهلوان السرب (?) . . . مرجون (?) السلطاني اعراله ... في المنصف من سوال

سنة ثلث و اربعين و ستمائة



"This edifice was ordered to be built in the time of the honoured king 'Aladdunyâ waddin Abu-l-Muzaffar Mas'ûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his reign . . . . . of Pargana Munk, Muẓaffar Maṣṣûr 'Alâ Badr addaula waddin,

"(son) of the chief of the Amîrs, *Pahlawân ashsharg* . . ., the defunct, the royal—may God increase his . . . . .!—in the middle of Shawwâl 613" [began the 19th February 1246].

This is the first inscription of Mas'ûd Shâh, who reigned from 639 till 644 A.H. He was the son of Fîrôz Shâh and succeeded Bahrâm Shâh on the throne. The name of the father of the grandee is not quite certain; the latter bore the title *Badr addîn*, which Malik Badr addîn Şunqar-î-Rûmî (put to death in 639) had before him (*Tab. Nâş* 255). Afterwards the title was bestowed on Malik Nuşrat Khân Sunqar-î-Şûfî. As two persons could not have the same title at the same time—which is specially stated, *e.g.* in the *Riyâz assalâṭîn*, p. 284—Malik Şunqar-î Şûfî must have been named Badr addîn, but in the reign of Maḥmûd Shâh, under which king he was more of a *persona grata* than under Mas'ûd, who permitted the Nizâm al Mulk Khwâja Mubazzab addîn to take all functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amîrs. It is not surprising that the name of the Malik of our inscription does not occur in the *Ṭabaqât-î-Nâsirî* among the Shamsî Maliks, for Minhâj addîn gives also a defective list of the Maliks of Maḥmûd Shâh's reign, from which Major Raverty concludes that the author intended to continue his work to the period falling within his own lifetime.

*Pargana Munk* has been identified by General Cunningham (*Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 186) with the old Nicæa of Alexander the Great. It is not mentioned in the *Âin*, but it occurs once in the *Akbarnâma*, vol. III, p. 604, where it is said that Akbar gave it to Ziyâ al Mulk.<sup>8</sup>

13. Over the south door of the tomb of Shaikh Jalâl addîn in the east of Pânîpat is a sandstone slab (2' 8½" by 19") bearing four lines; the inscription is not visible from the enclosure owing to a high verandah which has been attached:—

باني اين عمارت فيروز محمد لطف الله افغان باني ينجير در عهد سلطان السلاطين  
سكندر شاه بهلول شاه سلطان بكرم باري تعالى ترفيق يافت تا كند حظيره بندكي شيخ  
المشاينخ والا ولياء شيخ جلال الحق والشرع والدين قدس الله سره  
العزیز برارد بتاريخ درم ماه شوال سنه اربع و تسعمائة

"The builder of this edifice is Fîrôz Muḥammad Luṭfallâh, the Afghân. The builder of this religious edifice, during the time of the king of kings Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king, by the kindness of God Almighty, found grace to erect the vault of the tomb of the revered Shaikh of Shaikhs and saints, Shaikh Jalâl alḥaq washshar' waddin—may God sanctify his dear secret! Dated 2nd Shawwâl, 904" (13th May 1499).

<sup>8</sup> Because Blochmann has overlooked the fact that Ziyâ al Mulk is mentioned several times in the *Akbarnâma*, I add here briefly what is there said about him, as a supplement to the *Âin* Translation, p. 497, No. 276. In 994, he served under Shaikh Farid Bakhshî; in 1000 A.H., he became Governor of Munk. Afterwards he and Abû Nâsir were sent as ambassadors to Shâh 'Abbâs of Persia. In 1011 he became *bakhshîgar* of the army sent against Bir Singh Dêv Bundêla, the murderer of Abu-l Fazl. In 1012 he was elevated to the rank of a commander of 700 foot and 300 horse. The *Âin* names him only as a chief of 350.

The words *Bānt-yī in khair* in the first line are doubtful, but, as I cannot make out the correct reading, I have recurred to that of Blochmann, who has published the inscription in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, July, p. 141. (Perhaps Pānīpatī should be read, written بانی پتی). In the same place is given an account of Shaikh Jalāl addin. The inscription falls in the 11th year of Sikandar Shāh Lōdī's reign.

### III.—SEWĀH.

14. In Sewāh, 4 miles south of Pānīpat, is the tomb of Sayyid Bāyazīd. A sandstone, measuring 13" by 9", over the doorway of the dome, bears the following inscription of three lines :—

بنا نموده کنبد سید بایزید شهید  
بلرلد نیت ساکن موضع سواه  
سنه ۴ فرخ سیریه

"The dome of Sayyid Bāyazīd, the martyr, has been built by Balu, son of Nayat, an inhabitant of the village of Sewāh, in the fourth year of Farrukh Siyar."

Farrukh Siyar really became emperor in 1124 A.H., but he gave orders that Jahāndār Shāh's reign should be considered as rebellion, and that his own reign should date from the 1st Rabī'al awwal 1123 [19th March 1711], *Munt. allub.* II, 737.

### IV.—SONPAT ( سرنپتہ ، سرنی پٹ ، سرنپت ).

Sonpat is also a town of great antiquity which is said to have been founded by the earliest Aryan settlers. In the *Āin* it is registered with 283,299 *bighas*, 7,727,323 *dāms*, 775,105 *say. dāms*, 70 horse, and 1,000 foot. It had a brick fort. The principal tribes were Afghāns and Jats. The following inscriptions are from three mosques and several tombs there. A celebrity buried at Sonpat is Sayyid Naṣīr 'Ābīdallāh ibn Aḥmad, whose tomb is still extant, but no inscription relative to himself has been discovered. Khizr Khān, son of 'Alā addīn Muḥammad Khiljī, is said to have made a pilgrimage to the tombs of certain martyrs buried here (Ibn Baṭūta, French edition, vol. III, p. 187).

15. Over the central outside arch of a mosque attached to the tomb of Imām Naṣīr, just outside Sonpat to the south on the Dihlī road, is a sandstone slab (7' 6" by 17") which bears an inscription<sup>9</sup> of two lines, the letters being thick and clumsy :—

تجدد هذه العمارة المسجد المباركة المعمورة في دولة السلطان الاعظم طلال الله في العالم عباد الدنيا والدن  
العايم بنانده الرحمى ابوالمظفر بلال السلطان  
ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الصعيف مير بلال بن ابي بيك مقطع سرنپت  
في التاريخ دراردهم ماه مبارك رجب عظم الله حرمه سنة سبعين و ستمانه

"The building of this blessed august mosque was renewed during the reign of the great king, the shadow of God on earth, *Ghiyāth addunyā waaddīn*, who stands by the assistance of the merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Balban, the king, the aider of the

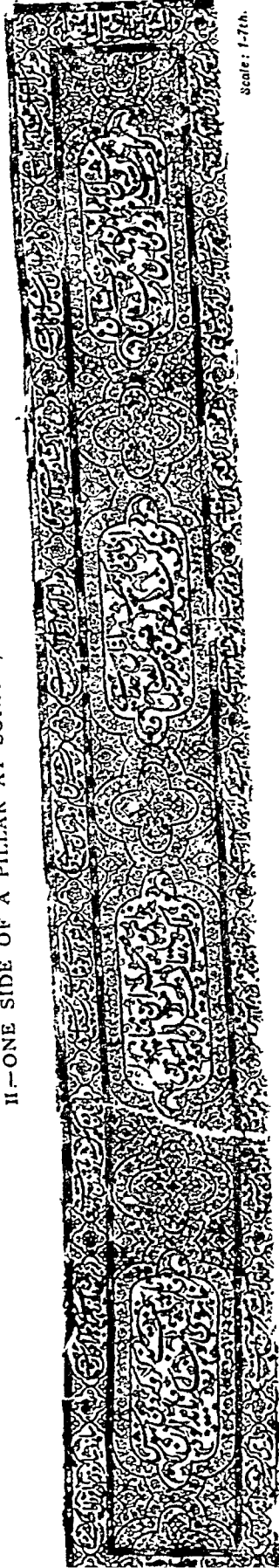
<sup>9</sup> See the facsimile No. i on the accompanying plate. The fact that the late Mr. Blochmann, the acknowledged authority for these inscriptions, has several times given faulty readings in the *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, May, p. 94, where he has published this inscription, may show how easily errors may be committed in deciphering.

I.—SONPAT INSCRIPTION OF GHIYÂS AD DÎN BALBAN, A.H. 670.



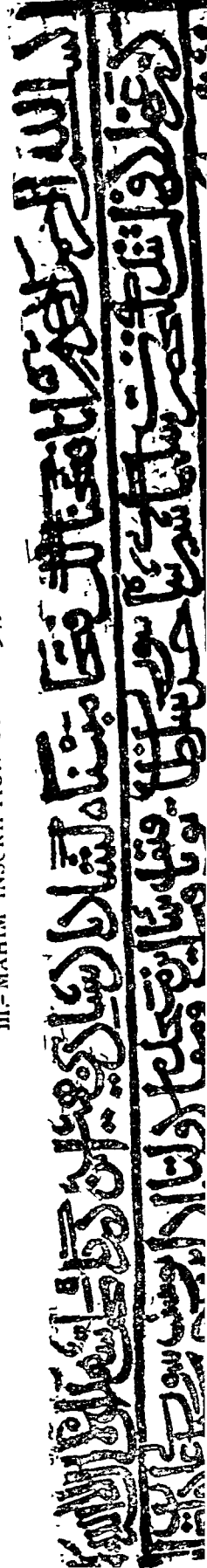
Scale: 12-100ths.

II.—ONE SIDE OF A 'PILLAR AT SONPAT, A.H. 884.



Scale: 1-7th.

III.—MAHIM INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 949.



Commander of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by the weak slave Mîr Beg, son of Âi Beg, the *muqî'* of Sonpat. Dated the 12th of the blessed month Rajab—may God increase its honour!—670" [13th February 1271].

Three other inscriptions of Balban's time are extant: the first from Barwâla, 680 A.H. (see No. 51); the second from Garhmukhtêsar in the Mîrat District, 682 A.H. (E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dihlî*, p. 136); and the third from Sakit in sarkâr Qanauj, 684 A.H. (*Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1874, May, p. 104<sup>10</sup>).

16. In a part of the graveyard of Imâm Naşîr a square pillar, of coarse black sandstone, is standing, which has been inscribed on each side with Persian verses and some Arabic religious sentences. Its dimensions are 6' 2½" by 1' 3½" by 10½". It is beautifully sculptured and copiously ornamented with flower arabesques and scrolls. The verses in the middle of each side have been written in a large handsome *Tu'âlîq*; round these middle pieces run also verses in smaller letters. As there is no information about the builder or the name of the holy man buried in these, the historiographer loses nothing if I omit the marginal hemistichs—18 each on the top and on both sides, and 6 each on the two ends. That it is the tomb of some saint follows from the poetry, which throughout points to a pious man. The date of the erection has been inscribed on the left side of the stone, viz. the third Rajab 884 [20th September 1479], which falls in the reign of Buhlûl Lâdî.

It has been said that the stone was put up in the time of Aurangzêb, and that it is the tomb of some Pir Yûsuf, but such local tradition is of no value compared with the statement of the stone itself. The stone is broken about 2 feet from the head; it is exposed to the weather, and the margin has thus been ruined in many parts. Besides being broken, the sides near the basement are crumbling and the stones forming the base are very rotten. This beautiful object should be protected.

At the head and foot of the stone the following verses are inscribed (Metre: *Ramal*):—

کر سرا پرده قدر تو بر انلاک برد عاقبت زیر سرت زبر خشت خاک برد

"Even if the curtain of thy power were near the heavens, in the end under thy head and armpit will be the dust."

راست کن کار خرد امروز که عمرت برجاست که جو لخر شدت عمر بود کار تو راست

"Make ready thy work to-day when thou art in full life, so that thy work may be ready when thy life is finished."

Both sides contain two *Rubâ'is* each<sup>11</sup>:—

تاکی ز اصول دین کم و کاست کنی از مطرب ساده نغمه درخراست کنی  
اهنگ نوای عین کم کن که اجل چندان نکذارد که نفس راست کنی

"For what length dost thou bid defiance to the fundamentals of the faith, requesting a smooth melody from the musician?"

<sup>10</sup> Besides those mentioned there exist the following two inscriptions of Balban; viz. at Kôh, or 'Aligarh, A.H. 652, and at Manglaur in tahsil Rurki, A. H. 683; see A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pages 2 and 17.—Ed. E. I.

<sup>11</sup> See the facsimile No. ii of the right side of this stone on the plate.

"O eye! resign to thy new purpose, for death scarcely allows the soul to become ready."

گر کار برسم صاحب هوش کنی      زیبا سخنان اهل دل گوش کنی  
با کس نکنی بدی و نسبت بتوکس      هر چند بدی کند فراموش کنی

"If thou wilt do thy works as a man of judgment, thou must listen to the words of the wise.

"Do evil to no one and nobody will do evil to thee, or whatever evil they do thee forget it."

خوش آنکه بآئینِ مرورت کیشان      راحت رسد از روی بدلِ درویشان  
از خلقِ نکو همیست با خلقِ خدای      نیکی کند و عوض بجوید زیشان

"Happy is one by whose generous practice the heart of the poor receives quiet.

"He belongs to the good people, who does well to the creatures of God and gets reward from them."

خواهی از صحرای فنا پیمردن      در ملک بقا رسیدن و آسودن  
باید سخت بد کردی جوخموش      خاموشی تو بفکر باید بودن

"If thou wilt pass from the plain of perishableness to the kingdom of eternity and become satisfied,

"Thou must preserve thy words and be like a silent one and always have silence in thy mind."

On the top are inscribed the *Kalima, Qorán*, *Sûra II*, 256, and some other short sentences.

Respecting the *Imâm Naşir*, near whose tomb the inscription has been found, Mr. F. G. Delmerick gives some information in the *Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 95.

17. Over the eastern doorway of the enclosure of *Khwāja Khizr's* tomb, a quarter of a mile north of *Sonpat*, is a red sandstone, measuring 7' 1" by 1', containing two lines:—

مرتب شد عمارت دهلیز حظیره میان خواجه خضر بن دریا خان سررانی رحمة الله علیهما یم الاثنین  
الخامس عشر من شهر شوال سنة ثمان عشرين  
و تسعماية فی عهد السلطان العادل البازل الوائق بتایید الرحمان ابو المظفر ابراهیم شاه بن اسکندر شاه  
بن بهلول سلطان و سلطانه خلد لتناد<sup>12</sup>

"The portico of the tomb of *Miyân Khwāja Khizr*, son of *Daryâ Khân Shirwânî*—may God have mercy upon both!—was erected on Monday the 15th *Shawwâl*, 928 [7th September 1522].

"In the time of the just and liberal king, who relies on the assistance of the Merciful, *Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh*, son of *Iskandar Shâh*, son of *Buhlâl*, the king—may his kingdom be perpetuated until the resurrection!"

<sup>12</sup> The second last words are uncertain.

18. Over the southern doorway of the same tomb is found another inscription of two lines; the stone measures 9' 5½" by 11". It runs—

بعون الله تبارك وتعالى وفضله عمارت كنبه این حظیره بندكي میان معظم و مكرم میان خواجه خضر  
مرحوم مغفور بن دریا خان بن شیخ المشایخ شیخ احمد بن ملک المشایخ شیخ مندركي درویش شیرراني  
عليهم الرحمة والغفران

مقطع قصه سرنپته در عهد حضرت سلطان السلاطين مهمل فواعد الاسلام و الدين ظل الله في العالمين  
الرائق بتاييد الرحمن [ ابر ] المظفر ابراهيم شاه بن سکندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد ملکه و سلطانہ تمام شد  
بفرمایش لکر خان خضر در پانزدهم ماه رجب قدره سنه ثلاثين وتسعمائه

"With the help of God, who is blessed and exalted, and by His grace, the building of the vault of this tomb of the great and noble saint, Miyân Khwāja Khizr, the deceased, the pardoned, son of Daryâ Khân, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Ahmad, son of the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Mandûkî Darwêsh of Shirwân—may God have mercy and pardon upon them!—

"The *muqti* of the town of Sonpath, was completed in the time of his Majesty the king of kings, who confirms the laws of Islâm and the faith, the shadow of God in both worlds, who trusts to the aid of the Merciful, Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrâhîm Shâh, son of Sikandar Shâh, son of Buhlûl Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—by order of Langar Khân Khizr, on the 15th Rajab—may its honour increase!—930" [19th May 1524].<sup>13</sup>

19. Over the central outer arch of a small *masjid* in the *sarâi* near the dispensary, on a brown sandstone slab (21" by 13"), are two lines. The stone belonged originally to a tomb which is now used as a police rest-house:—

يا الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله يا عابر اغفر زنوبى (sic) يا الله

اسی حطره سلطان برادر محمود خان افغان مقطع قصه سربده راسب کناوند در عهد بابر بادشاه درم ماه  
صفر سه سنع لیس و تسعمائه

"O God! There is no God, etc. O forgiving! forgive me my sins, O God!

This tomb has been built by 'Alî Khân, brother of Maḥmûd Khân, the Afghân, *muqti* of the town of Sonpath, in the time of Bâbar Pâdishâh, on the second of the month Ṣafar 937' [25th September 1530].

'Alî Khân belonged to the Farmulî tribe and is mentioned in Bâbar's *Memoirs* as 'Umdat al A'yân 'Alî Khân Shaikhzâda-ya Farmulî, in the battle against Rana Sanka (933); in 935 A.H., he was sent against the rebel Baban (pp. 416, 435, 452). Abu-l-Fazl has inserted the same statements in his *Akbarnâma*.

20. Over the outside of a doorway, leading to the west from the enclosure of Imâm Naṣîr, is a sandstone slab (3' 5" by 1' 3") containing 16 hemistichs in four lines:—

بعالم هیچکس زینسان بنای ندیده تا بنای روزگارست  
بدرزبان شهنشاهی<sup>14</sup> که در میدان مردی شهریارست

<sup>13</sup> Both inscriptions have been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1873, May, p. 94. *et seq.* Mr. Delmerick there identifies the Khwāja Khizr with the homonymous Khân, who is several times mentioned by Firîshṭa.

<sup>14</sup> Corr. from نمائند

جلال الدین محمد اکبر آن کل      که از بستان معنی یادگارست  
 جهانگیری که چون خاقان ر قیصر      غلام و جاکرش مرسم آراست  
 امیری کشته بانی این بنا را      که طرح دولت ار استوارست  
 امیر کشور شرکت علی دوست      که روز رزم چون اسپندیارست  
 عدالت پیشه چون ار ندیدم      که در ملک عدالت شهریارست  
 جو جستم از خرد سال بنایش      بگفتا نهصد و شست و چهارست

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"In the world nobody has seen such a building since the beginning of time ;

"It suits to the time of a king who is a sovereign on the battle-field of manliness,—

"Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar, the rose, which is a reminder of the spiritual flower garden ;

"A conqueror of the world, who makes (*men*), as the emperor of China and the Cæsar, his accustomed servants and slaves.

"An Amīr was the builder of this building, of whose power the foundation is solid,—

"The chief of the kingdom of the majesty, 'Alī Dōst, who is like Ispandiyār on the day of battle.

"I never saw a practiser of justice like him who is sovereign in the reign of justice.

"When I asked the mind the year of its erection, he said 'It is 964' " [began the 4th November 1556].

'Alī Dōst Khān Bārbêgī (master of the ceremonies), son of Hasan 'Alī, is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* (II, 69), 963 A.H. as one of Tardī Beg's officers in the war against Hēmū. A.H. 951 he is named among other nobles who accompanied Humāyūn to Persia (I, 223). In 984 he was attached to Shihābaddīn Aḥmad Khān ; and in 991 he was intrusted with the care of the army and the pay of the soldiers (III, 404). For the last time he is mentioned A.H. 1006 (III, 644). He had a son, Fath Dōst, who died in 989 (III, 354).

21. Over the south outer arch of the masjid of the Qāzizādas, in the Mahalla of the Qāzizādas, in the fort of Sonpat, is a rectangular soft sandstone slab, measuring 2' 6" by 10", which contains three lines :—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 خوشا تعمیر مسجد زیر افلاک      صفایی عرش جو خوش بوی عنبر  
 زمانی شد بشاهی جان عالم      جلال الدین محمد شاه اکبر  
 شده تاریخی (sic) بناء از مسلم      بامر قاضی احمد با بنم دگر  
 ماه رجب قدره سنه تسع و ستین و تسعمایه

Metre: *Hazaj*.

"There is no God, etc.

"Well ! the repairing of the mosque—the clearness of its roof under the heavens is like fragrant ambergris—

"Was in the time of the kingdom of the soul of the world, Jalāladdīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh.

"The date of the erection has been intrusted to the command of Qâzî Aḥmad and five others (?).

"In the month of Rajab—may God increase its honour!—A. 969" [began the 7th March 1562].

The Qâzîzâdas mentioned in the *Akbarnâma* were all rebels, or *bad-andêsh* (malicious men); one being a partisan of Ma'sûm Khân; another who had the surname *khabîtha-ya Mâwarannahr* (the impure from Transoxania) obeying Abu-l Ma'âlî's command and attempting to murder Mañ Chochuk Begum, Prince Muḥammad Hakîm's mother; a third being united with a pretended son of Mîrzâ Shâhrukh to murder Qâsim Khân.

22. Over the northern outer arch of the same mosque is a second inscription sculptured on a sandstone (measuring 2' 8" by 18") in five lines:—

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله

بعده شهنشاه شاهجهان که اسلام را زینت و زیب داد

چنان مسجد ساخت قاضی نصر که خلق آورد سبی سجدہ چکاد

جوتار بخش از عقل جستم بگفت که مسجد برای خدا نرود

مرتب شد عمارت هذه المسجد المباركة الميمونة في التاريخ يازدهم شهر ربيع الاول سنة الف و سته و ستين

(Metre: *Mutaqârib*.)

'There is no God, etc.

"In the time of the king of kings, Shâhjahân, who gave ornament and beauty to Islâm, Qâzî Naṣr has repaired the mosque that people might bow the forehead in adoration. When I asked the mind its date, he said 'He has newly built the mosque for God's sake'. The edifice of this blessed and august mosque has been prepared on the 11th of Rabi' al awwal A. 1066" [8th January 1656].

23. In the southern wall, outside Imâm Naṣîr's tomb, is a stone which has been whitewashed so much that the letters of the inscription have been partly ruined. Nor has Imâm Naṣîr's tomb a right to the stone, which originally belonged to a mosque; the dimensions of the inscription, which is in one line, are 3' 8" by 4½". Above the letters there are ornaments in the form of Cufic characters:—

عمارة هذا المسجد بنى القائد الحامل السد ابى بكر (؟) محمد بن الحسن القسولى ادام الله برائهما

فى المحرم سنة احدى وثمانى و الف و مائة

"The edifice of this mosque has been built by the leader, the guardian, the Sayyid Abû Bakr (?) Muḥammad, son of Hasan, the Fuzûlî—may God perpetuate their reward!—in the Muḥarram of 1181."

The first name of the builder and the two last words are very doubtful; instead of 1100, it may also be 700 or 900.

#### V.—ROHTAK AND MAHIM.

The cities of Rohtak and Mahim have suffered in general the same fate during the Muhammadan period. In the environs of both are to be found many remains of antiquities, also of Hindu origin; in the vicinity of Rohtak have been excavated coins of



Rāja Samanta Deva from about 920 A.D.<sup>15</sup> These districts had the misfortune to be plundered by every invader who came to the Panjāb, from Maḥmūd of Ghaznī till the present century, so that there are everywhere remains of destroyed villages; they were laid waste by Maḥmūd the Ghaznavide, by Timur, by Shihāb addīn Ghōrī, by Bābar, by Nādir Shāh, by the Marāṭhas, and by the English under General Lake. Now Mahim belongs to the district of Rohtak lying 19 miles north-west of the town of Rohtak; also in former times, before Akbar, both appertained to one *sarkār*, the older name of the tract of country being Hariāna. 'Abbās Khān states in his *Tārīkh-i Shērshāhī* (Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 415) that Shēr Shāh 'gave the *sarkār* of Sirhind to *masnad* 'Alī Khawās Khān as *jāgīr*, who kept in that *sarkār* his slave Malik Bhagvant at the capital Dihlī. Miān Aḥmad Khān Sarvānī was *amīr*, and 'Adīl Khān and Hātīm Khān *shiqdār* and *faujdar*.' If Dihlī was the capital of Malik Bhagvant's *sarkār*, it is to be supposed that Rohtak and Mahim were also allotted to his province. Under Akbar they were separated: Rohtak fell to the Dihlī *sarkār*, and Mahim to *sarkār* Hīṣār Fīrōza. The *Ain-i Akbarī* has the following details concerning them: 'Mahim has a fort of burnt brick; 188,080 *bīghas*, 4,958,613 *dāms nuqdī*, 84,202 *dāms sayurghāl*. The inhabitants were Tunṣar Rājputs and Jats, 700 horse, 2,000 foot' (I, 527). 'Rohtak has a fort of burnt brick; 636,835 *bīghas*, 8,599,270 *dāms nuqdī*, 428,000 *dāms sayurghāl*. Jats; 100 horse, 2,000 foot.' (I, 519). At Rohtak Kai Khosrau, grandson of Balban and designated heir of his throne, was murdered by Kai Qobād's emissaries.

Both towns, especially Mahim, bear traces of great importance in past times. The following inscriptions refer to five mosques at Mahim and four at Rohtak.<sup>16</sup> The most important and interesting of the nineteen Rohtak and Mahim inscriptions is No. 33. below.

24. Over the central outer arch of the new mosque in Rohtak, the tomb-stone of Fīrōz Khān is now placed. It measures 3' 8" by 8", and contains two lines. The letters are partly illegible:—

تمام شد این بقعه شیراز ... [ ؟ ] در عهد نیکر [ ؟ ] حضرت بابر بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه  
روضه بنگا [ ؟ ] مسند عالی [ ؟ ]  
فیروز خان بن مسند عالی احمد خان بن ... جمالخان مرحومین بتاریخ دهم ماه ربیع الآخر سنه اربع  
و ثلثین و تسعمانه

"This tomb ... has been finished in the prosperous time of his Majesty Bābar Bādishāh-i-Ghāzī—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—The tomb of ..... the high *Masnad*

"Fīrōz Khān, son of the high *Masnad* Aḥmad Khān, son of ..... Jamāl Khān, both defunct, on the 10th Rabī'al awwal 934" [4th December 1527].

Fīrōz Khān is mentioned in Bābar's *Memoirs* and in the *Akbarnāma*, 932 A.H., as a renowned officer who was generously rewarded along with other men of merit by Bābar after the victory over Ibrāhīm Lōdī. Besides one *krór* of *tankas*—(according to Bābar's *Memoirs*,—1 *krór* 46 *lakhs* and 5,000 *tankas*, p. 384) from Jaunpūr, he received some *jāgīr* (*chizī jāgīr*). The emperor sent him afterwards against Itāwah.

<sup>15</sup> Cunningham's *Reports Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XVI, p. 136.

<sup>16</sup> It may be remarked incidentally that the mention of Rohtak in the text of the *Tubagāt-i Nāsirī*, p. 217, is not correct, as Captain Raverty states in his translation of that work, p. 693, note 7.

25. Over the central outside arch of the mosque in the *garhī*, or fort, of the Pathāns at Rohtak the following inscription of three lines is engraved on a rectangular sandstone—size  $16\frac{1}{2}$  by  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The *garhī* of the Pathāns is in the north-west of the town, where the road comes in from Hānsī:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر أمثالها و من  
جاء بالسئنة فلا يجزى إلا مثلها وما ترفيقي إلا بالله قال عليه السلام  
من بني مسجداً في الدنيا فله قصر في الجنة ٩٦٢٥١ ..... سنة ٩٤٥

“In the name of God the merciful and the compassionate! He who brings a good work shall have ten like it; but he

“Who brings a bad work shall be recompensed only with the like thereof.”<sup>17</sup> My grace does not come through any one but God.<sup>18</sup> He (*the Prophet*), upon whom may God’s blessing be, has said:—

He who builds a mosque in the world will have a castle in Paradise.’ 96,251 .....<sup>19</sup> A. 945’ ” [began the 30th May 1538].

26. On a rectangular sandstone over the central outside arch of the *masjid* in the Khibān Maḥalla, west of the town Rohtak, is a stone, which measures 13 by 12 inches: the inscription is in three lines, and is worn:—

بعمرة الله تعالى ورسوله بعمارة این مسجد در عهد دولت نصیر ..... محمد همایون بادشاه غازی  
خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه ترفیق یافت الفقیر برهان الجنة والدين  
محمد جمال ناگوری اسپشتی سنة خمس و اربعین و تسعمائة ٩٤٥

“With the aid of God almighty and His apostle for the erection of this mosque in the time of the reign of Naṣīr ..... Muḥammad Humāyūn Bādishāh-i Ghāzī—

“May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—found grace the poor, chief of the Paradise and the faith,

“Muḥammad Jamāl of Nāgôr, the Chishtī. In the year 945” [began the 30th May 1538].

The inscription being much defaced some words are doubtful. Humāyūn’s common title *naṣīr addīn* does not certainly occur here, though the word after *naṣīr* is not clear.

The Chishtīs are a well-known family of Muhammadan saints. There exist shrines of divers members of it in several places. Chishtī saints—*khwājagān-i chisht* in the inscription on the tombstone of Princess Jahānārā at Dihlī (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for November 1872, p. 170)—are mentioned in the following published inscriptions:—Qutb addīn Khān Chishtī, commonly known as Shaikh Khūbū (Blochmann, *Āin-Translation*, p. 496), the foster brother of Shāh Jahāngīr, in *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for December 1873, p. 199; Shaikh Faiz Allāh Chishtī, *ib.*, p. 200; Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Shaikh Maḥmūd Chishtī, *Proceedings, A. S. B.*, for April 1877, p. 94.

At Nāgôr, the birth-place of Muḥammad Jamāl of our inscription, was a Chishtī shrine.<sup>20</sup> A contemporary and fellow-countryman of his was Shaikh Mubārak, the

<sup>17</sup> *Qorān*, Sūr. vi, 161 (E. H. Palmer’s translation).

<sup>18</sup> *Qorān*, Sūr. xi, 90.

<sup>19</sup> There follows a group like a rupee-sign turned upside down.

<sup>20</sup> See Cunningham’s *Archæological Survey of India, Reports*, vol. XIII, p. 51.

father of the poet Shaikh Faizî and of Abu'l Fazl, but in the year 945 Shaikh Mubârak had already left Nâgôr.

27. Over the central outer arch of a mosque at Gaokarân, about half a mile west of Rohtak, a red sandstone (3' 2" by 2' 5") contains three lines with one line going round the stone as a border. The stone is getting worn partly by the weather and partly by copies being taken from it, but the inscription is quite legible. In the midst of the stone the period of the erection has been engraved in a square محمد اکبر در در جلال الدین (in the time of Jalâl addîn Muḥammad Akbar)<sup>21</sup>.—

مست جان درویش سپهر مکرمت	کشته از جان بندۀ فرمان حق
کرده از جان بقعۀ خیر الامر	شد از آن رخشا و قابل آن حق
سوی آن مسجد هر آن کس رفته شد	عرق بحر لطف یابی (۹) نان حق
زاهدی تاریخ این مسجد نوشت	گفت بر کر معبد خاصان حق

Metre: *Ramāl*.

"The Darwêsh Mastjân, the heaven of benignity, has gone out of life a slave of the order of God ;

"He has made his soul a temple of good works, he became happy by it, and a receiver of the time of God (of eternity).

"Every man who has come to this mosque shall get a drop of the ocean of the kindness of God's banquet. (?)

"Zâhidî (or 'a hermit') wrote the date of this mosque ; he said, ' Say "A temple of God's favourites" ' "

The letters of the *târîkh* give 966 [began 14th October 1558].

28. A loose stone standing on a grave in the graveyard near the Dâk Banglâ of Rohtak, on the west side of the Dihlî road, bears an inscription of three lines ; its dimensions are 17" by 16". On the left side the last letters of each line and the border have been lost :

ساخت شمشیر خان ز لطف الله کنبد  
بر سر قبر پیر صافی دل عا  
تسعمایة خمس سبعین سال است هجر [ ت ]

"Shamshêr Khân has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pîr Şâfi-Dil 'Â...975 H. is the year" [began 8th July 1567].

Shamshêr Khân was *shiqqdâr* of *pargana* Rohtak, A. H. 973, as we learn from inscription No. 43. His name occurs several times in the *Alkarnâma*. In 987 he was *Khwâjasarâi* and was sent to Bihâr to quell the disturbances which had broken out there ; and to Bengal, together with Râi Purukhôt, Maulânâ Tayyib, and Shaikh Najm addîn (III, 284). When a rebellion arose in the same year at Pâtna, Shamshêr Khân was despatched to Banâras (III, 286). In 991 he was one of the four judges who were named for the four "meadows" of the empire, the others being Râja Bîr Bar, Qâsim 'Alî Khân, and Hakîm Humâm (III, 405). Later he seems to have revolted, for it is related that in 1008 the besiegers of Ahmadnagar received 'the joyful tidings' of his death.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The border contains the passage from the *Qorân*, Sûra ii, 256.

<sup>22</sup> According to a notice on the inscription, a Shamshêr Khân lies buried at Batâla ; I know nothing about him.

29. In the wall of the Dogawallī masjid in the north-east of the town on a soft red sandstone (19" by 16") is an inscription of four lines which has been so much eaten away by the weather that the decipherment is almost an impossibility. But the year of erection and the name of the king are legible. All I can read runs:—

اسعد [ ان لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ]  
 ثانی . . . . . در عہد ملک حلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ عاری  
 . . . . . خلد الله ملکہ  
 ۹۷۹ سنہ . . . . .

"The builder...by the grace of God in the time of the reign of Jalâl addîn Muḥammad Akbar *Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī*,—may God perpetuate his kingdom !...anno 979" [began 26th May 1571].

The year is perhaps 972, instead of 979.

30. A sandstone partly cylindrical and partly octagonal, each face measuring 19 by 21½", in a graveyard on the west of the fort of Rohtak, near the western gate of the fort, bears an inscription of nine lines. The rubbing does not permit the decipherment of the fourteen engraved hemistichs; the first and last lines are the same, they contain the date—*sana* 998 (began 10th November 1589). On a brown sandstone (2' by 6") over the gateway of the same graveyard has been engraved, *Sūra* xlviii, 1.

31. In the south of Rohtak, near the Government school, is a tomb the pillars of which are connected by eight lintels of red sandstone, each measuring 4' 2½" by 9". The single lintels have been inscribed with the following sentences from the *Qorān*: *Bismillāh*, *Sūra* ii, 256-59 incl., *Kalima*, *Sūra* cxii. No details of the date or of the builder are found.

32. Over the Dhôbī Gate in the *Maḥalla* of Wazīr Khân, is a sandstone (18" by 17") containing an inscription of four lines:—

بعون الله تعالى ورسوله بناه ابن عمارت در عہد دولت  
 و خلافت ابوالفتح شہاب الدین محمد صاحب قران ثانی  
 . . . . . شاہ جهان بادشاہ غازی خلد الله ملکہ باہتمام خادم المر  
 پیرخان ابن سرخان سررا باتمام رسید فی غرہ ماہ محرم سنہ ۱۰۴۴

"With the favour of God Almighty and His apostle, the erection of this building in the time of the reign

"And the Khalifat of Abu-l Fath Shihâb addîn Muḥammad, the second *Ṣāhib-qirân*<sup>23</sup> (Tīmûr)

"Shâhjahân Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the endeavour of the slave of the...

"Pîr Khân, son of *Sarkhân*, the *Sarwâ*[nî ?] has been finished. In the beginning of the month Muḥarram A. 1044" [began 27th January 1634].

33. About half a mile from the Khâna, on the Rohtak road to Mahim, is the tomb of Jamâl Khân. The door has fallen in, but the walls are well built, and will stand many

<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere Shâhjahân is named ثانی صاحب قران a phrase which is to be interpreted *Thâni-yi Ṣāhibqirân*, see Rüchert-Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, p. 240, note 1, and Teufel, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. XXXVIII (188), p. 253, note. Titles such as *Thâni-yi Iskandar-i-daurân* or *Thâni-yi Iskandar-i Zûl qarnain* and others occur very often.

years yet. A red sand-stone (size 14 by 10½ inches) fixed over the south arch of the tomb, bears the following important inscription :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطين جلال الدين محمد اكبر پادشاه غازي  
 مقبول الرحمن جمال خان بن منصور روضه ترفيق يافت راست كنائيد جمال خان را اميد ثواب كه  
 يابد من تاريخ ذى القعدة (9) سنه الف و مائة

“In the name, etc. There is no god, etc.

“In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, Jalâl-addîn Muḥammad Akbar Pâdishâh-î-Ghâzî,

“The friend of the Merciful, Jamâl Khân, son of Manṣûr, found grace to build this tomb. Jamâl Khân has hope that he will obtain reward. In the *Zi'lqa'da* A. 1100 ” [began the 17th August 1689].

This inscription is unique, as no other mention of Muḥammad Akbar, son of Aurangzêb, has till now been found. Prince Akbar proclaimed himself emperor, assisted by the Râjpûts, in 1089, and attempted to maintain the assumed title until 1100, when he fled to Persia. There exist no coins of his. The foregoing inscription shows that he adopted the *julûs* name of his great predecessor, whose name he bore. It is highly interesting to find a document of the rebel king's son in a place lying so far north as Mahim, because Prince Akbar fled to the Marâṭhas in the beginning of his insurrection and always lived in the Dekhan.<sup>21</sup>

34. In the north wall of the enclosure of the mosque of the Pîrzâdas is a red sandstone, measuring 19" by 16", which bears an inscription of five lines :—

در عهد حضرت دولت (sic) شهنشاه عالم بناء ظهر الدس محمد ناصر  
 غازي پادشاه خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنده درگاه مهري  
 الفقير حقير جانيو سنو اغا ابن شيخ سنو و ساكن حصار شادمانى  
 بترفيق الله تعالى ترفيق يافت مسجد در قصبه مهم راس كنائيد حق تعالى  
 مستجاب كرداند بمنه و فضله بتاريخ بحم ماه ربيع الاول سنه سب و نلن و سعمانه

“In the time of the reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the refuge of the world Zahîradîn Muḥammad Bâbar

“*Ghâzî Bâdishâh*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the slave of the court of the sun,

“The poor, base Janyu Sunu Âghâ, son of Shaikh Sunu, an inhabitant of the town of the joy,

“Through the grace of God Almighty found grace to build<sup>22</sup> the mosque of the town of Mahim—May God Almighty

“Make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and His wisdom!—On the fifth Rabi'al awwal 933” [7th November 1529]

<sup>21</sup> It is not impossible, as I now see that the last word is *sanân* and that the inscription belongs to Akbar himself.

<sup>22</sup> *Ras* or *râst kunânîdan* with the meaning ‘to build,’ occurs several times in the inscriptions. In 19 and 33 *râst* has distinctly been engraved.

IV.—INSCRIPTION OF HUMAYUN FROM MAHIM, ROHTAK DISTRICT, OF A.H. 937

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
مَنْ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ  
فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ غَنِيًّا  
قَدْ عَلِمَ كُلُّ أُنْثَى  
مَا فِي بَطْنِهَا إِذْ يَتَوَلَّى  
وَالِدَافُاقًا  
فَالْيَوْمِضُ فَتَعْلَمُ مَا فِي  
صَدْرِهَا  
فَالْيَوْمِضُ فَتَعْلَمُ مَا فِي  
صَدْرِهَا  
فَالْيَوْمِضُ فَتَعْلَمُ مَا فِي  
صَدْرِهَا  
فَالْيَوْمِضُ فَتَعْلَمُ مَا فِي  
صَدْرِهَا

دینار طیب کا حکم  
 خلا اللہ ابرجہا  
 این سبب بیا  
 से १५१२३ वष वसव वहि  
 १५ ना ७३ वा १५ पा मा मदन  
 वा दस दन पा जा क न प म म  
 से न ध न म स द डाली वो इ न  
 पे गा दा स स उ स १ नाम सा

35. On an arch over the pulpit of the Jâmi' Masjid in the centre of the town, is an inscription. It is inside the arch on the east side, so that no one can see it without entering the arch and crouching. The stone is a red sandstone; it measures 3' 1" by 2' 2½" and consists of five lines<sup>26</sup>:—

در عهد دولت سلطان السلاطین ظل الله فی العالمین مرئس السردر السلطنة  
والخلافة حضرت محمد همايون ناسا عاری حلد الله ملکه و سلطانه واعلی امره و سانه حضرت معقل  
الدارس بکه بکم سلطان سرینده الدس کردنه درگاه امیر بادکار طعاه بدویق الله تعالی  
بدویق نامب مسجد جامع و صند مهم راس کنانند الله تعالی محاب و مستجاب  
کرداند صند و صله و کمال کریمه بنارنم هعتم ماه رحب سده سبع و بلنس و دسعمانه

"In the time of the reign of the king of the kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, the adorned of the throne of kingdom

"And Khalifat, his Majesty Muḥammad Humâ'yûn *Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and exalt his condition and dignity!—his highness the admitted

"To the palace of Baga Bêgum Sultân,<sup>27</sup> the worthy of the faith, the chosen of the court Amîr Yâdgâr Taghâî, by the grace of God Almighty

"Found grace to build the mosque of the town of Mahim—may God Almighty make him accepted and favoured

"Through His kindness and His wisdom and His perfect liberality!—On the 7th Rajab 937 [24th February 1531]."

Respecting Yâdgâr Taghâî the *Akbarnâma* furnishes the following information: One of his girls (according to II, 243 a grand-daughter) gave birth to Prince Alamân, son of Humâ'yûn, anno 934 (I, 113)<sup>28</sup>; and she most probably is the Baga Bêgum Sultân of our inscription. She made a pilgrimage to Makka and Madina in 972 (II, 244), whence she returned in 975 (II, 329). This journey may probably have been why she was styled Hâjî Bêgum. Afterwards she lived at Dihlî, and was in 981 welcomed with great honours by Akbar, who loved her much because she had cured him as a child of six years of vehement tooth-ache by a potent drug (III, 77). Akbar visited her, anno 989, at Dihlî (III, 373). She died in the same year (III, 375). The Hâjî Bêgum, who with other Bêgums made the pilgrimage in 983, was probably not Prince Alamân's mother, who then was too old for such a toilsome journey. Blochmann mentions Hâjî Bêgum in his *Âin*-translation, but he is in error about her descent. In the *Akbarnâma*, II, 243 the words *dukhtar-i-Taghâî* are to be understood 'a daughter of (Yâdgâr) Taghâî.'

Over the *mihirâb* in the western wall of the mosque a sandstone (8' 5" by 10½") is fixed which contains in two lines *Qorân*, Sûra lxii, 1—8. Round the inside of an arch over the *mihirâb* runs the *Kalîma* and *Qorân*, Sûra, iii, 16-17 (to *al islâmu*).

The Jâmi' mosque was repaired according to inscription No. 39 in A.H. 1078, by Aurangzêb's order.

36. On a rectangular sandstone—size 21 by 13 inches—originally belonging to the old mosque of the butchers, now fixed over the central outer arch of the new masjid at

<sup>26</sup> See the facsimile reproduction No. iv on the accompanying plate.

<sup>27</sup> The words *maybûl addârîn Baga Bêgum Sultân saz [â] yida addîn* are perhaps uncertain.

<sup>28</sup> Bâbar mentions in his *Memoirs* the chronogram for the birth of the prince invented by Shaikh Abu-l Wâhid, p. 359. According to the *Memoirs*, Alamân's mother was a daughter of Yâdgâr Taghâî. For Bâbar's not agreeing with the name of Alamân see p. 451 (Pavet de Courteille, tome II, p. 363).



Mahim (finished in 1887 A.D.), is the following inscription of three lines, which is considerably worn by exposure to the weather :—

در عهد دولت شهنشاه عالم پناه حضرت محمد همایون بادشاه  
 خلد الله ملکه عمارت هذه المسجد ترفیق یافت .....  
 .... قصابان قصبة مهم راس کناوند بتاريخ ماه شعبان سنه اثني و اربعين و تسعمائة

“In the time of the reign of the king of kings, the refuge of the world, His Majesty Muḥammad Humâẕûn Bâdishâh—

“May God perpetuate his kingdom !—..... found grace to build the edifice of this mosque of the butchers of the city of Mahim. During the month of Sha'bân of the year 942” [began the 25th January 1536].

As some of the letters appear to be broken, it is not possible to decipher the whole inscription. A butcher's mosque is also mentioned at Nâgôr.<sup>29</sup> The mosque was rebuilt in Aurangzêb's time, see inscription No. 40.

37. The rectangular sandstone that bears the following inscription is no longer *in situ*. It is now fixed over the outer doorway of the court of the ruined mosque of the Qaṣṣâẕân<sup>30</sup> at Mahim. The inhabitants know that it is not in its original place; they say it belonged to a mosque in a quarter of the town called Daulatpûr, the Daulatâbâd of the inscription. The size of the stone which is yet entire is 4' by 11½ :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انا فتحنا لك فتحاً مبيناً كشاد باد بشادي هميشه اين درگاه سخر اشهد ان لا اله الا الله  
 در عهد دولت تند كحضرت سليمان شير شاه حسن سر سلطان ترفيق يافت ببناء اين مسجد  
 و مقام دولتآباد يوسف ابن حسن سر سيد عالي درلنجان  
 باميد ثواب حديث نبوي من بني مسجد بني الله تعالى له قصر في الجنة والحنان ابقاء  
 الله تعالى في الدنيا و رفته الله تعالى علي العدل والاحسان  
 في الحادي والعشرين من شهر المبارك المكرم شهر رمضان سنه نهصد جهل نه برد كه ميسر رسانيد  
 الله الكريم الشعار

“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God ! Verily, we have given thee an obvious victory.<sup>31</sup> May this liberal door always be opened with joy ! I testify that there is no god but God.

“In the time of the reign of the king, powerful as Salomo, Shêr Shâh, the son of Ḥasan Sûr, Yûsuf ibn Hasan Sûr, the high Sayyid (surnamed) Daulatkhan, found grace to erect this mosque and the place of Daulatâbâd,

“In the hope of the reward of the prophet's saying ‘He who builds a mosque will have a castle built for him by God Almighty in Paradise, and as for the merciful, God Almighty gives to him long life in the world and protects him for his justice and beneficence.’

It was on the 21st of the blessed and venerable month, month Ramazân of the year 949 [29th December 1542], when it became ready. God is the generous and the omniscient.’

<sup>29</sup> Cunningham's *Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 51.

<sup>30</sup> See facsimile No. iii, on the plate at p. 138. Qaṣṣâḍî and qaṣṣâḍ occur in Hindûstânî (Shakespeare); see No. 40.

<sup>31</sup> *Qorân Sûr.* xlviii, 1.

It is known that Shêr Shâh built numerous mosques and *kârawânsarâts*, but only very small remains of them have come down to our day. Besides his stately mausoleum at Sahsarâm there exist some ruins of his time at Dihlî.<sup>32</sup> If I am right, the above inscription is the second of Shêr Shâh's reign that is known, the first being published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for May 1874, p. 105 (947 A.H.)

Yûsuf, the builder of the mosque at Mahim, was one of the seven brothers of Shêr Shâh (*Târikh-i Shêrshâhî*, in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 310). He may be the same who built in 958 H. a door to the shrine of Khwâja Quṭb addîn (*Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, 426).

38. In the south wall of the enclosure of the masjîd of the Pîrzâdas (No. 34) is a sandstone, measuring 17" by 6", which bears three lines :—

در عهد دولت حضرت بندگان خلافت بناء سلطان  
شهاب الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه غازي خلد  
خلافته ابتدا توفيق يافت شيخ ناصر ابن شيخ الهداد ماهمي سنه الف و خمسين واحد

"In the time of the reign of his Majesty the slave (*of God*), the asylum of the Khalifat, the king

"Shihâbaddîn Muḥammad, the second lord of the conjunction, Shâhjahân, *Bâdîshâh-i-Ghâzî*—may (*God*) perpetuate

"His Khalifat for ever !—Shaikh Nâsir, son of Shaikh Ilâhdâd of Mahim, found grace. A. 1051" [began 12th April 1641].

Khâfi Khân, in his *Muntakhab allubâb* (I, 550) and 'Abd al Hamîd in the *Bâdshâh-nâma* (I, 2, 337) have each inserted an account of Shaikh Nâsir, whom they mention among other saints and learned men of Shâhjahân's time.<sup>33</sup> Both authors evidently made use of the same sources, Khâfi Khân citing the *Shâhjahânnâma*.<sup>34</sup> I extract the following :—His original name was Nâsir Muḥammad ; he was born at Ajmîr, and lived afterwards in Gujarât. He made many voyages, and at different times attended the emperor. Always, night and day, he was clothed in mail and with a garment of cotton, and he perpetually bore arms. Besides his daily alms, he gave, if urged, all his property to poor men, even the horses and elephants which he had received from the king, and was content if he could get a fire of straw and wood in the open air to care for his own body, eating roots and leaves. Many wonders were effected by him. He was a disciple of Sayyid Aḥmad, son of Sayyid Raff'addîn, son of Sayyid Ja'far, from Shîrâz.

39. On the south outer arch of the façade of the Jâmi' masjîd is a red sandstone (3' × 1' 11½"), bearing nine lines :—

در عهد سعادت مه د حد و مد زمين  
و زمان خديو مكين و مكن سلطان  
السلطين ظل الله في العالمين محمد اورنگزيب

<sup>32</sup> See Garcin de Tassy : ' *Description des monuments de Delhi en 1852 d'après le texte hindoustani de Sayyid Ahmad Khân*,' *Journal Asiatique*, Vème Série, tome XVI, *passim*, e.g. pages 192 (No. xvii), 426 (No. lvii), and 428 (No. lviii).

<sup>33</sup> The printed text of 'Abd al Hamîd has Shaikh Nâsir.

<sup>34</sup> Many histories of Shâhjahân's reign are so entitled.

بهادر عالم کبير بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه  
 و سلطانه تعمير مسجد جامع قصبه مهم حسب الحكم اقدس  
 باهتمام بنده درگاه خواجه رحمت الله باتمام رسيد  
 الله تعالى مجاب و مستجاب كرداناد بمنه و فضله  
 في التاريخ هفدهم شهر محرم الحرام سنه ثمان و  
 سبعين و الف هجري و سنه عاشر جلوس مبارك

"In the happiness-spreading reign, extended over all the earth  
 And the time of the master of authority and dignity, the king  
 "Of kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, Muḥammad Aurangzêb  
 Bahâdur 'Âlamgîr Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî—may God perpetuate his kingdom  
 "And his reign!—the repairing of the Jâmi' masjid of the town of Mahim,  
 according to the holy order,

"Was finished through the endeavour of the slave of the court, Khwāja Raḥmat Allâh—

"May God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and wisdom!—

"On the 17th of the month Muḥarram, the holy, A.H. 1078 [9th July 1667], in the tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne."

Sarbuland Khân Khwāja Raḥmat Allâh was a man of great consequence under Shâhjahân and Aurangzêb, and died in 1090. But, as Sarbuland Khân received this title, which is omitted in the inscription, in the 30th year of Shâhjahân (*Maâsir al Umarâ*, II, 478), *i. e.* 1066, and as he was in 1078 in the Dakkan with Prince Mu'azzam, whence he came back in 1080, it does not seem probable that both were the same person. A homonymous person is named as a commander of 800 soldiers and 200 horsemen under Shâhjahân (*Bâdshâhnâma*, II, 741).

40. The following inscription is engraved on a red sandstone (size: 11 by 7 inches), now lying on a heap of bricks in the ruins of the former mosque of the Qaṣṣâyân at Mahim; the whole is in a bad condition and the stone will probably get lost in a short time. The inscription contains eight lines, and is poorly cut:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 در عهد دولت و زمان (?)  
 ظل سبحاني ابر الظفر  
 محيي الدين محمد اورنگ زيب  
 بادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه  
 و سلطانه مسجد را قضايان  
 جهان کبير (?) .....

ترتيب کرد در شهر رمضان سنه تسعين و الف

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. In the time of the reign and the life of the divine shadow Abu'l Zafar, Muḥyiddin Muhammad Aurangzêb

Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—the mosque of the butchers . . . was rebuilt. In the month of *Ramazân* 1090" [that month began the 6th October 1679].

The two last lines being hopelessly worn, the name of the restorer is not legible; the year may perhaps have been *sab'in*. It is interesting to learn from this inscription that the butchers' masjid erected in 942 H. (Inscription No. 36) was repaired a century and a half afterwards.

41. An inscription of five lines is engraved on a rectangular red sandstone (size 17½ by 14 inches) over the northern outer arch of the mosque of Daula Khân in the *ga'hi* of the Pathâns in Mahim. The building being in a critical condition, the inscription, till lately safe, is now in danger of getting lost:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
يا الله يا فتاح	يا محمد يا نبي الله
اين عمارت ز بهر رب كريم	بانيش دوله خان والا شان
پدرش بختيار نامروري	مغفرت دستگاه دريا خان
سال اتمام را بعقل و تميز	مسجد مقبره زخان برخوان

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the apostle of God.

"O God! O opener!

"This edifice for the merciful God<sup>35</sup>

"His father (*was*) a celebrated Bakh-tiyâr,

The year of the completion—name with wisdom and discernment:

The letters of the *târikh* give 1108 [began 31st July 1696)].

"O Muḥammad! O apostle of God!

"Its builder (*was*) Daula Khân of ele-

vated rank;

"Daryâ Khân whose sins are forgiven.

"*Masjid [i] miqbara zi Khân* 'mosque and tomb (*are built*) by the Khân.' "

42. Daula Khân, the builder of the mosque of the preceding inscription, erected a tomb for himself in the same year as the masjid. It is now a ruin, and the inscription on its wall being engraved on sandstone (size 2' 8" by 1') will be destroyed when it falls. It runs in four lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله    بنده درگاه رحمانی  
دوله خان محمدی مرید کیلانی دانستم که چهار یار برحق این دنیا همه فانی نرفیق یاقوت  
در هنگام زندگانی این مقبره سار ساخت از لطف ربانی در عهد اورنگ زیب  
بادشاه ظل سبحانی بتاریخ ۱۴ شهر رمضان المبارک سنه یکهزار و یکصد و چهارده هجری باهتمام اسنا  
ابوولد طیب معمار

'In the name, etc. There is no god, etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful Daula Khân Muḥammadi Murîd of Gîlân—

"I knew that the four friends (*the Khalifs*) are over this wholly perishable world—found grace

"In his lifetime to erect this burial-place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzêb

"Bâdishâh, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month *Ramazân*, the blessed A.H. 1114 [1st February 1703]. Through the effort of the architect *Ustâ Abâ Valad Tayyib*."

The inserted *Sunnî* dogma in the first person seems to be an allusion to the formula *ashhadu an lâ ilâha illallâh*, etc.

#### VI.—KHÔKARAKÔT ( کهرکه کرت )

43. Khôkarakôt is a village in ruins situated to the north of Rohtak. Over a gateway of the village, built by Shamshêr Khân, a stone was placed, which has been dug up out of the ruins and is now in the Museum at Lahore.<sup>36</sup> Its dimensions are 2' 2" by 1' 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " and it bears a bilingual inscription, three lines in Persian and five lines in Hindî.<sup>37</sup> The Persian text runs—

در آیام سلطنت بندگان حضرت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی  
خلد اللہ ملکہ ابداء رفعتہ فی جنات ابا شمشیر خان شقدار پرکنہ رھتک عمارت  
این دروازہ بنیاد نہاد فی شہر المبارکۃ رمضان سنہ نہصد و سہ و ہفتاد باتمام رسید

"In the days of the empire of the slave (*of God*), his Majesty Jalâl addîn Muḥammad Akbar Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî—

"May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (*and*) his highness in Paradise!—Abâ Shamshêr Khân, the *shiqqdâr* of *pargana* Rohtak,

"Has laid the foundation of this gateway. In the blessed month Ramazân anno 973 it has been finished" [began 22nd March 1566].

The words *raf'atahu fi jannât Abâ* are not certain. There is no doubt that the Shamshêr Khân of this inscription and of No. 28 are the same persons.

#### VII.—BOHM.

44. The village of Bohm ( بھم ) is 4 miles east of Rohtak on the road to Dihlî. In the east wall of the tomb of one Maḥmûd of Bohm, a stone (3' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 9") has been recently fixed which contains an inscription of three lines not relative to its present place. The passage from the *Qorân*, Sûra ii, 256, is followed by these words:—

کا بحرف ابراہیم عرف مواصلخانی فرمایش علی قاضی بہا خان

"The writer (*was*) Ibrâhîm, known as Muwâsâkhânî, by the order of 'Alî Qâzî Bahâikhân."

#### VIII.—HIŞÂR FÎRÔZA.<sup>38</sup>

45. From a mosque outside the Dihlî gate, situate in the Sarâi Nathûâ Bhaṭṭyârâ (a baker). Four lines on a stone 2' 5" by 1' 3".

<sup>36</sup> See the facsimile No. v, at p. 149.

<sup>37</sup> The Hindî inscription, as Professor G. Bühler informs me, is not quite intelligible. But it is of the same year, A. D. 1566. The date is Samvat 1623, *Vaiśākha vadi* 15, which corresponds according to Dr. Schram's approximate tables to the 20th April 1566, if the year is taken as an ended northern (*pûrnimānta*) Vikrama-year; the 20th April was the last of Ramazân. Akbar, Shamshêr Khân and the gate are all mentioned in the Hindî version.

<sup>38</sup> For a short historical account of the town of Hişâr Fîrôza, see Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* 1877, April, p. 92, ff., where some of the following inscriptions have been published.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجدًا لله بني الله تعالى له بيتًا في الجنة  
بعد توفيق الله الملك العلام و برکت حضرت رسالت عم  
در عهد میمون و دولت ایام افزون خدایگان ناصر جهان عادل الزمان سلطان الهند و الخراسان رافع  
رایات المجاهدات و المغازی محمد همایون پادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه  
و خلافتہ و ابد علی العالمین عدله و رافته بناکرد و مزین گردانید این مسجد مرغوب بعمارت خوب بمرضات  
حضرت معبود بنده امیدوار رحمت پروردگار المستعین بالله<sup>39</sup> القوي الرحمان نظر قلی ابن شاه قلیخان  
المعروف نظامالدين جانم ترکمان زادالله تعالى ما اعطاه و بلغه الى ما يتمناه بحرمه<sup>40</sup> [سید] الابرار  
والخيار مررخا في الرابع من شهر شعبان ختمه الله بالظفر و الامان سنه ٩٣٩ كاتبحروف عبد الله يوسف احمد  
بن ركن الدين

“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, ‘He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God Almighty in Paradise.’ By the grace of God, the omniscient king, and the blessing of the Lord of prophethood—on whom be peace!—

“In the auspicious time, and the day-increasing reign of the sovereign, the helper of the world, the just one of the age, the king of India and Khorāsān, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humāyūn, *Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī*—may God perpetuate his reign

“And his khalifat and extend over both worlds his justice and his compassion! this fine mosque was built and adorned, in beautiful structure, in order to please the Lord, who is adored by the slave who hopes in the mercy of the All-nourisher, who seeks help from God, the strength of the merciful, Nazar Qulī, son of Shāh Qulī Khān,

“Who is known as Nizām addīn Jānym, the Turkmān—may God increase what He has given him, and bring him to what he desires for the honour of the chief of the pious and the saints!—Dated 4th Sha’bān—may God allow the month to end in victory and security!—anno 939 [1st March 1533]. The writer of these letters is ‘Abdallāh Yūsuf Aḥmad, son of Ruknaddīn.”

46. The inscription from the Jāmi’ mosque of Hiṣār consists of nine lines, and measures 1’ 11” by 1’ 5”. The last line is written very closely, and is almost undecipherable on the rubbing, so that I can only accept Mr. Blochmann’s readings, whose translation I have also adopted, so far as I approve of it,

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و انه لما قام عبدالله يدعوه كادرا  
يكونون عليه لبدا قال عليه السلام من بني لله مسجدًا يبتغي به وجه الله بنى الله له في الجنة مثله  
تمام شد این مسجد در ایام دولت شهنشاه اعظم و الخاقان المعظم مالک رقاب طوایف الامم من الهند و الترك  
و العرب و العجم السلطان الفاضل الكامل الرلي الوالي و الخاقان العادل العلي العالي الذي رجب اطاعته  
كا طاعة الله و رسوله بحكم اطيعوا الله و اطيعوا الرسول و اولی الامر منكم حافظ بلاد الله  
ناصر عباد الله رافع رايات المجاهدات و المغازی محمد همایون بادشاه غازی خلد الله تعالى

<sup>39</sup> By no means السلجي

| <sup>40</sup> Added by Blochmann.

ملکه ر فی بحار اللطف اجری فلکے بسعی جناب سعادت فرجام زبده فضلا الانام نتیجہ (امراء العظام

امیر محمد بن

عالیجناب امارت مآب مملکت پناه نظام الدین بیلک میرک بن جناب المغفور المبرور خوشکيلدي ...

بن جناب مغفرت مآب ... ...<sup>۱۱</sup> فردرس مکانی [ ؟ ]

شد بنای مسجدی بہر خدا اندر حصار کر رفیع القدر آمدہ همچو کیوان سر بلند

پس کہ عالی قدر کیوان ہیئت و مرزوں فتاد ہر کہ دید افتاد اورا طرح این مسجد پسند

چون پسند آمد تمام اہل دل [ ؟ ] تاریخ ار باب . . . . رحمت گفته اند

کاتبہ و قابیلہ نظام . . . . سنہ ۹۴۲

“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God ! [ *Qorân*, *Sûra lxxii*, 18, 19] ‘the mosques are God’s.’ You should not call on any one with God, and ‘when God’s servant stood up to pray they (*the jinns*) called out to him and well-nigh crowded upon him.’ The prophet—upon whom be peace!—says, ‘He who builds a mosque for God desiring thereby God’s honour, will have one like it built for him by God in Paradise.

“This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king of kings, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, the accomplished Sultân, the perfect, the chief, the ruler, the just prince, the high, the exalted, whom to obey is as necessary as to obey God and the Prophet, according to (*Qorân*, *Sûra iv*, 62) ‘Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those in authority amongst you,’ the guardian of God’s countries, the helper of God’s servants, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and guide his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amîrs, Amîr Muḥammad, son of the distinguished noble, the meritorious Nizâmaddîn Beg Mîrak, son of the pardoned and purified Khushigeldi . . . . , son of his highness, whose sins are forgiven . . . . .

(Metre: *Ramal*). “A mosque has been built in Hişâr for the sake of God, which is as high in dignity as the seventh heaven.

“Because it is high in dignity, and has the aspect of the seventh heaven, and has turned out well-adjusted, every one who saw it has approved of the style of this mosque. Because all people of sense approved of it, its chronogram is . . . . .

“Its writer and composer is Nizâm . . . . . A. 942” [began 2nd July 1535].

The father of the builder was already, in Bâbar’s time, an officer of Prince Humâyûn (Bâbar’s *Memoirs*, p. 402), who afterwards employed him during his own reign in several situations. In 942, the year of the above inscription, he appointed him commander of the fort of Chanâr, then just conquered (*Akbarnâma*, I, 151). In the report of the victory gained over Rana Sanka (Bâbar’s *Memoirs*, pp. 410 ff.) ten grantees bear the title Nizâmaddîn, but that was probably not their proper title, and is only a declamatory addition of the learned composer of the letter.

11 I do not think that these words are correct.

47. The ruins of Ulugh Beg's mosque are near the Commissariat in the town of Hişâr. The inscription consists of five lines; it measures 1' 4" by 2':—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عليه السلام من بني لله مسجدا  
يبتغي به وجه الله تعالى بني الله له بيتا مثله في الجنة در عهد  
ميرور دولت افزون حضرت سلطان السلاطين ناصر الدنيا و  
الدين رافع رايات المجاهدة و المغازي محمد همايون بادشاه غاضي خلد خلافته بانيه  
بدونيق الله الصمد امير معظم امير الغ بيلك اين امير يوسف احمد ميراخوزر ركان في ٩٥١

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! He upon whom may be peace! says, 'He who builds a mosque for God

"Desiring thereby God Almighty's honour, will have a house like it built for him by God in Paradise.' In the auspicious time

"And the increasing reign of his Majesty the king of kings, the helper of the world

"And the faith, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muḥammad Humâyûn *Bâdishâh-i-Ghâzî*—may God perpetuate his khalifat!—its builder,

"By the grace of God the eternal (*was*) the great Amîr, Amîr Ulugh Beg, son of Amîr Yûsuf Aḥmad, the master of the horse. Dated in 951" [began 25th March 1544].

48. On a dome outside Hişâr, about a mile to the east, inside the commissariat godowns, on a slab, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 10", are four lines of very bad poetry—

خوشا روضه كند چون بهشت كل رخت ار مشك و عنبر سرشت  
زانفاس باغش معطر دماغ روان سلسبيلي زاشجارو كشت  
ديبر فلک كشته بر كردار كه تاريخ بر كند آمد نرشت  
سنه ٩٧٥  
هزار آفرين بر ابلي يزید كه حكمش بنياد بنهاد خشت  
كاتب كبير

(Metre: *Mutaqârib*). "How beautiful is the dome of the paradise-like mausoleum, its mortar and bricks are like musk and ambergris.

"From the scent of its garden the brain is perfumed; and a *salsabil* (a spring in paradise) flows from its trees.

"The secretary of heaven (*Mercury*) turned round it, when the date was written on the dome: A. H. 975 [began 8th July 1567].

A thousand praises are due to Bâyezîd, by whose order the bricks were placed on the foundation. The writer was Kabîr."

49. On a mosque in the yard of 'Shêr Buhlûl's mausoleum' outside Hişâr, one mile to the south, is an inscription, 2' 5" square, in six lines of well-formed *Nasta'liq*:—

بيروي شرع رسول مجتبي عبدالنبي  
آنكه دیدارش دهد آئینه دلرا جلا  
پیش صحن روضه بهلول شاه افکند طرح  
مسجدی عالی كه باشد مسکن اهل دعا



بی تلف هاتھی زد بانگ کاین مصرع نویس  
در هزار و یکصد و شش یافت اتمام این بنا

Metre: *Ramal*.

"The follower of the law of the Prophet, the chosen one,' Abd-annabî,  
"Whose sight gives brightness to the mirror of the heart,  
"Erected, before the courtyard of Shâh Buhlûl's mausoleum,  
"A grand mosque, which is to be the dwelling of worshippers.  
"A heavenly speaker said without hesitation, 'write the hemistich  
"This building was completed in 1106'" [began 22nd August 1694].

An inscription from a tomb near the Commissariat godowns, 6' 2½" by 10½ inches, is of no value, as it consists only of *Qorân*, *Sûra* V. 98.

#### IX.—BARWÂLA.

Barwâla is now the head-quarters of a *talûq*, distant 18 miles north-east of Hîşâr. In the *Âin-i-Akbarî*, Pargana Barwâla is mentioned as belonging to *Sarkâr* Hîşâr. Its area was 136,799 *bighas*; the revenues were 1,097,807 *dâms* (109,052 *Say*, *dâms*); the tribes were Sayyids, Malikzâdas, Baqqâls; the military contingent consisted of 100 horse, 1,500 footmen.

50. An inscription from an old mosque, measuring 2' 5" by 8" is in very bad preservation:—

امر بناء هذه المسجد في عهد السلطان المعظم معز الدين والدس حلد ملكه  
ابراهم كعباد السلطان محمد الاول والعرا تاج الدوله والدس  
السلطاني دام ابداله في العره [?] من ربيع الاول سنه ثمان و ستمائة

"This mosque was ordered to be built in the time of the noble king Mu'izzaddunyâ waddîn—may (*God*) perpetuate his reign!—

Abu-l-Muzaffar Kaiqobâd, the king, by the glory of the saints and the poor, Tâjaddaula waddîn . . the royal—may his prosperity be perpetual!—at the beginning of the Rabi' al awwal 688" [began 25th March 1289].

The inscription is important, as it is the first known of Kaiqobâd,<sup>42</sup> son of Bughrâ Khân, viceroy of Bengal, the last emperor of the Balbanî Turks, after whom the kingdom was transferred to the Khiljîs.

51. A second Barwâla inscription is of Balban's reign; it consists of two lines. It has also been much injured by the weather. The dimensions are 3' 3" by 11 inches:—

نور [?] الاسلام والمسلمين ابو المظفر بلبن السلطان ناصر امير المرمسين خلدالله ملكه و سلطانه  
دام اقباله في العسرين من شهر المبارک رمضان عمب مئامه سنه ثمان و ستمائة

"The light of Islâm and of the Muslims Abul-Muzaffar Balban, the king, the helper of the Lord of the Muslims—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—  
may his prosperity be perpetual!—on the 20th of the blessed month Ramazân—may its blessing be general!—680" [2nd January 1282].

The extant Balban inscriptions have been mentioned above under No. 15.

<sup>42</sup> Another inscription of Kaiqobâd, dated A.H. 686, exists in the Saddo masjid at *Amrohâ*, Murâdâbâd district, North-Western Provinces, (see A. Führer; *l. c.*, page 35).—*Ed. E. I.*

## X.—FATHÂBÂD.

52. In the town of Fathâbâd is a round sandstone pillar, 10' 2" high and 6 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in circumference. It is a pity that it is not possible to decipher this evidently most important document, which consists of thirty-six lines going round the pillar. The letters have been much injured and many patches of the stone have fallen off. Only single words are here and there legible on the rubbings (in five pieces). The inscription belongs to a king of the Tughluq dynasty, and contains long historical accounts. Tughluq Shâh himself is mentioned. An occurring date, the reference of which is not clear, is the first Sha'bân 725 [13th July 1325], which falls in the first year of Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shâh.<sup>43</sup>

XI.—HÂNSÎ.<sup>44</sup>

53. On the Dinî mosque, near the Sarâogyân mandir, is an inscription in three lines, measuring 2' 9" by 1' 4"—

بتوفیق حدای علام و برکت مصطفی علیه السلام در عهد مہمیں و دولت ہماریں  
 حدانکن عالمناہ دادسہ اسلام راعی الانام فیروز سہ السلطان خلد اللہ ملکہ  
 و سلطانہ بندہ درگاہ ساہن سلطانی بنارنج غرہ دی القعدہ سنہ سبع و سہس و سبعمانہ ابن مسجد بنا کرد

"Through the grace of God the omniscient and the blessing of the chosen Prophet—upon whom be peace!—in the auspicious time and the august reign

"Of the lord, the refuge of the world, the king of Islâm, the shepherd of the people, Fîrôz Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom

"And his reign!—this mosque was erected by the slave of the court, Śâh(i)n, the royal, on the beginning of Zilqa'da, 767" [10th July 1366].

54. From the middle arch of Ja'far Beg's mosque. Two lines, 1' 3" by 1", evidently a fragmentary piece, containing the words—

و مظهر کلمۃ [ اللہ ] ناصر امیر المرو

".....and who manifests the word of God,<sup>45</sup> the helper of the Lord of the faithful."

There is also a defective inscription found on the middle arch of the Jod Goh (?). It consists of two lines (2' 13" by 30") and belongs to the reign of Iltimish (Altamsh), whose name it contains.

Finally, a third inscription, which is found on the back corner of the mosque of Makhdûm Ashraf, measuring 1' 22" by 12", contains some words from *Qorân*, Sûra ix, 19.

<sup>43</sup> I cannot let this opportunity pass of recommending this interesting document to travellers visiting Fathâbâd. From rubbings alone it cannot be deciphered. An examination of the original may perhaps be more successful. It would be necessary to make a transcript directly from the original which would assist in the reading of the rubbing. Ghulâm Husain, one of Mr. C. J. Rodger's staff, who prepared the copies of all the Panjâb inscriptions in this paper, says in a note that Zîn ud Din, Extra Assistant Commissioner, spent more than a month at Fathâbâd trying to decipher the inscription, but he had not been able to see what he did.

<sup>44</sup> For the history of the town of Hânsî, see *Proceedings of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1877, 117, fig.

<sup>45</sup> These words occur as an epithet of Husain Shâh in an inscription from A.H. 906 (see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304, note).

## X.—BADAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAYANAPALA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In November 1780 Charles Wilkins discovered in the vicinity of the town of Badāl,<sup>1</sup> in the Dinājpur District of the Province of Bengal, a stone pillar, about 12 feet high, which was found to contain, at a few feet above the ground, an inscription engraved in the stone. Some years afterwards he succeeded in deciphering and translating this inscription; and his translation was published in 1788, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, pages 131-144, with a drawing of the pillar and a specimen of the characters, and accompanied by some valuable remarks of Sir William Jones. In 1874 Mr. E. V. Westmacott obtained a careless and mutilated transcript of the original text from Paṇḍit Harachandra Chakravartī, which, with a translation by Mr. Pratāpachandra Ghosha, will be found in the *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLIII, part i, pages 356-63. I now edit the inscription, of which a complete and trustworthy text has not yet been published, from impressions which at Dr. Burgess' request the Government of India has had prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick.

The inscription contains 29 lines of writing—28 full lines and one line only 5' long,—which cover a space of from 1' 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 1' 10" broad by 1' 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. With the exception of two *aksharas* each at the commencement of lines 1 and 2, and altogether sixteen *aksharas* at the commencement of lines 25-28, which have become illegible by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and a few slightly damaged *aksharas* in the body of the inscription, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{7}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are of the same type as, but decidedly more modern than, those of the Ghosrāwā inscription, of which a photolithograph is published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 310, and may be assigned to about the end of the 9th or commencement of the 10th century A.D. They are skilfully formed and well engraved. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the short line 29, which merely records the name of the engraver, Viṣṇubhadra, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography the text calls for few remarks. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Before *v* the consonant *m* has been retained, instead of being changed to *anusvāra*, in *samvṛita*, line 6, *bhrāntam* = *vikāṭam*, line 8, *samvalgitās*, line 9, *satām* = *vismayaḥ*, line 10, *vāchām* = *vaiḥbhavam*, line 20, and *tā-dṛśam* = *vyadhita*, line 24; and instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal has been used in *vañse*, lines 1 and 26, and *vañśasya*, line 21; and the dental nasal in *pānsuḥ*, line 7. We also have *-sañśi* for *-śaṁśi*, line 17, and *-sañghuter* for *-saṁghuter*, line 4. Besides, it may be noted that the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in *vidhivāt Ballā*, line 11, and *-pīṭān chatur*, line 13; and that the sign of *avagraha* has been exceptionally employed in *'bhīdhā'bhavat*, line 17, and *'tāro'vadat*, line 21. As regards grammar I need draw attention only to the first compound in verse 11, which is formed incorrectly.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (in verses 27 and 28) the erection of a pillar, bearing on its top a figure of the mythical bird Garuḍa,—the pillar on which the inscription still is, but the upper part of which is now missing,—by a Brāhman,

<sup>1</sup> See Montgomery Martin's (Buchanan Hamilton's) *Eastern India*, vol. II, page 672. [Badāl Kacheri is in the south of the Dinājpur district, 3 miles south-west from the village of Maṅgalbāri, which is on the borders of the Sagunā paigana of the Bagunā (Bogta) district and 7 miles south-west from Damdamā station on the Northern Bengal State Railway. Badāl is in Long. 88° 58' E, Lat. 25° 5' N. (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 119), and the pillar is about a mile north from it. (*Conf. Hunter's Stat. Acc. Bengal*, vol. vii, p. 451, and vol. viii, p. 198)—J. B.]

[illegible]

named Râma Guravamiśra. But the inscription is really a *prastasti*, or laudatory account, of Guravamiśra and his ancestors, and it is of some value mainly because it furnishes the names of four of the so-called Pâla kings of Bengal, of whom some of the said Brâhmins were counsellors or ministers.

In the race of Śaṇḍilya there was one [Vishṇu?]; in his lineage was Viradeva; in his family Pāñchâla; and his son was Garga, the adviser of Dharma (or Dharma-pâla), 'the regent of the east' (vv. 1-2). Garga married Ichchhâ, and their son was Darbhapâni, who became minister of the king Devapâla (vv. 3-7). He, again, married Śarkarâdevî, who bore to him Someśvara (vv. 8-9). Someśvara married Rallâdevî (v. 10); and their son was Kedâramiśra, by whose counsel the lord of Gauḍa (whom I understand to be Devapâla)<sup>2</sup> is represented to have defeated or held in check the Utkalas, Hûṇas, Draviḍas and Gurjaras (v. 13), and who is intimated to have consecrated the king Śûrapâla (v. 15). And, finally, Kedâramiśra married Vayvâ, a lady born at Devagrâma (v. 16), and she bore to him Râma, called Guravamiśra (v. 18), who was held in high esteem by the king Nârâyaṇapâla (v. 19). There can be no doubt that this last-named Brâhmin is the Bhaṭṭa Gurava who is mentioned as *dûṭaka* in the Bhâgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nârâyaṇapâla.<sup>3</sup>

Of the four kings mentioned in this inscription three, Dharma[pâla], Devapâla and Nârâyaṇapâla, are well known to us from copper-plate inscriptions. As to Śûrapâla, I readily adopt Dr. Hôrle's suggestion<sup>4</sup> that he is identical with the Vighrahapâla of the Bhâgalpur copper-plate, the immediate predecessor of Nârâyaṇapâla. But regarding the Pâla kings in general my views differ from those of Dr. Hôrle, and I hope to prove before long that the successors of Nârâyaṇapâla were: his son Râjyapâla; his son Gopâla II.; his son Vighrahapâla II.; his son Mahipâla; his son Nayapâla; and his son Vighrahapâla III.

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

L. 1. . . .<sup>6</sup> शाण्डिल्यवज्जेभृद्दीरदेवस्तदन्वये ।

पाञ्चालो नाम तन्नीले गर्गस्तस्मादलायत ॥<sup>8</sup> — [1.]

शक्रः पुरोदिशि पतिर्न दिगन्तरेषु तत्रापि दैत्यपतिभिर्जित एव

— उ : [1\*]

2.

धर्मः क्षतस्तथिपस्वखिलासु दिक्षु स्वामी सवेति विजहास वृ(वृ)हस्यति यः ॥<sup>9</sup> — [2.]

पत्नीच्छा नाम तस्यासीदिच्छेवान्तर्द्विवर्तिनी ।

निसर्गनिर्मलस्त्रिधा कान्तियन्त्र-

3.

मसो यया ॥<sup>10</sup> — [3.]

विद्याचतुष्टयसुखान्(सु)रहात्तलक्ष्मा नैसर्गिकोत्तमपदाधरितत्रिलोकः [1\*]

सुसुखयोः कमलयोनिरिव द्विजेशः श्रीदर्भपाणिरिति नाम निजन्धवा-

See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, page 303, v. 6.

<sup>8</sup> See *ib.*, page 307.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society Bengal*, Part II, Appendix II; and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, pages 162—165.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions prepared by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, and supplied to me by the editor.

<sup>6</sup> The word which has almost entirely disappeared here was probably विद्युः; and it may have been preceded by the symbol for श्री.

<sup>7</sup> Read ०३००.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakâ.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

L. 4.

नः ॥<sup>11</sup> — [4.]आ रेवाजनकान्ततङ्गजमदस्तिम्यच्छिलासङ्घते-<sup>12</sup>

रा गौरीपितुरोश्वरेन्दुकिरणैः पुण्यस्मितिन्नी गिरिः ।

मार्त्तण्डास्तमयोदयारुणजलादा वारिरा-

5. शिद्वया-

नीत्या यस्य भुवं चकार करदां श्रीदेवपाली नृपः ॥<sup>13</sup> — [5.]

माद्यन्नानागजेन्द्रस्रवदनवरतोद्दामदानप्रवाहो-

न्मृष्टक्षीणीविसर्पिप्रव(व)ल-

6. घनरजःसम्बृताशावकाशं<sup>14</sup> ।

दिक्कायातभूभृत्परिकरविसरद्वाहिनीदुर्विलोक-

स्तस्थौ श्रीदेवपालो नृपतिरवसरापेक्षया द्वारि

7. यस्य ॥<sup>15</sup> — [6.]

दक्काप्यनल्पमुहुपच्छविपीठमग्रे यस्यासनं नरपतिः सुरराजकल्पः ।

नानानरेन्द्रसुकुटाङ्कितपादपान्शुः सिङ्गासनं<sup>16</sup> सच-8. कितः स्वयमाससाद ॥<sup>17</sup> — [7.]तस्य श्रीशर्करादेव्यामन्त्रेः मोम इव द्विजः [1<sup>x</sup>]अभूत्सोमेश्वरः श्रीमान् परमेश्वरवत्तमः ॥<sup>18</sup> — [8.]न भ्रान्तम्विकटं<sup>19</sup>9. धनञ्जयतुलामारुह्य विक्रामता<sup>20</sup>

वित्तान्यर्थिषु वर्षता स्तुतिगिरो नोद्गर्वमाकर्षिताः ।

नैवोक्ता मधुरस्वहु<sup>21</sup> प्रणयिनः सम्ब[लि]ताश्च त्रि-10. या<sup>21</sup>येनैवं स्वगुणैर्जगद्विसदृशैश्चक्रे सताम्विस्मयः<sup>22</sup> ॥<sup>23</sup> — [9.]शिव इव करं शिवाया हृदिरिव लक्ष्म्या गृह्णाश्चमप्रेप्सुः [1<sup>x</sup>]

अनुरूपाया विधि-

11. वत्<sup>24</sup> रत्नादेव्याः स जग्राह ॥<sup>25</sup> — [10.]

आसन्नाजिह्वराजद्व(द्व)हलशिखशिखाचुम्बि(म्बि)दिक्कात्रालो

दुर्वारस्मारशक्तिः स्वरसपरिणताशेषविद्या-

12. प्रतिष्ठः ।

ताभ्यां जन्म प्रपदे त्रिदशजनमनोनन्दनः स्त्रियाभिः

श्रीमान् केदारमिश्रो गुह इव विकसज्जातरूपप्रभावः ॥<sup>26</sup> ॥ — [11.]<sup>11</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>12</sup> Read °सङ्घते.<sup>13</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>14</sup> Read °संवृता°. Originally विकारा was engraved, but the sign for i is struck out.<sup>15</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.<sup>16</sup> Read °पाशुः सिङ्गासनं.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>18</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>19</sup> Read भ्रान्तं विकटं.<sup>20</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>21</sup> Read मधुरं बहु प्रणयिनः संव°.<sup>22</sup> Read सतां विस्मयः.<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>24</sup> Read विविधद्रष्टा°.<sup>25</sup> Metre: Āryā.<sup>26</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

- L. 13. सकृद्दर्शनसम्प्रीतान्<sup>27</sup> यत्तुर्विद्यापयोनिधीन् [1\*]  
जहासागस्यसम्पत्तिमुद्गिरिन्वा(न्या)ल एव यः ॥<sup>28</sup> — [12.]  
उत्कीलितोत्कलकुलं द्रुतङ्गणगर्जं सुर्वीक्ष-  
14. तद्रविडगुर्जरनाथदर्प ।  
भूपोढमखि(खि)रशनाभरणम्बु(म्बु)भोज गौडेश्वरखिरमुपास्य धियं यदीयां ॥<sup>29</sup> — [13.]  
स्वयमपहृतवित्तानर्थिनी यो-  
15. कुमेने द्विषति सुहृदि चासीन्निर्विवेको यदात्मा ।  
भवजलधिनिपाते यस्य भीक्ष्य द्रुपा च ।<sup>30</sup> परिसृदितकशा(षा)यो<sup>31</sup> यः परे धान्नि रमे ॥<sup>32</sup> — [14.]  
यस्ये-  
16. ज्यासु वृ(वृ)हस्पतिप्रतिकृतेः श्रीशूरपालो नृपः  
साक्षादिन्द्र इव क्षताप्रियव(व)लो गत्वैव भूयः स्वयं ।  
नानाभोनिधिनिखलस्य जगतः  
17. कल्याणसङ्घी<sup>33</sup> चिरं  
अहाभःपूतमानसो नतशिरा जग्राह पूतम्पयः ॥<sup>34</sup> — [15.]  
देवग्रामभवा<sup>35</sup> तस्य पत्नी वज्राभिधाऽभवत् ॥ [1\*]  
अतुल्या चलया ल-  
18. क्षया सत्या चाप्य[नपत्य]या<sup>36</sup> ॥<sup>37</sup> — [16.]  
सा देवकीव तस्माद्यशोदया स्वीकृतम्पतिं लक्ष्म्याः ।  
गोपालप्रियकारकमसूत पुरुषोत्तमन्तनयं ॥<sup>38</sup> ॥ — [17.]  
19. जमदग्निकुलोत्पन्नः सम्पन्नक्षत्रचिन्तकः [1\*]  
यः श्रीगुरुवमिश्राख्यो रामो राम इवापरः ॥<sup>39</sup> — [18.]  
कुशलौ गुणान्विवेक्तुं विजिगीषुर्यन्नृप-  
20. च व(व)हुमेने ।  
श्रीनारायणपालः प्रशस्तिरपरास्तु का तस्य ॥<sup>40</sup> — [19.]  
वाचास्वैभवभागमेवधिगमं<sup>41</sup> नीतिः परान्निष्ठतां<sup>42</sup>  
वेदार्थानुगमादसी-  
21. ममहसो वङ्गस्य<sup>43</sup> सस्वन्धितां ।  
आसक्तिङ्गुणकोर्त्तनेषु महतान्निष्णाततां ज्योतिषो  
यस्यानल्पमतेरमेययशसो धर्मावतारो ऽवदत् ॥<sup>44</sup> — [20.]  
22. यस्मिन्मियः श्रीमति वागधीशे विज्ञाय वैराणि निसर्गजानि ।  
उभे स्थिते सख्यमिवादि(धि)गन्यावेकत्र लक्ष्मीश्च सरस्वती च ॥<sup>45</sup> — [21.]  
शास्त्रानुशील-

<sup>27</sup> Read °पीतांयद्गु°.

<sup>28</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>30</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>31</sup> Originally °कशयो, altered to °कशायो.

<sup>32</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>33</sup> Read कल्याणसङ्घी.

<sup>34</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>35</sup> Originally °मव, altered to °भव.

<sup>36</sup> The lower portion of the *akṣharas* in brackets is damaged.

<sup>37</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>38</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>39</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>40</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>41</sup> Read वाचां वैभव°.

<sup>42</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>43</sup> Read वङ्गस्य संघ°.

<sup>44</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>45</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

- L. 23. नगभीरगुणैर्वचोभिर्विहत्सभासु परवादिसदावलिपः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 उद्भासितः सपदि येन युधि द्विषाञ्च निस्त्रीमविक्रमधनेन [भ]टाभिमानः ॥<sup>4</sup> — [22.]
24. [आविर्व्व(र्व्व)भू]व सहसैव फलं न यस्य यस्तादृशम्ब्रधित<sup>47</sup> कर्णसुखं किञ्चित् ।  
 यत्नाप्य दानपतिमर्थिजनोन्मथेति तत्कलिदानमपि यस्य न जातु
25. — उ ॥ — [23.]  
 अतिलोमहर्षणेयु<sup>48</sup> [च<sup>x</sup>] कलियुगवाल्मीकिजन्मपिशुनेषु ।  
 धर्मेतिहासपर्व्वसु पुण्यात्मा यः श्रुतीर्व्वगृह्णीत् ॥<sup>49</sup> — [24.]  
 असिन्धुप्रसृता यस्य स्वर्धुनी
26. . उ — उ [धा] ।  
 वाणी प्रसन्नगम्भीरा धिनीति च पुनाति च ॥<sup>50</sup> — [25.]  
 पितृत्वं स्वयमास्थाय पुत्रत्वमगमत्स्यं [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 व्र(व्र)क्षेति-पुरुषान् यस्य वक्षे<sup>51</sup> यच्च प्रपेदिरे ॥ — [26.]  
 शोभो-
27. — उ उ — स्वकीयवपुषो लोकेक्षणाग्रहिणि  
 स्वाभिप्राय इवातुलोन्नतिमति स्वप्रेमव(व)न्धस्थिरे ।  
 स्पष्टं शस्य इवार्पिते कलिहृदि स्तम्भेन ते-
28. [न?] उ उ  
 — — फणिनां हरेः प्रियसखस्ताच्छीयमारोपितः ।(॥)<sup>52</sup> — [27.]  
 भास्वा दिगन्तमखिलं गत्वा पातालमूलमप्यस्मात् ।  
 यश्च इ[ह]<sup>53</sup> तस्योत्तस्थौ हृताहिगरुडच्छलादमलम् ॥<sup>54</sup> — [28.]
29. सूत्रधारविष्णुभद्रेण<sup>55</sup> प्रशस्ति क्षणितं<sup>56</sup> [1<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

[Om !]

(Verse 1.) In Śāṇḍilya's race was . . . <sup>57</sup>, in his lineage Viradeva, in his family Pāñchāla; from him was Garga born.

(2.) As he made Dharma<sup>58</sup>, the regent of the east, sovereign over all the regions, while Indra ruled no other than the eastern quarter, and was even there defeated . . . by the Daitya chiefs, he laughed Bṛihaspati to scorn.

(3.) His wife was Iohohhā<sup>59</sup>, like love dwelling in his heart. By nature pure and tender, she was like the beauty of the moon.

(4.) Their son was the illustrious chief of the twice-born, named Darbhapaṇi, who, by his innate high rank rising above the three worlds and distinguished by his

<sup>46</sup> Metre of verses 22 and 23; Vasantatilakā.

<sup>47</sup> Read °दृश व्यधित.

<sup>48</sup> The *akṣhara* न was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line. The following च, which I have added, is not in the original.

<sup>49</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>50</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26; Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>51</sup> Read वक्ष.

<sup>52</sup> Metre: Śāṇḍilyavikṛīṭa.

<sup>53</sup> The *akṣhara* in brackets looks like व, altered to च.

<sup>54</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>55</sup> The *akṣhara* न was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>56</sup> One would have expected प्रशस्तिरक्षीर्ण.

<sup>57</sup> The name, here missing, probably is Viṣṇu.

<sup>58</sup> i.e. the king Dharmapāla, whose adviser Garga is represented to have been.

<sup>59</sup> i.e. 'desire, love.'



knowledge of the four Vedas, was like the lotus-born Brahman, the possessor of four lotus-like faces.<sup>60</sup>

(7. 5.) By his policy the illustrious prince Devapāla made tributary the earth as far as Revā's parent<sup>61</sup> whose piles of rocks are moist with the rutting-juice of elephants, as far as Gaurī's father,<sup>62</sup> the mountain which is whitened by the rays of Īśvara's moon, and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and setting of the sun.

(6.) At his gate stood, awaiting his leisure, the illustrious prince Devapāla, scarce visible among the vast armies attending on princes who had come from all quarters, (*in such numbers*) that the prospect of the regions was hidden by thick clouds of dust rising from the earth, (*though*) swept by the constant and abundant streams of rutting-juice, flowing down from lustful elephants of various breeds.

(7.) Though the prince, who resembled the king of the gods, and the dust of whose feet was marked with the diadems of sundry kings, first offered to him a chair of state with a seat bright as the moon, he ascended his own throne with trembling.

(8.) To him was born, of the illustrious Śarkarādevī, the twice-born Someśvara, the illustrious, a favourite of the supreme lord, as the moon had sprung from Atri.

(9.) Never exulting, though like Dhanañjaya<sup>63</sup> he displayed unlimited prowess; never listening proudly to words of praise, though he showered riches upon suppliants; and never addressing friends with many honeyed words, though he made them leap with joy by his bounties,—he roused the wonder of good men by such qualities of his, not common in the world.

(10.) Desirous of attaining the state of a householder, he in due form took the hand of Rallādevī, a suitable spouse, even as Śiva had done of Śivā, and Hari of Lakshmi.

(11.) From them took his birth the illustrious Kedāramiśra. Filling the circle of the quarters with the flames of abundant (*sacrificial*) fires, radiant with the presence of the gods, of irresistible great might, of a pre-eminence in every branch of knowledge matured from within, and brilliant as glowing gold, he, like unto Guha, delighted the minds of gods and men by his deeds.<sup>64</sup>

(12.) Pouring forth, even as a boy, the oceans of the four Vedas which he had drunk at a single draught, he laughed at Agastya's proficiency.<sup>65</sup>

(13.) Attending to his wise counsel the lord of Gauḍa long ruled the sea-girt earth, having eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hūṇas, and scattered the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara.

(14.) He allowed suppliants to take freely away his riches; his mind made no

<sup>60</sup> Darbhapāni was *chaturvidya* (or *chaturvedin*), as Brahman is *chaturmukha*; and the epithet *dvijēṣa*, applied to him, besides suggests that he was like the moon.

<sup>61</sup> i.e. the Vindhya mountains.

<sup>62</sup> i.e. the Himālaya.

<sup>63</sup> i.e. Arjuna.

<sup>64</sup> The general meaning of this verse, in which Kedāramiśra is compared to the god of war, Guha or Kārttikeya, is clear enough; but two difficulties are presented by the compound which forms the first line. Since that compound is a *Bahuvrīhi*, we should have expected a past passive participle, conveying the sense of 'touched' or 'filled,' in the place of *chumbin*, 'kissing,' which is the reading of the original. Besides, when the compound is referred to Kedāramiśra, none of the ordinary meanings of *ajihma* ('not crooked, straightforward, a frog, a fish') appears very appropriate. I therefore incline to think that the writer has confounded the word with *animisha* ('a fish, a god'), and I have translated accordingly. Applied to Guha, the first two compounds of the verse would mean: 'who fills the circle of the quarters with the big crest of his peacock which shines brightly when frogs are near, and who wields an irresistible, large spear'.

<sup>65</sup> Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

distinction between friend and foe; he was both afraid and ashamed to fall into the ocean of worldly existence; and having crushed the attachment to the pleasures of this life, he took delight in the supreme abode.

(7. 15.) At the sacrifices of him, the image of Brihaspati, the illustrious prince Śūrapāla, having destroyed the forces of his enemies, often attended of his own accord, like Indra himself, the destroyer of the demon Vala; and ever desirous of the welfare of the earth, girt by the several oceans, he there with bent head received the pure water,<sup>65</sup> his soul being bathed in the water of faith.

(16.) His wife was Vavvā, born at Devagrāma, unlike the fickle Lakshmi and the childless Satī.

(17.) As Devakī gave birth to Purushottama<sup>67</sup>, the adopted son of Yaśodā, Lakshmi's husband, who delighted the cow-herds, so she bore to him a son, famous and compassionate, who was a lord of fortune, and who caused pleasure to the king, being the most excellent of men.

(18.) He, Rāma,<sup>68</sup> called Guravamiśra, the illustrious, born in Jamadagni's race, and conversant with the constellations which bode good fortune, was like another Rāma Jāmadagnya, to whom the thriving Kshatriya order caused anxious thought.

(19.) Since the illustrious prince Nārāyaṇapāla, desirous of victory, skilful in discerning excellent qualities, held him in high esteem, what need is there of further eulogy?

(20.) The spread of holiness told that he, of no mean intelligence and of immeasurable fame, possessed great power of speech, knowledge of traditional lore, and profound skill in politics; that he belonged to a family which had acquired boundless lustre by searching after the meaning of the Vedas; that he was eager to celebrate the virtues of great men, and was well versed in astronomy.

(21.) In him, who was possessed of fortune, as well as a master of speech, Lakshmi and Sarasvatī resided both together, having forsaken, as it were, their natural enmity and joining in friendship.

(22.) In the assemblies of the learned he at once confounded the pride of self-conceit of opponents by his speeches to which the constant study of the Śāstras imparted deep meaning, just as, possessed of boundless wealth of valour, he did in battle the conceit of bravery of enemies.

(23.) He never uttered words gratifying to the ear of which the fruit became not at once apparent, nor did he ever bestow a gift which the suppliant having received went to another more bountiful donor.<sup>69</sup>

(24.) This pious-minded man expounded the Vedas in books of moral tales, which excited a thrill of joy and showed that he was born a Vālmīki of the Kali age.

(25.) Being a river of heaven which does not proceed to the ocean . . . , his pellucid and profound language both delights and purifies.

(26.) To his ancestors and to him people were wont to resort, considering that (*in them*) Brahman himself had first become a father, and that the same Brahman (*in him*) had again become their offspring.

<sup>65</sup> i.e. the prince, at those sacrifices, was as it were consecrated as sovereign of the earth.

<sup>67</sup> i.e. the god Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa.

<sup>68</sup> Or perhaps, 'this pleasing person, called Guravamiśra.'

<sup>69</sup> In other words, he never made a promise which he did not at once fulfil, nor did he mock suppliants with valueless gifts.

(P. 27.) He has placed Târkshya,<sup>70</sup> [the foe] of serpents and dear friend of Hari, here on the top of this pillar, the . . . beauty of which, like that of his own person, attracts the eyes of people, which like his own aspiration rises to an unparalleled height and is firm like his affection, and which clearly is as it were a stake planted in the breast of the Kali age.

(28.) Having roamed to the furthest ends of the world, and hence descended even to the bottom of the lower regions, his spotless fame has risen here in the guise of this Garuḍa with a serpent in his mouth.

This eulogy was incised by the artisan Vishṇubhadra.

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XI.—ATAKUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNA III. ;  
DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 872.

BY J. F. FLEET, I.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. Rice, in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, pp. 19, 21 (see note 6 below). It is now published in full for, I believe, the first time. I edit it from inked estampages, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hultsch.

Ātakūr is a village about fifteen miles to the north-east of Maṇḍya, which is the head-quarters town of the Maṇḍya Tālukā of the Maisūr District in Maisūr. It is shown in the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 60, as 'Atcoor,' in Lat. 12° 40' N., Long. 77° 8' E.;<sup>1</sup> and it is entered, as 'Atagur,' in the map given in Mr. Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II, pp. 190-91. In the inscription the name occurs in the slightly different form of Ātakūr. The inscription is on a stone slab, set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Challêśalinga, about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village. The temple is mentioned in the inscription, by the name of Challêśvara.

Towards the top of the stone there are, in connection with part of the record, the sculptures of a dog and a boar fighting with each other; the dog is on the proper right, and the boar on the proper left; they occupy a space of about 3' 2" broad by 1' 6" high.—Below this lies the inscription proper, lines 1 to 19, covering a space of about 4' 11" broad by 4' 0" high. At each side, however, of the boar and the dog, and along the top of the stone, there were left blank spaces, which were subsequently utilised for a slightly later additional record, consisting of four lines, which I have numbered 20 to 23. Lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin of the stone, curve round at the corner, run right along the top, and then curve down into the proper left margin. Line 22 breaks off on the proper right margin with the *ppa* of *ppanneradum*, and continues on the proper left margin, below the ends of lines 20 and 21. Line 23 is a short line, lying below the ends of lines 20, 21, and 22, on the proper left margin. The writing is in a state of fairly good preservation throughout; and, with the exception of two *aksharas* in line 4, the whole record can be made out with perfect certainty. The

<sup>70</sup> i. e. the bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu.

<sup>1</sup> The name seems to be not an uncommon one. The maps show an 'Atagur,' forty-nine miles north-east of Maisūr, and an 'Adagur,' eleven miles north by west of Hassan.

estampages, however, are not suitable for lithography; and, the surface of the stone being apparently rather rough, it would probably be very difficult to obtain impressions which would serve that purpose.—The characters belong to the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet, and are of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The average size of the letters, both in the original inscription and in the addition, is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ".—The language is Old-Kanarese; and, except for two verses in lines 15 to 19, the whole record is in prose.—In respect of orthography the only points that call for special notice are (1) the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *nriṣa*, line 1, *prithuvī*, line 2, and *kriṣṇa*, line 3; (2) the use of *ḍ* for *v* in the word *bṛa*, lines 16, 18; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, e.g. in *saka*, line 1, and *sakti-yāge*, line 16; and (4) the doubling of *s* after *r*, in *ār=ssagara*, line 17.

The inscription refers itself to the time of a king named Kṛṣṇarāja, whom, partly from the date that is given, and partly from the mention of a predecessor, we know to be Kṛṣṇa III., a son of Amōghavarsha III., of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mālkḥēḍ: in the body of the inscription, he is also called Kannaradēva; and in the addition at the top of the stone, this form only of his name is used. We are told that he was making a display of triumph, after fighting against and killing a Chōla king or chief named Rājāditya, at a place called Takkōla.<sup>2</sup> The inscription then introduces a Gaṅga feudatory of his,<sup>3</sup> called in the body of the record Permāṇaḍi, and in the addition Bātuga,<sup>4</sup> who, as we learn from the addition, had killed a certain Rāchamalla,<sup>5</sup> the son of Eṇeyapa, and (as the result) was ruling over a Ninety-six-thousand district, which is evidently the well-known Gaṅgavāḍi Ninety-six-thousand. From the addition we also learn that it was Bātuga himself who slew Rājāditya; treacherously, and while they were out taking the air together: and that, in approbation of the deed, Kṛṣṇa III. gave to Bātuga the districts known as the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Belvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukāḍ Seventy, and the Bāgenāḍ Seventy.<sup>6</sup> The record then introduces a follower of Bātuga, named Maṇalarata, of the Sagara lineage, with the hereditary title of "lord of Valabhi." And it proceeds to state that, in recognition of his valour in battle, Permāṇaḍi-Bātuga granted some land to a temple of the god Challēśvara (a form of Śiva) at the village of Ātukūr; a stone,—evidently the one bearing this

<sup>2</sup> The fact that Rājāditya died in battle with Kṛṣṇa III., is mentioned also in the large Leyden copper-plate grant (see Dr. Hultzsch's Report No. 79, dated the 6th April 1891); the passage speaks of the "lordly elephant," on which Rājāditya was riding.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the paramount title in *dharma-mahārājādhirāja* must be taken, with the use of the name Satyavākya-Koṅṅuṇivarman, to be only an hereditary custom. The construction of the whole record, and the subject-matter of it, show clearly the nature of the relations between Permāṇaḍi-Bātuga and Kṛṣṇa III.

<sup>4</sup> This name occurs also in the body of the inscription, among the titles of Maṇalarata. That passage (l. 9) is probably enough to show that Permāṇaḍi and Bātuga were one and the same person. But the point is rendered quite certain by the other reference to Bātuga and Maṇalarata in ll. 21-23.—When I wrote the preceding remarks, I overlooked the fact that Bātuga is distinctly called Permāṇaḍi-Bātayya in the Hebbāl inscription (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 270).

<sup>5</sup> One might perhaps expect the name of Rājamalla, rather than Rāchamalla. But the original very distinctly has *cha* in the second syllable.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.*, p. 21) summarised this part of the record thus:—"Moreover, from a subsequent addition "engraved at the top of the same inscription, we learn that this Gaṅga king" [*viz.* the Satyavākya-Koṅṅuṇivarman, or more specifically the Permāṇaḍi-Bātuga, of lines 5, 6, 8] "was Rāchamalla, the son of Eṇeyappa; also, that he defeated a rival" "named Bātuga, who then proposed to Rājāditya, the Chōla prince mentioned in the previous part of the inscription, to join "him in attacking Kannara Dēva. His treachery becoming thus known, he was defeated and slain, and the provinces of which "he was governor absorbed into the Gaṅga territories."—Mr. Rice's extract from the text (*loc. cit.*, p. 21, note 5) showed that this summary could not be correct, but did not suffice to indicate the real meaning with any completeness and certainty.

inscription,— being set up, to commemorate the grant, on the spot where, a dog having been loosed against a boar, the boar and the dog killed each other. The inscription proper ends with two verses descriptive of the prowess of Maṇalarata. And from the addition we learn that Bûtuga also granted, to Maṇalarata himself, the group of villages known as the Âtukûr Twelve, and the village of Kôṭeyûr of the Belvola country.

In the date the only details given are the Saumya *saṃvatsara*, coupled with Śaka-Saṃvat 872 (current) (A.D. 949-50), expressed in words. This falls within the limits of the dates already obtained for Kṛishṇa III. And all else that can be said is that, as, by the southern luni-solar system of the cycle, which is the only one that can be made applicable in this case, the Saumya *saṃvatsara* coincided with Śaka-Saṃvat 871 as an expired year, we have in this record another clear instance of the use of a current Śaka year.

This record refers to a variety of places. Âtakûr itself is mentioned, as Âtukûr, in the inscription proper (l. 12), and in the addition at the top of the stone (l. 22); and the latter passage shows that it was the chief town of a group of twelve villages. The inscription also mentions (l. 10) a neighbouring village named Belâtûr, in the Kelale *nâḍ*; but for these names I cannot find any representatives in the map. It gives Takkôla (l. 4) as the name of the place where Râjâditya was slain; this, again, I cannot identify. In the titles of Permânaḍi-Bûtuga it mentions the town of Kolâla and the Nandagiri mountain (l. 5). Mr. Rice (*e. g. Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxviii) has taken Kolâla to be the same with the Kôlâhalapura of the Eastern Gāṅga records, and has identified it with "Kôlâr, in the east of Maisûr." The identity of the two names, Kolâla and Kôlâhala, is probably established by the statement, in the eastern grants, that Kôlâhala was in the Gaṅgavâḍi *vishaya* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII., p. 170). The identification of the place with Kôlâr may be correct; but I do not know of any conclusive proof of this point: and I notice, in the map, a small village named 'Kolala' close to Dêvarâyadurg in the Koṭṭagiri Tâlukâ of the Tumkûr District, Maisûr; this seems to me to suggest that Kolâla may possibly be the ancient name of Dêvarâyadurg itself. Nandagiri has been identified by Mr. Rice (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xlv) with Nandidurg, a fortified hill in the Chikballâpur Tâlukâ of the Kôlâr District, Maisûr. And finally, in the titles of Maṇalarata, the inscription mentions the town of Valabhi (l. 7-8), which is, of course, the well-known Valabhî in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. The reference is of interest, as being the only one from Southern India that is known to me; but, whether it may be taken as implying that, like Maṇalarata, the rulers of Valabhî themselves claimed to belong to the lineage of Sagara, seems not very clear. The addition at the top of the stone first mentions a province called the Ninety-six-thousand: this is undoubtedly the well-known Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, which probably included the whole of Maisûr, and is known, from many other inscriptions, to have been the hereditary territory of the Western Gāṅgas; towards the north it extended as far as Lakkunḍi, near Gadag, in Dhârâwâḍ (*Inscriptions at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa*, No. 53). It then mentions a province and four districts which were given by Kṛishṇa III. to Bûtuga; *i. e.* the feudatory government of which was entrusted to Bûtuga. The province is the well-known Banavase Twelve-thousand, which took its appellation from one of the ancient forms of the name of the modern Banawâsi in North Kanara. Of the districts the

first is the Belvola Three-hundred. This district is equally well-known; and its name, being derived from the Kanarese *beḷe*, 'growing corn, a crop,' and *pola*, *kola*, 'a field,' means 'the country of luxuriant crops,' with reference to the fertility of the rich black-soil which constitutes one of its chief features. It included Gadag in the Dhârwaḍ District (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 297), Anṇigere in Dhârwaḍ (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 220; apparently Anṇigere was then, A.D. 866, the capital of the district), Kurtakôṭi in Dhârwaḍ (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 218), Nargund in Dhârwaḍ and Hâli in Belgaum (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 47; here the name is written Belvala, and the district is said to be a part of the Kuntala *vishaya*), and Kukkanûr in the Nizam's Dominions (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 275; here the name is written Beluvala, in Nâgarî characters). From the wording of the passage in line 22 of the present inscription it seems not to have included Âtakûr. The second is the Purigere Three-hundred. This, again, is a very well-known district, taking its appellation from the ancient Kanarese name of Lakshmêshwar in the Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwaḍ District. The third is the Kisukâḍ Seventy. This was in later times one of the divisions of the hereditary territory of the Sindas of Erambarage; and the chief town of it (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII, p. 272) was Kisuvolal or Paṭṭada-Kisuvolal, which is the modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijâpur District, near Bâdâmi. To the south it included (*id.*, p. 257) Kiru-Narayangal, which is to be identified with Kodikop, a hamlet of Naregal in the Rôn Tâlukâ, Dhârwaḍ. And the fourth is the Bâgenâḍ Seventy. This is plainly identical with the Bâgaḍage Seventy, or Bâgaḍige *nâḍ*, which was another of the divisions of the Sinda territory. I have only recently obtained the means of localising precisely the position of this district, and of determining the town from which it took its name. That town is Bâgalkôṭ in the Bijâpur District. It has long been known to me that the rustics call this place 'Bângaḍikôṭe;' the popular explanation of which is that some Nawâb assigned it to his wife for pin-money (*lit.* for bangles, *bângaḍi*). And I had a suspicion, but no more, that it might be the ancient Bâgaḍage or Bâgaḍige. All doubt has now been removed by my examination of an inscription on a stone which stands in the courtyard of the Tâlukâ Kachêri at Bâgalkôṭ, and was brought, I understand, from the neighbouring village of Hêrkal, and which mentions "the famous capital, Bâgaḍageya-kôṭe," (*śrīma[d-r]ājadhāni Bâgaḍag[e]ya-kôṭeya śrī-mūla*)-[*sthānā*]-[*dhi*]-[*pati*] *Nilakanṭha-panḍitadēvaru*; lines 9-10). Taken with the rustic appellation, this is quite sufficient to establish the identity of the two names, Bâgaḍage and Bâgalkôṭ. And finally, in line 22, the addition mentions the village of Kôṭeyûr of the Belvola country. This place I cannot identify with any certainty; but it may possibly be either Kurtakôṭi in Dhârwaḍ, or the small village of 'Kotoor,' 3 miles west of Koppal in the Nizam's Dominions (Lat. 15° 20' N., Long. 76° 10' E.).

There can be, I think, no doubt that the Ereyapa of this inscription is the Gaṅga king Ereyapa or Ereyapparasa, ruler of the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six-thousand, of the Bêgûr inscription (edited by me, *ante*, Vol. I, p. 346 ff). This record, therefore, fixes the period of the events recorded in the Bêgûr stone, and adds another interesting link in the history of the Western Gaṅgas. It shows internal dissensions among them; for Permânâḍi-Bâtuga, himself a Gaṅga (see lines 5, 6), acquired the province by killing Râchamalla, the son of Ereyapa; and Ereyapa, though he has been stamped by Mr. Rice as an "usurper" (e.g. *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. xlv, xlv), was most distinctly of the

Gaṅga lineage (see *ante*, Vol. I, p. 349). Also, the construction of the record, and the grant of districts to Bûtuga by Kṛṣṇa III., distinctly prove that at this period the Gaṅgas were feudatories of the Rāshtrakûṭas.

Incidentally it may be noted that, as the period of Ereyapparasa is now known to be about A.D. 949, it follows that there is some real probability of the Ayyapadêva of the Bêgûr record being identical with the Western Chalukya Ayyapa I., whose period was two generations before A.D. 973-97.

Among the territory given by Kṛṣṇa III. to Bûtuga was the Banavase Twelve-thousand. This point is of interest, because this province was the principal component of the territory of the Kâdambas of Banawâsi and Hângal; and the present record shows that they had not the ancient, or at least the uninterrupted, enjoyment of their possessions, which their inscriptions seem to imply.

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

- 1 Svas[t]i Sa(śa)ka-nri(nṛi)pa-kâl-âtita-samvatsara-sa(śa)taṅga[=eṇṭu-nûr=el]patt-erada-  
neya Śau(sau)myam=emba
- 2 samvatsaram pravarttise [I\*] Svasti Amôghavarîsha<sup>8</sup>dêva-śrîprithuvi<sup>9</sup>vallabha-  
paramêśvara-parama-
- 3 bhaṭṭ[â]raka-pâdapaṅkaja-bhramara[m] n[ri]pa-Tri[nê]tran=âne-vedēgam vana-  
gaja-mallam kachhegam Kri(kṛi)ṣṇarâjam śrîmat
- 4 Kan[n]aradêva[m] . . lû(?)vajaṁ Chôla-Râjâdityana mêle [ba]ndu  
Takkôlado[=kâdi] kondu bijayam-geyyutt-iḷdu [I\*]
- 5 Sva[st]i [S]atyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmma-dharm[m]amahârâjâdhirâjam Koḷâla-pura-  
var-êśvaram Nandagiri-nâtham
- 6 śrîmat Permmânaḍiga[=] nanneya-Gaṅga jaya[d=u]ttaraṅga Gaṅga-G[âṅgê]ya  
Gaṅga-Nârâyaṇa tan<sup>10</sup>=âlu
- 7 Svasti Saka[=]lôka-paritâp-âvi(?)hata-[pra]bhâv-âvatâri[ta]-Gaṅga<sup>11</sup>-pravâh-ôdâra-  
Sagara-vamśa Va-
- 8 labhi-puravar-êśvaran=udâra-Bhagirathan=iriva-bedeṅgam Sa[gara]-Trinêtram  
senase-mûgarivom
- 9 kadan-aika-Su(śu)drakam Bûtugan-aṅkakâram śrîmat Maṇalarata[ṅg=a]nuvarado[=]  
mechchi bêdi-kol[=]endo-
- 10 de dayeya mere-vol(?)[=]emba Kâliyam daye-geyy=endu koṇḍanâ nâya[m]  
Kelale-nâḍa Belatûra paḍu-
- 11 vana deseya moradiyo[=] piri[dum] pa[=]ndige viṭṭode pandiyum nâyum=oda-  
sattuvadarkke-
- 12 y=Atukûro[=] Challêśvarada munde kallan=naḍisi piriya kereya kelage Malti-  
kâlaṅgado[=]ir-kka(kkha)ṇḍuga-
- 13 maṇṇa[m] koṭṭar=Â maṇṇan=okkal nâḍan=â[=]vor<sup>12</sup>=â[=]vor=î maṇṇan=  
alidon=â nâya geyda pâpama[m] koṇḍom-

<sup>7</sup> From the inked est. mpages.

<sup>8</sup> Read °varîsha°.

<sup>9</sup> Read °prithivi° or °prithi°.

<sup>10</sup> We should expect tann(a), with the double nn. But I

notice that Sanderson's Kanarese Dicti nary gives nana as a variant of nanna.

<sup>11</sup> Read gaṅgâ or gâṅga.

<sup>12</sup> Read °alvon°.

- 14 n<sup>13</sup>=Ā sthānaman=āḷva goravan=ā kallam pūjisad=unḍar=appode<sup>14</sup> nāya geyda  
pāpaman konḍa[n] [II\*] Ōm [II\*]  
15 Uṇḍ<sup>15</sup>=idir-ānta Chōḷa-chaturāṅga-balaṅgaḷan=aṭṭi muṭṭi taḷṭ=iriv-eḍeg=ōrvvar=  
appodaṁ=idirchchuva  
16 gaṇḍaran=āmpēv=endu poṭṭaḷisuva<sup>16</sup> bī(vī)raram neṇeye kōṇe(na)me Chōḷane<sup>17</sup>  
sa(śa)ktiy-āge taḷṭ=iridudan=āve(? me) ka-  
17 nḍev=ene mechchador=ār=Ṣsagara-Trinētranam || Narapati bennoḷ=iḷdon=idir-  
āntudu vairi-samūham=illi  
18 machcharisuvar=ellaruṁ seraguv-āḷdapor=int-ire nendu siṅgaḍ=ant-ire Hari  
bī(vī)ra-Lakshmi nerav-āg-ire Chō-  
19 la[na]-kōṭey=emba sindhurada śir-āgramam biriye pāyidaṁ<sup>18</sup> kadan-aika-  
Su(śū)drakam [II\*] Ōm [II\*]

THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

- 20 Svasti Śrī-Ereyapana magam Rāchamallanam Bātugam kādi kondu tombhatt-  
aru-sāsiramumam<sup>19</sup> āḷutt-ire [I\*] Kannaradēva[m] Chōḷanam kāduvandu  
Bātugam Rājādityanam bisugeye kaḷḷan-āgi gurig=iridu  
21 kādi kondu Banavase-pannirchchā(? rchchhā)siramum Beḷvola-mūnūrum  
Purigeṇe-mūnnū<sup>20</sup>um<sup>20</sup> Kisukāḍ-elpattum Bāgenāḍ-elpattuva(ma)m Bātugaṅge  
Kannaradēvam riechchu-gottam [II\*] Bātuganum<sup>21</sup> Maṇalarata-  
22 na munde nind=iridudarkke mechchi Ātuk[ū]r-ppanneraduṁ Beḷvolada  
Kōṭeyūrumam bāḷga[m]  
23 [me]<sup>22</sup>chchu-gottam [II\*] Maṅgaḷa-mahā-śrī [II\*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! The *samvatsara* named Saumya, (*which is*) the eight hundred and seventy-second (*in*) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, being current:—

(Line 2).— Hail! When Kṛṣṇarāja (III.), the glorious Kannaradēva,— a very bee at the water-lilies which (*were*) the feet of Amoghavarshadēva (III.), the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*; a very Trinētra (Śiva) among kings; a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance); a hero against wild elephants; a (*real*) fighter (or, disputant), — having . . . . . come upon the Chōḷa, Rājāditya, and having fought and killed (*him*) at Takkōla, was going in triumph:—

(L. 5).— Hail! (*He who has the hereditary titles of*) the pious *Mahārājādhirāja* Satyavākya-Koṅgunivarman; the lord of Koḷāla, the best of towns; (*and*) the lord

<sup>13</sup> Read *konḍon*.

<sup>14</sup> This seems to be the reading; but \**appode*=ā would be better.

<sup>15</sup> Metre: Champakamālā; and in the following verse.

<sup>16</sup> The *prāsa* is wrong here; in the third syllable of this word, there ought properly to be *ri*, instead of *ii*.

<sup>17</sup> This *ne* was omitted, and then was inserted below the line.

<sup>18</sup> Read *pāyida*=ā.

<sup>19</sup> Read \**sāsiramam*; the copulative ending is not required here.

<sup>20</sup> Read \**mūnūrum*.

<sup>21</sup> Read *bātugam*; here, again, the copulative ending is not required.

<sup>22</sup> I cannot find the place where this syllable, *me*, stands in the original; perhaps the *akshara* was omitted altogether.



of the mountain Nandagiri,—(*viz.*) the illustrious Permāṇaḍi, the truthful Gaṅga, the arch of victory, a very Gāṅgēya among the Gaṅgas, a very Nārāyaṇa among the Gaṅgas,—

(L. 7).— Hail !,— being pleased in battle with his follower, the illustrious Maṇalārata,— who is of the lineage of Sagara, which brought down the stream of the (river) Gaṅgā through (*its*) prowess that was unimpeded in causing the affliction of all mankind ; (*who has the hereditary title of*) the lord of Vaḷabhi, the best of towns ; who is as noble as Bhagiratha ; who is a marvel among men who pierce ; who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras ; who cuts off noses when he is angry ; who is a very Śūdraka (*devoted*) only to war ; (*and*) who is the arithmetician of Būtuga,— said “ Prefer a request ! ” Thereupon, Kāliya, who is called “ the shining river (?) of kindness,” said, “ Do (*this*) favour ! ” Then they loosed his dog at a [great] boar, on the hill in the western quarter of (the village of) Beḷatūr of (the district called) Keḷale nāḍ. And then, having set up a stone in front of the temple of (the god) Challēśvara at Ātukūr, at (*the place where*) the boar and the dog killed each other,<sup>23</sup> he (Permāṇaḍi) gave<sup>24</sup> land yielding two *khaṇḍugas* (*of grain*), at the site called Maltikālaṅga below the large tank.

(L. 13).— Any cultivator (*who destroys*) that land, (*or*) the ruler of the district (*if he does so*), (*or*) any governors of the village who destroy<sup>25</sup> this land,— he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by that dog ! If the *Gorava*, who presides over that locality, eats without doing worship to that stone, he incurs (*the guilt of*) the sin committed by (*that*) dog ! Ōm !

(L. 15).— Saying “ We ourselves saw how powerfully the Chōḷa, like a male buffalo *in coitu*, approached and pierced the heroes who were vaunting (*their*) prowess<sup>26</sup> in saying ‘ Pursuing and besetting the forces of the army of the Chōḷa which, blazing (*with wrath*), have opposed (*us*), we will resist the valiant men who confront (*us*), if (*indeed*) there be any (*to make a stand*) at the place of meeting and piercing,’ ”— what people have failed to express approbation of him who is a very Triṇētra among the Sagaras ? The king was at (*his*) back ; a multitude of enemies opposed (*him*) in front ; all the people here, emulously rivalling each other, are bathed (*in perspiration*) to the (*very*) edges of (*their*) garments ;— under these circumstances he, a very Śūdraka (*devoted*) only to war, dripping (*with sweat*), with the assistance of (the god) Hari (*and*) the brave Lakshmi, passed on like a lion, cleaving open the forehead of the elephant that was called “ the fortress of the Chōḷa.”<sup>27</sup> Ōm !

#### THE ADDITION AT THE TOP OF THE STONE.

(L. 20).— Hail ! When Būtuga, having fought and killed Rāchamalla, the son of the glorious Eṛēyapa, was governing the Ninety-six-thousand :— At the time when Kannaradēva was warring against the Chōḷa, Būtuga treacherously,<sup>28</sup> while (*they*) were taking the air (*together*), aimed at and pierced, and thus fought against and killed,

<sup>23</sup> *lit.* “ died together.”

<sup>24</sup> *lit.* “ they gave ” (*koffar*) ; the word is in apposition with *permāṇaḍigaḷ* (l. 6).

<sup>25</sup> *lit.* “ who destroys ” (*aḷiḍon*) ; this sentence illustrates well the change of construction from the singular to the plural, and back again (compare *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 146, note 15). The words “ this land ” are rather unnecessary after the ‘ that land ’ which stands at the beginning of the sentence.

<sup>26</sup> *poṭṭaḷiṇṇa* seems to be some derivative from *pōṭari*, ‘ a brave man ; ’ see note 16 above, regarding the *prāsa*.

<sup>27</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>28</sup> *lit.* “ as a thief.”

Rājāditya; and then Kannaradēva gave to Bûtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase Twelve-thousand, the Beļvola Three-hundred, the Purigere Three-hundred, the Kisukāḍ Seventy, and the Bāgenāḍ Seventy.

(L, 21).— Being pleased with the manner in which Maṇalarata stood out in front and pierced (*his foes*), Bûtuga gave (*to him*), in token of approbation, for subsistence, the Ātukûr Twelve, and the village of Kōṭeyûr of (*the*) Beļvola (*country*). (*May there be*) auspicious and great good fortune!

### XIII.—KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF THE CHEDI LAKSHMANARAJA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription<sup>1</sup> was found at Kâritalâi, a village in the Mudwârâ Subdivision of the Jabalpur District of the Central Provinces (*Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 89, Latitude 24° 3' North, Longitude 80° 46' East), whence it has been removed to the Jabalpur Museum. And an account of the contents<sup>2</sup> of the inscription has been given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, page 81. I now edit the text from a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

The inscription is only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription the upper part of which is missing. The writing of what remains covers a space of 3' 8" broad by 4' 3½" high; but of this, again, a large piece, about 1' broad by 1' 8" high, is broken away at the lower proper right corner, and a small piece at the upper left corner. Besides, the stone is broken in several pieces, and some *aksharas* have thereby become damaged or illegible in the body of the inscription. The average size of the letters is 1". The characters, well formed and skilfully engraved, are Nāgari of about the end of the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the words *yaś=cha*, in line 5, and *kim vahunā*, in line 26, the inscription is in verse. In respect of orthography it will be sufficient to state that *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *v*, and that the sign of the *jihvāmūliya* once occurs in line 9, and\*the sign of the *upadhmāniya* once in line 30.

The missing introductory portion of the inscription in all probability contained a number of verses eulogising the earlier Chedi (or Kalachuri) rulers of Tripurī, especially Yuvarājadeva and Lakshmaṇarāja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel. In verses 2-6 of the extant text we are told that in the family of the sage Bharadvāja there was a Brāhman, named Bhākamiśra, who was chief minister of the king Yuvarājadeva; and in verses 7-17 that he had a son, Someśvara (in verse 9 described as *bhaṭṭa-Someśvara-dīkshita*), who became minister of the Chedi lord, the illustrious Lakshmaṇarāja. And the proper object of the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Viṣṇu, at which the inscription evidently was put up, and which is glorified in verses 18-29. Beyond this, verses 1-29 contain nothing of interest.

<sup>1</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, vol. IX, p. 8; also Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> This account, which no doubt was furnished by some native assistant, is very incorrect. Here it will be sufficient to say that the word, which was interpreted to denote a place called *Pāṭangir* is really a name of the planet Saturn; see line 24 of the text.

From verse 30 it appears that near the temple there was a *pura* (or *brahmapura*, as it is more commonly called) for eight learned Brâhmans; and the rest of the inscription enumerates various donations; made for their maintenance and in favour of the temple generally. To the Brâhmans mentioned the king, apparently Lakshmanarâja, gave the village of Dîrghasâkhika (verse 30). To the temple he assigned, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, another village, the name of which has not been preserved (verse 31); while his queen, Râhadâ, gave the village of Chakrahradî (verse 32). Another donation was made, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, by the illustrious Śaṅka[raṇa, the king's son(?)], a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu (verse 33); and at a solar eclipse were given (it is not certain by whom) the village Chhallipâṭaka in the district of Dhavalabharâ and the village Antarapâṭa (verse 34). Several fields, and the village Vaṭagartikâ in the Mâlâ 'group of twelve,' are besides mentioned among the donations to Viṣṇu, after the founder of the temple called 'the holy *Somasvâmideva*, in the mutilated verses 35-37<sup>3</sup>. And finally verses 38-42 enumerate various taxes and tolls<sup>4</sup> which had to be paid in favour of the temple.

The kings Yuvarâjâdeva and Lakshmanarâja, mentioned in this inscription, undoubtedly are Keyûravarsha-Yuvarâjâdeva and his son Lakshmanarâja, the father of Śamkaragaṇa, of the Bilhari inscription (*ante*, vol. I, page 253); and accordingly the present inscription is older than the Bilhari inscription, and must have been composed some time between the middle and end of the 10th century A.D.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, none have been identified with certainty; but I suspect Dîrghasâkhika to be the village Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles south-east of Kâritalâi (or Kareetullae).

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

L. 1. . . . .<sup>6</sup>

2. 'मिस्त्रोणि पदानि वाञ्छनमहापात्राय कृच्छाद्दौ ।

प्र[त्य]चीकृतदान एष तु जनैः प्रादादनभ्यर्त्थितो

ग्रामान्त्रा(न्त्रा)द्वयजातये व(व)हु[तरांस्तु]ष्टान्तरा[त्ता] ७ — [॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>8</sup>—[1].

3. वंशाद्भरद्वाजमुनेरननाहुणानतो<sup>9</sup> धर्म इवापरो[भू]त् ।

श्रीभाकानिश्चः क्षितिपप्रणम्यः शश्वत्कृतार्थीक्षितमार्गणीषः ॥<sup>10</sup> —[2].

कुण्डितधिवणी धिप[णी] . .<sup>11</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The mutilated state of verse 37 makes it impossible to say whether the word *khārīvāpa*, which occurs in it, should be explained to mean 'a field sown with a *khārī* of grain', or taken as a proper name. If it were a proper name, we should probably have here the older name of Kâritalâi.

<sup>4</sup> I am unable to explain fully all the particulars stated in the mutilated verses 38-42. Verse 40 again contains the word *deśi*, mentioned *ante*, p. 130, note 83.

<sup>5</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by the editor.

<sup>6</sup> Of this line only the lower part of about half the number of *aksharas*, which it contained, is preserved; but what remains is sufficient to show that this was not the first line of the inscription.

<sup>7</sup> The last *akshara* of the preceding line must have been नमू. The poet is speaking of the Daitya Bali, with whom he evidently compares a king (probably the Chedi Lakshmanarâja), who must have been spoken of in the lost portion of the inscription.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śārdûlavikrîḍita.

<sup>9</sup> I should have expected to read here वंशे भरद्वाजमुनेरनने यूपीव्रतो.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>11</sup> The *aksharas*, here broken away, probably were सौम्यः, i.e. पौरोहित्यः.

L. 4.

सौम्यो बु(बु)धो न बु(बु)धः ।

अकविः कविरपि यस्मादतिग्रहोप्येवमग्रहश्चितं ॥<sup>12</sup> —[3].

यदनवधिवितानप्रज्वलज्जातवेदस्तततरखरतापोत्तमगात्री धरितो ।

दिगिभसृज[ग]-

5. राजानन्तकूर्मैः समूहे कलितदवधुर्पोडानष्टधैर्यैः कथंचित् ॥<sup>13</sup> —[4].

यच्च ॥

अचीकरत्कुत्र<sup>14</sup> न देववेश्मान्यचीखनत्कुत्र न वा सरांसि ।अविव्यधत्कुत्र<sup>15</sup> न कूपवा[पी]-6. ररूपपन्नामवणानि कुत्र ॥<sup>16</sup> —[5].

अवाप्य यं श्रीयुवराजदेवो धराधरं प्राच्यमिवांशुमाली ।

प्रापोन्नतिं व्यस्तसमस्तदोषां मन्त्रप्रधानं कुलगोत्रचारं ॥<sup>17</sup> —[6].

न संदिग्धे वे-

7. दे द्रवदवधिवो(वी)ष्ठा पदविधेरतर्क्यस्तर्कव्यपनवममतिस्तन्प्रगतिषु ।

य आद्यो वेदान्ते स्मरणनिपुणः काव्यसरणेः<sup>18</sup> स तस्यासीलूनुः प्रथित इह सोमेश्वर इति ॥<sup>19</sup> —[7].

पुस्ते-

8. नपास्तमतिरप्रतिमचरित्रे तौर्यत्रिके किमपि यः कुशलो व(व)भूव ।

हस्थश्चपालनपरीक्षणकर्मशास्त्रे रत्नत्रयेप्यनुपमो धुरि धीमतां च ॥<sup>20</sup> —[8].

एका कला मूर्ध्नि श[शा]-

9. इमौलेरिन्दोः कलाः पञ्चदश प्रसिद्धाः ।

श्रीभट्टसोमेश्वरदीक्षितस्य कल्याः<sup>21</sup> कलाहार्त्तयितुं कृती कः ॥<sup>22</sup> —[9].

मेरुः सञ्चितकाञ्चनैकानिचयः पुण्यतुषारोत्कारै-

रङ्गुतो[धुर]जा-

10. ह्य एव हिमवान्नीद्रो गिरिः स्फाटिकः ।

अर्थिप्रत्तसमस्तहेमनिवहः प्रेक्षकवो(वी)धावधिः

सौम्योसावुपसीयते कथमिव क्षामृच्छयेणासुना ॥<sup>23</sup> —[10].

अपा[स्तुं]कुमं ये-

11. न नवनीतमनीयत ।

वपुःप्रणयितां यज्ञे वशिभिर्दुःकरं<sup>24</sup> हि किं ॥<sup>25</sup> —[11].

अपास्तकाञ्चिर्धृत[मुंज]रज्जुर्गलद्गूलो [ष्ट?]त[दू?]रवासाः ।

अलौकि[कत्वेन][विशे]षचार्य[व्यो]-

12. पितां पर्वणि वेष एषः ॥<sup>26</sup> —[12].

अग्नीदग्नीन्विहर विधिवद्गन्धि होमोपयुक्ता-

मध्वर्यो गां सुचमपि समं चालयाशु सुवेण ।

तसैर्वाभिर्भवतु सविधे गार्हपत्यस्य प-

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Udgiti.<sup>13</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>14</sup> Originally अचीकरत्कुत्र was engraved, but the first akṣaras कर are struck out.<sup>15</sup> Originally अविव्यध°, but altered to अविव्यध°.<sup>16</sup> Metre: Upendravajrā.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>18</sup> It is somewhat doubtful whether °सरणेः or °सरणिः was engraved.<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śikharinī.<sup>20</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>21</sup> Originally कल्यः, altered to कल्याः.<sup>22</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>23</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>24</sup> Read वपुष्° and °दुःकरं.<sup>25</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)<sup>26</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

L. 13.

बो-

त्वेवं प्रोचुर्गृहशुकगणा यच्चनो यस्य सन्धौ ॥<sup>27</sup> —[13].

अन्तर्व्वशिक वासमन्दिरमही गन्योदकैः क्षाल्यतां

वारस्त्रीजन देहि भास्वरशिखा[?]प्रदीपान्ब(न्व)हन् ॥(1)

त्वं सै-

14. रन्ध्र निधेहि गन्धमखिलं रात्रि त्वमप्यादृता

वेपे स्या इति शा(सा)रिकोदितमभूत्सायं [य]दन्तःपुरे<sup>28</sup> ॥<sup>29</sup> —[14].

विश्वेपि विश्वजिह्वोदितमगमन्सप्ततन्तवः ।

[स\*][र्व्व]स्वं ददतस्तस्य श्रीमच्चेदीन्द्र[म]-

15. न्निष्णः ॥<sup>31</sup> —[15].

[शस्तं] यद्यज्ञभूमौ रणशिरसि मदा शंसितं होतृसूतै-

र्गीतं षड्जादिभेदैरतिमधुरगिरोद्गातृभिर्गायकैश्च ।

अध्वर्युः [क]र्मवर्त्यः प्रचरति च करो दानसंसि-

16. क्तहस्त-

स्तस्य श्रीभट्टसोमेश्वरगुणगणे के वयं तुच्छवाचः ॥<sup>31</sup> —[16].वात<sup>32</sup> त्वमाधरोह [भ]श्यति दोला भूतित्रयमात्किञ्चित् ।17. श्रीमत्तक्ष्मणराज स्कन्धमदायस्य दोलायां ॥<sup>33</sup> —[17].

प्रामादोयमकारि तेन कृतिना देवस्य दैत्यद्रुहः

श्रीमच्चेदिनरेन्द्रमन्त्रितिलकेनाच्छादिताशामुखः ।

यस्योच्चैः [पव]नाहतो ध्वजपटः प्रेङ्गन्वियद्गामिनां(नः)<sup>34</sup>

संज्ञां [व्या]-

18. घुटने करोत्यविरतं रुद्धाध्वनोतिध्रुवं ॥<sup>35</sup> —[18].

ऋजुरति व(व)हिरन्तरादधानः कुटिलतरत्वमधःकृतान्यकीर्त्तिः । ।

[पि] ७ ७ इव समुद्रतो विभाति प्रकटविलङ्घितसर्व्वलोक एषः ॥<sup>36</sup> —[19].

19. लक्ष्मीन्दधानोपि पु[रि] ददानो विमुक्तिमादर्शि[र्शि]तैविश्वरूपः ॥

[क]क्षामगाहिष्यत दानवाग्निषोष्यया[य] ७ ७ [वा]मनत्वं ॥<sup>37</sup> —[20].

अलमलसुर्व्वशप्रान्तसंसक्तशुक्लांशुकघटित[श]-

20. रीरेणोच्छितेन ध्वजे[न] ।

<sup>38</sup>कनक[क]लशरोचिर्हृण्डलग्नप्रवाहामरसरिदिह धत्ते केतुतामेव नित्यं ॥<sup>39</sup> —[21].

[उ]न्नतानां परिष्वङ्गो गुणाय मज्जते यतः ।

अपि दुर्द्दर्शनो भानुर्भवल-

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Mandākrāntā.<sup>28</sup> The *ashara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.<sup>29</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrāntā.<sup>30</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>31</sup> Metre, Śragdhārā.<sup>32</sup> The exact meaning of this line I do not understand.<sup>33</sup> Metre, Āryā<sup>34</sup> This correction appears to have been made already in the original.<sup>35</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrāntā.<sup>36</sup> Metre, Pushpitāgrā.<sup>37</sup> Metre, Upajāti.<sup>38</sup> The *ashara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.<sup>39</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

L. 21.

त सुदर्श(शे)नः ॥<sup>40</sup> —[22].

ध्वजपटविकटान्तभ्रान्तिसर्पत्समीरे मिलदभरसरित्केवश्यमस्योत्तमाङ्गे ।  
तरणिरननुभूतं यामयुग्माभिगम्ये निजरथतुरगाणां वातपृष्ठन्द-<sup>41</sup>

22.

[दा]ति ॥<sup>42</sup> —[23].

अस्योत्तुङ्गो[त्त]माङ्गानवरतगमनोद्धृष्टिसीदद्रथाङ्गः  
प्रातः प्रातर्दिनेशो घटयति युगलं चक्रयोर्वीतसंख्यं<sup>43</sup> ।  
शङ्के कूटान्तरालस्थपुटनिपतनोत्था-

23.

— — — [द]ण्डः

सायं सायं जनानां<sup>44</sup> कलयति नितरामक्षवर्गं समग्रं ॥<sup>45</sup> —[24].  
नयति रथमसुद्धेहक्षिणोत्तरेण क्षरति हि दिवसानां कुञ्चनप्राञ्चनानि ।  
त-

24.

— — — — — [मि]रुयातिप्यभिज्ञो भुवमनभिविलंबं प्राप्य सोदत्यमन्दं ॥<sup>46</sup> —[25]

अलङ्घ्यशिखरश्रेणिलङ्घनव्यसनादिव ।  
पातङ्गिरङ्गु(ङ्गि)व्यापत्तिरसपात्रमभू-

25.

— — — [॥<sup>47</sup>] —[26].

— — — — — [व]राहचरणचोदादुदञ्चत्किणं  
पृष्ठं मे तव तत्त्व[णी]तविसप्राया शिरःसन्ततिः ।  
मा गाङ्गमितिपसर्पं निदधे तत्तावदेतद्भुवं  
कूर्मस्यापि [व]-

26.

— — — — — वाहे भवन् ॥<sup>48</sup> —[27].

किं व(व)हुना ॥  
सर्व[प्रासा]दराजोयं नियतं प्रतिभाति नः ।  
यदस्य केतुदण्डायलग्नश्चत्वा(त्ता)यते विधुः ॥<sup>49</sup> —[28].  
स्थेयादाकल्पमेतत्सु-

27.

— — — — — [रसुख्य]-

ब्र(म्)ह्माण्डाधारमूर्ध्नि [दृढ]तरजगतीनिश्चलोभावशङ्कोः ।  
कल्पस्यावस्थिति स्तान्मुररिपुशरणं यावदेतच्चकास्ती-  
त्येतच्चाशंसनं

28.

— — — — — [क्र]रूपं ॥<sup>50</sup> —[29].

न्यवीविश[त्युरे] चास्मिन्नष्टौ भट्टान्वसूनिव ।  
दीर्घशाखिकनामानमेभ्यो ग्रामसदानृपः ॥<sup>51</sup> —[30].  
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणराजो ग्रामं देवा-

<sup>40</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>41</sup> Read "भूतं and वातपृष्ठन्द".<sup>42</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>43</sup> This may have been altered to "संख्यं" in the original.<sup>44</sup> Possibly this has been altered to "जनानां".<sup>45</sup> Metre, Ślagdharā.<sup>46</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>47</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>48</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>49</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>50</sup> Metre, Ślagdharā.<sup>51</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

L. 29.

. . . . . [1<sup>x</sup>]. . . . . दादस्मै ग्रहे भानोः ॥<sup>52</sup> —[31].

नृपानुसत्या भक्त्या च स्त्रीयया तस्य राहडा ।

ग्रामं चक्रहदीमस्मै महादेवी व्यशिश्रणत् ॥<sup>53</sup> —[32].

श्रीशङ्ख-

30.

. . . . . स्मै ।

देवाय दानशौण्डो ग्रहेण सोमस्य वैष्णव७परमः ॥<sup>54</sup> —[33].

धवलहरासंव(व)हं प्रायच्छच्छलिपाटकं ग्रामं ।

भानोरन्तरपाटं ग्रहेण देवा-

31.

. . . . . [11<sup>x</sup>]<sup>55</sup> —[34].

. . . . . [लक्ष्म]कं ददौ ।

तत्समीपे वराहाय चैत्रं द्वादशखण्डिकं ॥<sup>56</sup> —[35].

मालाद्वादशके ग्रामं शासनं वटगर्तिकां ।

स्वकीये शासने श्रीमान्[ले]

32.

. . . . . [11<sup>x</sup>] —[36].

. . . . . [यतेः] ।

श्रीसोमस्वामिदेवाय खारीवापमिहागतः ॥ —[37].

पुरपत्तनयोः स्थानः<sup>57</sup> शुक्लामेकादशीं ददौ ।

द्वादशीमपि यात्रायाः यो-

33.

. . . . . [11<sup>x</sup>] —[38].

. . . . . का तथा ।

नित्यमेकां घटीं गोष्ठां षोडशोदितयं तथा ॥ —[39].

कषायपञ्चके देशिर्द्द्वानमध्ये न्यवेदयत् ।

सार्द्धद्वाविंशमंशं च वा(वा)ह्यं पाद-

34.

. . . . . [11<sup>x</sup>] —[40].

. . . . . ।

[वागू]लिकप्रधानश्च पर्णपञ्चाशतं ददौ । (11) —[41].

पर्णपञ्चाशदपरा दत्ता पायटिभिस्तथा ।

खलभिच्चाश्चतस्रश्च मण्डलं सकलं ददौ ॥ —[42].

<sup>52</sup> Metre, Āryā.<sup>53</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>54</sup> Metre, Udgiti.<sup>55</sup> Metre, Āryā.<sup>56</sup> Metre, from here to the end, Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>57</sup> All this is quite clear in the rubbing.

## XIII.—NAGPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE RULERS OF MALAVA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1161.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., 'C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription, which is on a slab of stone in the Nāgpur Museum, was first edited and translated into English, in 1843, by Bāl Gaṅgādhar Śāstri, from a copy sent to him by Dr. Stevenson, who had received it from Mr. L. R. Reid.<sup>1</sup> And a few years later it was re-edited, with a German translation, by Professor Lassen.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the previously published text Lassen was enabled to use a copy of the text sent to him by Sir W. Erskine, which was reported to have been taken from a copper-plate at Sattārā.<sup>3</sup> On the value of the two published editions it is unnecessary to express an opinion, but I may say that Professor Lassen once or twice has unjustly censured the Hindu translator for having misunderstood the original, in passages where the English translation, if not altogether correct, shows its author to have had a fairly accurate idea of what the writer of the original meant to say. And I must add that, for the proper understanding of some really difficult verses, more help may be derived from the English than from the German translation. I now re-edit this inscription from excellent estampages, prepared and supplied to me some time ago by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

The main body of the inscription contains 40 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 5½" broad by 2' 8¾" high; and beneath it, and separated from it by a narrow empty space, is an additional line about 4' 11½" long. No part of the writing is entirely lost, but the lower half of the stone has suffered greatly, apparently from exposure to the weather, and in consequence many single *aksharas* and whole groups of words are either badly damaged or only faintly visible. I nevertheless hope that, with the exception of about a dozen syllables (in lines 21, 33, and 37) which I have been unable to restore, and a few others which have been marked as doubtful, my transcript may be taken to be an accurate and trustworthy copy of the original text. The size of the letters in lines 1-40 is about  $\frac{5}{8}$ ", in the separate line 41 about  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the beginning of the 12th century A. D.; they include the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya*<sup>4</sup> in *vāshpāmbhalikāṇa*, in line 12. The language is Sanskrit; and, excepting the introductory *om om namo Bhāratyai* and the date *saṁ 1161* at the end of line 40, the inscription is throughout in verse. The whole has been written and engraved with such care and accuracy that the orthography is almost perfect and calls for very few remarks. Except in the word *nirbbhara*, in line 16,<sup>5</sup> the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. Besides, attention need only be drawn to the wrong spellings °*shanna* for °*shanna*, in lines 6 and 10, *nistrīmśa* for *nistrīmśa*, in line 16, *chakshuhkarnṇam* for *chakshushkarnṇam*, in

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal, Bombay Asiatic Society*, vol. I, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> See *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. VII, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> According to Lassen his copy was marked on the title page 'Sanskrit No. 57,' and he believed it to have belonged to a collection of transcripts of inscriptions at Bombay. Having studied Lassen's text as well as his notes, and compared his various readings with my estampages, I feel certain that, what Lassen was told about the origin of the copy sent to him, was incorrect, and that there never has existed such a copper-plate as is mentioned by him. In my opinion, what he received from Sir W. Erskine was simply another transcript of the stone inscription, made by a Paṇḍit and brought to Bombay. To prove this in detail would be a waste of time. It will be sufficient to say that Lassen's copy furnishes no help wherever the stone is damaged, and that its readings in these places are just such as might be suggested by an intelligent Paṇḍit.

<sup>4</sup> This sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* is hardly to be distinguished here from the sign for *sh*:

<sup>5</sup> But not in line 41, where we read *nirbbharau*.



line 24, *tajñair* for *tajjñair*, in line 35, and *vidhadhvam* for *vidhaddhvam*, in line 41. The language is correct.<sup>6</sup> It contains several uncommon words; but the only word which is used in a sense for which I can find no authority is *brahmāṇḍakhaṇḍa*, apparently denoting 'the vault of heaven' or 'the firmament,' in lines 5, 7, 11, and 13. As regards versification, the author has twice offended against an elementary rule of metrics, in line 3 of verse 28 and line 1 of verse 31. The style of the whole poem is highly bombastic and artificial, and the author has not without reason (in verse 57) exhorted his readers to exert themselves well and to make their intellect sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass.

The inscription is a *Prasasti* or laudatory account of the Paramāra rulers of Mālava, from Vairisimha (II.) to Lakshmadeva, the son of Udayāditya and (probably elder) brother of Naravarmadeva; but, compared with its great length, the actual facts reported in it are few indeed. Beginning with seven benedictory verses, the poet (in verses 8-15) tells the well-known fable how on mount Arbuda (or Âbū) the sage Vasishṭha, when his wonderful cow Nandini was being carried off by Viśvāmītra, produced from the sacred fire the hero Paramāra, who defeated Viśvāmītra and became afterwards the founder of the royal family here eulogized. The first king of this family, mentioned by the poet, is Vairisimha (vv. 16-19). He was succeeded by his son Siyaka (vv. 20-22); and after him came his son Muñjarāja (vv. 23-25), Muñjarāja's younger brother Sindhurāja (vv. 26-28), and Sindhurāja's son Bhojadeva (vv. 29-31). The description of these five kings is purely conventional and for the historian worthless. In verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhojadeva's end was unfortunate; and he relates that, during the troubles which then had befallen the realm, Bhojadeva's relative Udayāditya became king, whose great achievement was that he freed the land from the dominion of (the Chedi) Karna who, joined by the Karnaṭas,<sup>7</sup> had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean (vv. 32-34). Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, the glorification of whom takes up no less than twenty verses (vv. 35-54). According to the poet's account Lakshmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions; but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripuri (v. 39), the well-known capital of the Chedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turushkas or Muhammadan invaders alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king's encampment on the banks of the river Vaṅkshu, and contains a well-known play on the word *kira*.<sup>8</sup>

To the above laudatory account verses 55 and 56 add, that Lakshmadeva, at the time of a solar eclipse, had granted, it is not clear to whom, two villages in the Vyāpura *maṇḍala*, and that his brother, the king Naravarmadeva, afterwards assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaka instead. Naravarmadeva, moreover, ordered (the architect) Lakshmidhara to build the temple at which this inscription was put up, and which is said to have been adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by (the king) himself. From this last remark I feel strongly inclined to believe that this *prasasti*, the author of which is not mentioned, was likewise composed by no less a personage than the king Naravarmadeva.

<sup>6</sup> The use of *udbhavat* in the first compound of verse 20, for *udbhara*, I ascribe to an error of the writer.

<sup>7</sup> As Karna is joined here with the Karnaṭas, so the lord of Chedi apparently is joined with the Karnaṭas in the Udaypur *Prasasti*, ante, vol. I, p. 235, line 20.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., above, p. 15, verse 12.

This main part of the inscription closes with the date, the (Vikrama) year 1161 = A. D. 1104-5. The additional line 41 (vv. 57 and 58) appeals to the reader to study carefully and with impartiality and to appreciate properly the poem, here set before him.

The history of the earlier Paramāras of Mālava, down to Udayāditya, has been fully treated of by Professor Bühler, *ante*, vol. I, pp. 223-233. The names of the later rulers of the same dynasty I have given from their copper-plate grants in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, pp. 346-347. All these later records make Naravarman the immediate successor of Udayāditya, and so does the inscription from Madhukargadh, the substance of which is given in *the Transactions Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. I, p. 226. But from the present inscription it is clear that Udayāditya was succeeded by his son Lakshmadeva, and he by his brother Naravarman; and the dates available show that Lakshmadeva's reign falls between the years A. D. 1080 and 1104.

### TEXT.<sup>9</sup>

L. 1. ओं<sup>10</sup> [॥\*] ओं नमो भारत्यै ॥

प्रसादौदार्यमाधुर्यसमाधिसमतादयः ।

युवयोर्ये गुणाः सन्ति वाग्देव्यौ तेषु सन्तु नः ॥<sup>11</sup>—[1].

एक एव भुवनत्रयेऽपि स श्रीपतिर्भवतु वो विभूतये ।

यस्य मध्यमपदञ्चितोऽप्यमी भास्करप्रभृतयश्चकासति ॥<sup>12</sup>—[2].

जातिं वृत्तञ्च वि[भ्राणा]<sup>13</sup> गु-

2. णालंकारचारवः ।

सरसाश्च प्रसीदन्तु सूक्तयः सूरयश्च नः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[3].

दुर्द्धरारिपुरभङ्गभोषणो भूरिभूतिसविशेष[भूषणः]<sup>15</sup>

[रा]जराजकृतसत्क्रियः क्रियाद्विभवंशसदृशः शिवः शिवं ॥<sup>16</sup>—[4].

जाता महार्णवीत्यन्ने ब्र(व्र)ह्माण्डशक्तिसंपुटे ।

महेश[स्यार्चि]-

3. ता मुक्ता जयन्त्यम्भीजयोनयः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[5].

वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरोमालां च माल्यानि च

व्याघ्रानेकपचर्माणी च वसने चाह्नींश्च हारादि च ।

यद्गतिं च विलिपनं च भजते भीमं च भव्यं च त-

दिश्याद्रूपसुमारभारमणयोर्भुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च वः ॥<sup>18</sup>—[6].

वैश्वरूप्यं सम[भ्य]-

4. स्य मीनाद्याकृतिकैतवात् ।

स्वामिन्ननिर्मिताशेषविश्वो विष्णुः पुनातु वः ॥<sup>19</sup>—[7].

<sup>9</sup> From impressions supplied to me by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess.

<sup>10</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>11</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Rathoddhatā.

<sup>13</sup> Read विभ्राणा. The *akṣharas* in brackets are much damaged, but I believe the reading to be correct. There is no doubt about the words जातिं वृत्तञ्च.

<sup>14</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>15</sup> The *akṣharas* in these brackets are almost entirely illegible.

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Rathoddhatā.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

अस्ति प्रस्तगिरीन्द्रगर्वगरिमा नीलाश्रमसानृक्ष-  
 क्तान्तित्रातविडम्बि(म्बि)ताम्ब(म्ब)रतलः श्रीमात्रगन्द्रोर्जु(र्जु)दः ।  
 यस्य व्योमतलीहिलह्विशिखरप्राग्भारपद्माकर-  
 प्रेङ्गत्पद्मपरागचक्रमि-

L. 5. तरत्र(त्र)ह्याण्डखण्डायते ॥<sup>20</sup>—[8].

देवैराहतमभ्रमण्डलमिदं मर्त्येभ्य भूमण्डलं  
 कृत्वा धर्मतुलायमानवपुषो यस्यान्तयोन्यस्य च ।  
 जाने यावदवैतुमिच्छति विधिः किं शुद्धमित्येतयो-  
 र्द्वै तावदगादमर्त्येशिखरिस्तम्भान्नभोमण्डलं ॥ —[9].

लेभे विभिद्य जलधिप्र-

6. धिभूमिचक्रमाकाशचक्रमपि येन दिगन्तनेमि ।  
 संसारवर्त्मनि महाविपक्षे निपत्र(ण)भग्नोन्नतैकतटविश्वरथाक्षलक्ष्मीः ॥<sup>21</sup>—[10].

तस्मिन्नेदविदां वरः स भगवानाकाशगङ्गापयः-  
 पूरणावितकान्तकीमलतटेतिष्ठद्वसिष्ठो मुनिः ।  
 यस्त्रेतानलधूमवर्तियमु-

7. नां प्रीत्यै पितुर्व(र्व)ह्मणो  
 गङ्गासङ्गमसिद्धये समनयद्(द्)ह्याण्डखण्डं प्रति ॥<sup>22</sup>—[11].  
 विद्यामहासरिदुपान्तविवर्त्तिघोरसंसारसैकतविपक्षमसक्तमेते ।  
 यस्य त्रिलोकियमुत्पद्यसंप्रवृत्तमुत्तरयन्ति शतशोऽप्युपदेशधुर्याः ॥<sup>23</sup>—[12].  
 आयातस्य कदाचन क्षितिपतेराच्छिन्दतः कौशिक-  
 स्याति-

8. योचितवस्तुजातजननादानन्दिनीं नन्दिनीं ।  
 निर्ज्वेता कुपितेन तेन हविषा संहर्षिताद्व(द्व)र्हिपो  
 वीरः श्रीपरमार इत्यनुपमः सत्त्वाभिधानोभवत् ॥<sup>24</sup>—[13].  
 राज्यवर्द्धनविशालधर्ममृत्युत्यकेतुपृथुकीर्त्तिपार्थिवः ।  
 वर्द्धतेयमहिमांशुचन्द्रमःसंततिप्रतिहृतिर्यदन्वय-

9. : ॥<sup>25</sup>—[14].

वराजरामराजितोनलोद्भवः सभारतः ।  
 ग्रहेन्द्रचन्द्रयोरिव व्यजायतायमन्वयः ॥ ॐ ॥<sup>26</sup>—[15].  
 नंशेखिन्दैरिसिंहः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूरिभूतिप्रभाव-  
 प्रागल्भ्यौदार्यशौर्यप्रचयपरिचयप्राग्व्यसौरान्वसिद्धिः ।

नमस्त्वापालभालस्थलदलितलुलत्कान्तको-

10. टोरकोटि-

दुय्यन्माणिक्यचक्रस्यपुटितमणिसम्पादपोढोपकण्ठः ॥<sup>27</sup>—[16].

सर्वांशविजयप्रयाणसमये यस्येन्द्रनीलप्रभै-

<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Ratboddhatā.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.

भ्यायूरातपवारणैः शुशुभिरे नष्टावकाशा दिशः ।  
सर्पन्मत्तकरीन्द्रचक्रचरणप्राग्भारदीर्णस्थिरा-  
रन्ध्रोद्भूतविषन्न(ण)शेषसविष-

L. 11.

श्वासावरुद्धा इव ॥<sup>22</sup>—[17].

पातालि वडवामुखानलमिषात्पृथ्वीतलि च स्फुर-  
त्स्त्रीवर्णाचलकैतवाहियति च ब्र(व्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छलात् ।  
[च]ञ्चत्वाञ्चनचक्रवालवलग्रव्याजाच्च दिग्गण्डले  
यस्याद्यापि समुल्लसत्यविचलीभूतः प्रतापानलः ॥ —[18].  
खल्लोकिषु च विद्विषत्स्त्रितिषु च व्यालेन्द्रगेहेषु च

12. स्वारजं च रिपुव्रजं च मुरजिन्नागाधिराजं च यः ।

ऐश्वर्येण च विक्रमेण च धराभारक्षमत्वेन च  
न्यकुर्व्यश्च पराभवंश्च समतिक्रामंश्च पृथ्वीमपात् ॥ ॐ —[19].  
तस्माद्देरिष्टपावरोधनवधूवैधव्यदुःखोद्भव-

13. आविर्भावितनूतनस्थितिरयं ब्र(व्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छला-

यस्याद्यापि विलोक्यते विय[द]धोधूमः<sup>29</sup> प्रतापानलः ॥ —[20].  
अनुगगनमुदस्यः स्थूलमुक्तोच्चया ये यदसिदलितकुप्यत्कुम्भिकुम्भस्थलेभ्यः ।  
सततमपि पतन्तस्तेष्व यावन्न पृथ्वीं पृथुलतरलताराव्या-

14. चमाजो भजन्ते ॥<sup>30</sup> —[21].

अत्याश्चर्यमदृष्टमश्रुतमिदं कस्मै समाचक्ष्महे  
को न्वेतत्प्रतिपद्यते च तदपि प्रस्तूयते कौतुकात् ।  
उद्धृत्यापि दसुंधरामसदृशीं लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)पि लक्ष्मीं च यः  
कुर्वन्कार्यमनेकशः सुमनसामागान्न वैकुण्ठता ॥ ॐ ॥<sup>31</sup> —[22].  
तस्माद्दे-

15. रिवरूथिनीव(व)हुविधप्रारब्ध(ब्ध)[यु]द्धाध्वर-

प्रध्वंसैकपिनाकपाणिरजनि श्रीमुञ्जराजो नृपः ।  
प्रायः प्रावृत्तवान्पिपालयिषया यस्य प्रतापानलो  
लोकालोकमहामहोद्धवलव्याजान्महीमण्डलं ॥ —[23].  
यस्मिन्सर्पति लीलयाणि ललितैः सैन्यैः समुज्जृ-

16. च्छितं

वाहव्यूहविसारिधूलिपटलव्यालुप्तदिग्मण्डलैः ।  
अत्यद्री[न्द्र]करीन्द्र[मञ्च]यपदप्रेङ्खोलनोच्छृङ्खल-  
प्रेङ्खच्छृङ्खलनादनिर्भरभृतत्र(व्र)ह्माण्डभाण्डोदरैः ॥ —[24].  
यन्निस्तृ(स्ति)शनिरस्तमस्तकतया लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)न्यथा दुर्लभं  
देवत्वं स्वकव(र)न्मसु[द्ध]तमधो दृष्ट्वा भटै-

<sup>22</sup> Metre of verses 17-20, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>29</sup> Originally विषदधी<sup>o</sup> was engraved, but it has been altered to वियदधी<sup>o</sup>.<sup>30</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>31</sup> Metre of verses 22-26, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

L 17.

वैष्टितं ।

संहर्षात्पततो विमानशिखरादाश्लिष्य कण्ठे हठा-

दीरा[न्सङ्ग]ररागिणो रुधिरं संभूय सिद्धाङ्गनाः ॥ ❀ ॥ —[25].

तस्यासीदद्य पार्थिवः पृथुयशाः श्रीसिन्धुराजोनुजः

स्फूर्ज्ज्वाडवपावकस्फुट[म]हः[सौन्द]र्यशौर्यान्तलः ।

यः संग्रामयु-

18. गान्तवलिमतभुजादुर्वीतदूरीक्षस-

त्कल्लोलायितमण्डलाग्रप[ट]लिनामज्जयद्भूतः ॥ —[26].

व्रजति जयिनि यत्रामित्रजातेन जज्ञे तरलतुरगवेगोद्भूतभूरेणुराजिः ।

विकटकरटिभारभ्रष्टभूषणरुद्रादुदित इव समन्तादन्तकालाग्निधूमः ॥<sup>32</sup>—[27].

गाम्भीर्यं प्रल-

19. याणवस्य च व(व)लं कल्पान्तवातस्य च

स्वेमानं कमठेशितुश्च [गुरु]तां [व्र(व)ह्माण्ड]भाण्डस्य च ।

तेजः कालहुताशनस्य च महीयस्त्वं द्युचक्रस्य च

स्त्रीकृत्येव विनिर्मितं यमविदुः प्रत्याजि पृथ्वीभुजः ॥ ❀ ॥<sup>33</sup>—[28].

तत्सूनुर्भुवनैकभूषणमभूद्भूपालचूडामणि-

20. छायाडम्ब(म्ब)रचुम्बि(म्बि)तांङ्गिकमलः श्रीभोजदेवी नृपः ।

यस्याद्या[पि] स[माश्र]यन्ति चरणौ शङ्गासना[ध्या]सिनः<sup>34</sup>

स्यर्द्धाव(व)न्धविनम्रनिर्जरनटलोटीरकोटिलिपः ॥ —[29].

रटत्पटहपाटवप्रकटभङ्गर्जरस्फूर्ज्जितस्फुरड्डमरुडम्ब(म्ब)रोड्डमरडिण्डिमोड्डामरा ।

स्फु-

21. टत्करटकुञ्जरप्रपदसंपतत्संभ्रमभ्रमद्भवन[म]भ्रमज्जग[ति] यच्चसू[रुच्च]कैः ॥<sup>35</sup>—[30].

वकुण्ठः कमलासनाय चतुरास्याय स्वयंभूः पुनः

पञ्चास्याय हराय शम्भुरपि षड्भक्ताय पुत्राय च ।

सनानीरपि दन्दशूकपतयेजसं सहस्रानना-

याद्यापि सृहय-

22. त्वमर्त्यसमितौ य[त्कीर्त्ति]मुत्कीर्त्तयन् ॥ ❀ ॥<sup>36</sup>—[31].

तस्मिन्वासवव(व)न्धुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुले

मग्नस्त्रामिनि तस्य व(व)न्धुरुदयादित्योभवद्भूपतिः ।

येनोद्भूत्य महारण्यवोपममिलत्कर्णार्णवकर्णप्र[भु]-

सुर्वोपालकदर्थितां भुवमिमां श्रीमद्वराहायितं ॥ —[32].

य-

23. स्मादुग्रतरप्रताप[पवनी]पारूढदुर्दृशता-

सादृश्योत्तरविभ्रमादभिमुखैः प्रापच्च यैः पञ्चता ।

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>33</sup> Metre of verses 28 and 29, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. The third line of verse 28 has no cesure after the 12th syllable.<sup>34</sup> The akṣhara in brackets looks as if originally स्त्री had been engraved.<sup>35</sup> Metre, Prithvī.<sup>36</sup> Metre of verses 31-37, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Here, again, the first line of verse 31 has no cesure after the 12th syllable.

मन्ये सोयमिति प्रतीतिविततामर्षप्रकर्षेण ते

भि[च्चा] भास्करमण्डलं रिपुभटाः प्रापुः परां निर्वृतिं ॥ —[33].

णकस्यां समितौ विलोक्य विजयं य-

L. 24.

स्यापरस्यां स्तुव-

[न्स्त्री?] — — [वक्त्र?]तां समर्थयति दृग्जिह्वासहस्रद्वये ।

किंत्वानन्दनिमीलितेक्षणतया श्रुतैः सुखैर्विञ्चित-

<sup>37</sup>श्चक्षुःकर्णमकर्णमप्यहिपतिः स्त्रीयं वपुर्निन्दति ॥ ❀ ॥ —[34].

पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्तयैकतरणे; सम्यक्प्रजापालन-

व्यापारप्र-

25.

वणः प्रजापतिरिव श्रीलङ्गदेवीभवत् ।

नीत्या येन मनुस्तथानुविदधे नासी न वैवस्वतः

सर्वत्रापि सदाप्यवर्द्धत यथा कीर्त्तिर्नैवैव स्ततः ॥ —[35].

संभूय प्रियतां गुरुर्व्व(र्व्व)लभराडूः कूर्मराजादयः

सद्यो नश्यत [वा द्रु]तं नमत वा प्रत्य-

26.

र्थिपृथ्वीभुजः ।

चक्षुर्भक्षु पिधीयतामनिमिषाः पांसुः पुरा पूरय-

त्येवं व्याहरति प्रयाणपटहो यस्य स्वनच्छद्मना ॥ —[36].

यस्मिन्सर्पा[ति] वा(वा)न्धवोपि विधुरैः पूर्व्वैः परित्यज्यते

कल्याणस्य कथापि कातरतया नापेक्ष्यते दक्षिणैः ।

आशावलिरस-

27.

त्फलिति विकलैर्निश्चीयते पश्चिमै-

र्मर्त्तुं केवलमुत्तमैर्नृपतिभिर्द्वेधाप्ययोध्यास्यते ॥ —[37].

प्रयाति यस्मिन्प्रथमं दिशं हरेर्जिह्वीर्षयानन्यसमानदन्तिनां ।

यथाविशङ्कोडपतेः पुरं दर[स्तथा]शङ्के सहसा पुरंदरः ॥<sup>38</sup>—[38].

उत्साहोन्नतिसन्निमित्तजनि-

28.

ताजसप्रयाणक्रमे-

णाक्रम्य त्रिपुरीं रणैकरसिकान्वि[ध्वं]स्य विदेषिणः ।

येनावास्यत विन्ध्यनिर्भरमरुत्संचारचारुल्लस-

ल्लोलोद्यानलतावितानवसती रेवोपकण्ठ[स्थ]लि ॥<sup>39</sup>—[39].

जातानि जन्यश्चममार्जनानि वीजानि यत्कुञ्जरमञ्जनानि ।

तटाचलो-

29.

चाटनतत्पराया रेवाप्रवाहोर्मिपरंपरायाः ॥<sup>40</sup>—[40].

ये व्यालोलकरालनिर्भरकराः कुम्भायमानोन्नम-

त्कूटान्ताः कटकान्तभागविगलहानायमानाश्रयः ।

प्रायस्तेपि विरोधिसिन्धुरधिया यद्वाहिनीवारणे

रुन्मीलनदमेदुरैर्व्वि(र्व्वि)भिदिरे विन्ध्यस्य

<sup>37</sup> Read यक्षक°.

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Upendravajrā

<sup>39</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>40</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

L. 30.

पादाचलाः ॥<sup>41</sup>—[41].

स्फार[त्वक्वा]रवारस्थगितगुरुतटीकूटकुटाकटङ्क-

प्रायप्रेष्ठत्तुराग्रत्वरित[ह]रिचमूचक्रच[ङ्कु]म्यमाणाः ।

येनालङ्घयन्त सेनाकरिकरटतटोहामदानाम्बु(स्व)गम्ब-

व्याविडागख्यवन्धद्विपकुलपटलध्यामला विन्ध्यपादाः ॥<sup>42</sup>—[42].

ये दिक्विन्धुरव(व)-

31.

भवः क्षयमरुहोलाद्रिस[त्ता]भृतः

क्रोडाक्रोडकुटस्व(स्व)का[न्ति]जलमुक्त्तव्र(व)ह्यचर्याशुषः ।

यत्सेनादृपगन्धसिन्धुरमरुन्मैवीविहस्तीक्ष्णतै-

स्तैरप्यङ्गकलिङ्गकुञ्जरकुलैर्युद्धा[य] व(व)द्वीक्षलिः ॥<sup>43</sup>—[43].

देवासौ पुरुषोत्तमः स भगवानाश्रित्ये यः श्रिया

32. येनेदं व(व)लिवैरिव(व)न्धविधिना विश्वं समाश्वासितं ।

येनाधारि वंसुन्धरेति दधतः सानन्दमन्दाक्षतां

यस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ वु(वु)धजनैर्व्याजस्तुतिः प्रस्तुता ॥ —[44].

ये कल्पानलधूममण्डलनिभाः कादम्बि(म्बि)नीविद्विपः

संवत्तोत्तसितान्धकारसुहृदस्तुव्य-

33.

द्वियद्वा(द्वा)न्धवाः ।

[व] — — — [आहव]अमनुदे पा[यो]वगाहोद्यतै-

र्यत्सामन्तमतङ्गजैरधरितास्तेष्वम्बु(स्व)धेरुन्मयः ॥ —[45].

कुम्भसंभवसोदर्यं यत्नापाचीमुपा[च्छे]ति ।

चोलाद्यैर्त्री[च]कैर्भूत्वा विन्ध्यवा(वा)न्धवतादधे ॥<sup>46</sup>—[46].

ली[ला]म्भःप्लवने यदीयष्टतनासासन्त-

34.

सीमन्तिनी-

श्रीणि[श्री]णि[विशी]र्यमाणर[श]नासुक्ताः पतन्ति स्र याः ।

ताभिः संप्रति पप्रथेनु पृथिवीं यत्ताम्रपण्णीपयः

पश्याद्यापि तदेव पाण्डुरनृपते[र्जी]वातवे [जा]य[ति] ॥<sup>47</sup>—[47].

स्वामिन्नेष स सेतुरत्रभवतो रामस्य यो भारुति-

प्रायोपाहृत-

35.

शैलशृङ्गरचितो वर्द्धि[ष्णुविन्ध्या]यते ।

इत्या[दृ]त्य कुतूहलेन कथितं तन्नै[जन्तै]रवज्ञाय यः

सेनाहास्तिकसेतुनैव विदधे द्वीपान्तरोपक्रमं ॥ —[48].

अथावभव्योभयथा यमाशां यस्या[नधे] सप्यति सैन्यसङ्घे ।

अभूत्स्वकीयां ककुभं व्यपायाहो-

36.

पायितुं पाशभृदप्यपाशः ॥<sup>49</sup>—[49]

मैनाकप्रमुखा वसन्ति कुहचिक्कालाग्निरास्ते क्वचि-

त्सन्ति कापि तिमिगिलप्रभृतयः कुत्रापि शेते हरिः ।

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>42</sup> Metre, Sragdhara.<sup>43</sup> Metre of verses 43-45, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>44</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>45</sup> Metre of verses 47 and 48, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>46</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

एतदेति न कोपि यत्र जलधी [त]स्याप्य[शेषं] पयः[.]

[पीत्वा] यत्करिभिः कृतैकचतुर्कैस्तै-

L. 37.

रगस्यायितं ॥<sup>47</sup>—[50].

यैः संभूय तिमिङ्गिलप्रभृतिभिः संसर्पिणस्त[न्व]ते

पीताधानसव(व)न्मुतां शिखरिणी मैनाकमुख्या अपि ।

भ्राम्यन्मन्दरडम्ब(म्ब)राणि दधिरै<sup>48</sup> तैरप्यशेषेषु(म्बु)धौ

यत्सेनागजराज[पीव]रकरा — — ॐ नोच्छृङ्खलैः ॥ —[51].

अथातितित्तोरिव राज-

38.

राजमन्यं तदाशां प्रति यस्य यातुः ।

दिधापि भीत्युज्जिभतवित्तपाशैर्भूपैः प्रतीपैर्विभयैर्व्व(ब्ब)भूवे ॥<sup>49</sup>—[52].

आरामाः समरा मरावपि तदा पुत्रागपूगादिम-

हुल्मान्तर्व्वनदेवतायितजयश्रीमयशःपादपाः ।

यस्यासन्भुजदण्डच[ण्डि]मलसल्लोलासिलक्षीकृत-

क्षीणीपालक-

39.

पालमण्डलगलत्कीलालकुल्याकुलाः ॥<sup>50</sup>—[53].

खेलोत्खाततुरुष्कदत्तविलसद्वाहावलोवेक्षण-

क्ताम्यत्कुङ्कुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वंचूपकण्ठस्थले ।

येनावास्थ सरस्वतीसविधतासाधिक्यवाक्पाटव-

श्चाटूनुक्तट[प]तिपञ्चरगतः कीराधिपोध्याप्यत ॥ —[54].

तेन व्यापुर्मण्डले सुकृति-

40.

ना यस्मै ग्रहेन्द्रग्रहे

यद्ग्रामद्वयमग्रियेण विधिना विन्याणितं श्रद्धया ।

तद्ग्राता नरवर्मदेववृत्तपतिः पञ्चात्परीवर्त्य त-

द्ग्रामं मोखलपाटकाख्यमदिशद्देशत्रयस्येच्छया ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>51</sup>—[55].

तेन स्वयंकृतानेकप्रशस्तिस्तुतिचित्रितं ।

श्रीमल्लक्ष्मीधरेणैतद्देवागारमकार्यत ॥<sup>52</sup>—[56].

सं ११६१ ॥

41.

श्री

हंहो वु(वु)धाः साधु समुत्सहध्वं कुशाग्रकल्पां च धियं विधध्वं<sup>53</sup> ।

मध्यस्थभावं च समाश्रयध्वं सुखं च नः सूक्तिसुधामुपाध्वं ॥<sup>54</sup>—[57].

वन्दनीयावुभौ सूक्तियोतारौ तौ विपश्चितौ ।

यावश्च सुधृतः सान्द्रमानन्दालस्यनिर्व्वर्ण(वर्ण)रौ ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>55</sup>—[58].

<sup>47</sup> Metre of verses 50 and 51, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>48</sup> Originally धिधिरै seems to have been engraved.

<sup>49</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>50</sup> Metre of verses 53-55, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>51</sup> Originally °द्देशत्रय° was engraved.

<sup>52</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>53</sup> Read विधध्वं.

<sup>54</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).



## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Bhârâtî!<sup>56</sup>

(Verse 1). O goddess of speech and divine Durgâ ! Let simplicity,<sup>57</sup> force, sweetness, depth, harmony, and whatever other qualities you possess, let them all be shared by us !

(2). May Lakshmi's husband, that sole lord of fortune in all the three worlds, grant you prosperity,—he from whose middle stride even<sup>58</sup> the sun and the other luminaries yonder shine forth !

(3). May good utterances, clad in *jâti* and *vṛitta* metres,<sup>59</sup> pleasing by their style and by figures of speech, and expressive of poetical sentiment, be gracious to us ! And may sages be so, men of taste, of noble birth and good conduct, who charm with the qualities that adorn them !

(4). May Śiva grant whatever is auspicious,—he who, terrific when he destroys the irresistible foe Pura, singularly embellished with copious ashes, and revered by the lord<sup>60</sup> of the Yakshas, resembles this fire-born race,<sup>61</sup> which is terrible when it breaks the strongholds of irresistible foes, is exquisitely adorned with abundant good fortune, and paid homage to by the kings of kings !

(5). Glory be to the lotus-born Brahman who, engendered in the mundane egg which was produced in the great ocean, and, when set free, an object of reverence for Śiva, is like the pearls which grow in the oyster-shells of the sea, and are prized by great lords !

(6). May that form<sup>62</sup> of the husbands of Umâ and Lakshmi grant you both enjoyment and salvation, which, both passionless and passionate, wearing both a wreath of human skulls and flower-garlands, clad both in tiger and elephant skins and in costly garments, adorned both with serpents and with pearl-strings and other ornaments, and both smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes, is fearful as well as auspicious !

(7). May Vishṇu purify you, who, in the guise of a fish and other creatures having assumed one after another all forms, made the whole universe not differing from himself !

(8). Well-known is the glorious mount Arbuda, which utterly humbles the pride of the noblest of mountains, and rivals the firmament with the rich splendour radiating from its sapphire crest. The circle of the pollen of the lotuses that swing to and fro in the pools on its broad sky-piercing top looks as if it were indeed another vault of heaven.

(9). I fancy, it was when the creator, wishing to know whether the gods or the mortals were purer, attached the round of heaven, filled with the former, and this orb of

<sup>56</sup> *I.e.*, the goddess of speech or eloquence.

<sup>57</sup> For the exact definitions of *prasâda*, *audârya*, *mâdhurya*, *samâdhi* and *samatâ*, denoting certain qualities of style, see, e.g., *Kāvyaḍḍarṣa* I, 45, 76, 51, 93, and 47. But these terms should be understood here, not only in their technical, but also in their ordinary senses, 'serenity of disposition,' etc.

<sup>58</sup> The *madhyamaṁ Vaiṣṇavaṁ padam*, 'Vishnu's middle stride,' is the air. The idea which the poet intends to convey apparently is, that, if Vishṇu's *madhyama-pada* already is so high, his *uttama-pada* must be infinitely higher still.

<sup>59</sup> See *Indische Studien*, vol. VIII, pp. 180 and 192.

<sup>60</sup> *I.e.*, the god Kuvera.

<sup>61</sup> *I.e.*, the Paramâra family which will be eulogised in the following.

<sup>62</sup> *I.e.*, the form of Hari-Hara or Vishṇu-Śiva ; see *ante*, vol. I, p. 311, note 47.

the earth, filled with the latter, to the two extremities of this mountain, using it as a balance of virtue, that the round of heaven rose higher even than the top of mount Meru!<sup>63</sup>

(V. 10). Piercing with one end the ocean-surrounded orb of the earth, and with the other the horizon-encircled round of the sky, this mountain has assumed the glorious appearance of an axle of the chariot of the universe, one side of which lies down, broken on the rugged road of this world, while the other is lifted upwards.

(11). On this mountain, whose slopes, bathed by the streams of water of the heavenly Ganges, are pleasant and soft, dwelt that chief of those versed in the Vedas, the venerable sage Vasishṭha, who, to delight his father Brahman, led the Yamunā, enveloped in the smoke of the three sacred fires, up to the vault of heaven, to effect her junction with the Ganges.

(12). His hundreds of precepts, like horses, extricate the chariot of the three worlds, so that it may proceed without hindrance, when, turned into a wrong road, it has stuck fast in the terrible quicksand of worldly affairs, bordering on the great stream of knowledge.

(13). Once upon a time, when the royal descendant<sup>64</sup> of Kuśika visited him and took by force the cow Nandini, which caused delight by yielding all things suitable for hospitable entertainment, Vasishṭha, enraged, pleased the fire by an oblation, and from that fire sprang, to conquer Viśvāmitra, the unparalelled hero, the illustrious Paramāra, rightly so named.<sup>65</sup>

(14). Ever prosperous is his family here, which, made up of rulers illustrious for having increased the realm, who were supporters of the law, whose banner was truth and whose fame is widely spread, is an image of the solar and lunar lines, in which there were the princes Rājyavardhana, Viśāla, Dharmabhrit, Satyaketu, and Prithukirti.

(15). This family, unsurpassed by the blessed never-aging immortals, sprung from fire, and taking delight in the assemblies of the learned, has been propagated like those of the Sun and the Moon, which are adorned by the eminent Aja and Rāma, gave birth to Nala, and include the descendants of Bharata.

(16). In this race there was the king Vairisimha, whose rule was supremely prosperous, because he was abundantly endowed with good fortune, might, resoluteness, generosity and bravery; while the ground around his jewel-inlaid foot-stool was made uneven by the mass of rubies, broken from the edges of the tremulous handsome diadems which fell from the foreheads of kings who bowed down before him.

(17). When he set out to conquer all the quarters, the regions of space; withdrawn from view, were beautified by his umbrellas of peacocks' feathers, shining like sapphires, so that they seemed enveloped in the poisonous breath of the distressed serpent Śesha, rising up through the fissures of the earth, rent as it was by the massive feet of the arrays of his marching ruddy elephants.

(18). Not to be interfered with, the fire of his prowess shines forth even now, in the lower regions under the guise of the fire proceeding from the mare's mouth, on the earth under that of the glittering golden mountain, in the sky as the starry firmament, and near the confines of space as a range of mountains of quivering gold.

<sup>63</sup> Literally, 'higher than the pillar-like mountain of the immortals.' What the poet wishes to convey is, the mount Arbuda is higher even than the fabulous mountain Meru.

<sup>64</sup> *I.e.*, Viśvāmitra.

<sup>65</sup> *Viz.*, 'the slayer of enemies.' See *ante*, vol. I, p. 236, verse 6.

(V. 19). He ruled the earth, humbling Indra in heaven by his majesty, defeating host of enemies in hostile lands by his valour, and surpassing Vishṇu's lord of serpents in his serpent-home by his ability to uphold the earth.

(20). From him sprang the illustrious king Siyaka, the fire of whose wrath was extinguished by the tears, caused by the pangs of widowhood, of the royal ladies of hostile princes; while the fire of his prowess even now is perceived here, in the guise of the starry firmament, presenting a novel appearance inasmuch as the smoke, in the guise of the atmosphere, is beneath it.

(21). The clusters of big pearls, which flew up into the air from the frontal globes of furious elephants cleft by his sword, though constantly falling down, have, disguised as they are as large sparkling stars; not even now reached the earth.

(22). To whom shall we tell this great unseen and unheard-of wonder? Or who will understand it? Yet for curiosity's sake we report it: Although he delivered the earth, although he wedded the unique goddess of fortune, although again and again he did the work of the gods, he never was Vaikuṇṭha.<sup>66</sup>

(23). From him was born the illustrious king Muñjarāja, who alone, with the bow in his hand, put an end to many a fight commenced by hostile armies, as Śiva did to (Dakṣa's) sacrifice;<sup>67</sup> and the fire of whose prowess, to protect the orb of the earth, used to envelop it under the guise of the belt of the lofty Lokāloka mountains.

(24). Even when he was marching for mere pleasure, his frolicsome soldiers turned out in such numbers that the horizon was obscured by the clouds of dust, raised by the squadrons of his cavalry, and that the cavity of the universe was completely filled with the excessive noise of the trembling chains, swung to and fro by the feet of the arrays of his huge elephants, taller than the hugest mountains.

(25). When, having their heads struck off by his sword, heroes had obtained the rare fortune of being transformed into divine beings, and when, proudly viewing their bodies below surrounded by champions, eager for the fray, they were throwing themselves from the aerial cars, they were joyfully embraced and forcibly held back by the Siddha women, clustering round them.

(26). After him his younger brother, the far-famed illustrious Sindhurāja, became king, the fire of whose bravery bore the brilliant beautiful lustre of the roaring submarine fire. As the mass of waves, raised by the fierce blast which springs up at the destruction of the world, submerges the mountains, so the broad scimitar, brandished by his arm, when it was lifted in war, dealt out destruction to princes.

(27). When this prince marched forth victoriously, the cloud of dust raised by the onset of his fleet horses appeared to the host of his enemies like the smoke of the all-devouring fire rising all round from the fissures of the surface of the earth, broken by the weight of his formidable elephants.

(28). In every battle princes found out that the creator had as it were combined in him the depth of the ocean and the might of the wind, as they are at the destruction of the world, the firmness of the lord of tortoises, the weight of the whole universe, the splendour of the all-destroying fire, and the magnitude of the celestial vault.

<sup>66</sup> Vaikuṇṭha, i.e., Vishṇu, uplifted the earth, obtained Lakṣmī, and did the work of the gods; the king freed the earth from troubles, secured fortune, acted for the benefit of well-minded people, and never indeed showed dullness or indolence (*āgān na vai kuṇṭhatām*).

<sup>67</sup> See the first verse of the first act of Kālidāsa's *Sūkuntalā*, and Sir M. Monier-Williams' note on it.

(V. 29). His son was the unique ornament of the world, the illustrious king Bhojadeva, whose lotus-feet were richly adorned with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings, and on whose feet rests even now, while he is occupying Indra's throne, the vivid splendour of the edges of the diadems of the immortals, bowed down with envy.

(30). His army, distinguished by the sharp sound of roaring kettle-drums, by the thunder of loud *jharjharas*,<sup>68</sup> by a multitude of shrill *damarus*, and by tabors heard above the tumult, roamed, filling the world with its noise, over the whole earth, thrown into confusion under the footsteps of his rutty elephants.

(31). Even now, when they recite his fame in the assembly of the gods, Vaikuṇṭha is ever jealous of the four-mouthed Brahman, Svayambhū again of the five-mouthed Hara, Śambhu too of his six-mouthed son Kārttikeya, and this leader of the divine hosts of the lord of serpents with his thousand mouths.

(32). When he had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods<sup>69</sup> in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar.<sup>70</sup>

(33). The hostile champions who met their death facing this king, similar to the sun and confounded with it because the terrible fire of his valour made him difficult to look at, I fancy that they became supremely happy, when, their fury heightened by the belief that the luminary was their opponent, they split the orb of the sun.<sup>71</sup>

(34). The lord of serpents, having in battle witnessed his victory and eulogizing it in an assembly, . . . . shows that his thousands of eyes and tongues indeed serve a purpose; but, cheated of the pleasure of listening when he has closed his eyes with delight, he scorns his body because, bereft of ears, it must use the eyes in their stead.

(35). A son of that sun of the three worlds was the illustrious Lakshmadeva, resembling the lord of creatures in his eagerness properly to rule his subjects; who verily in his conduct so allowed himself to be guided by that son of Vivasvat, Manu, that everywhere and at all times new fame grew up for him of its own accord.

(36). This is what his marching-drum proclaims, under the pretence of resounding: 'Join together, you king of tortoises and ye others, in upholding the earth, heavy with the load of this army! Either perish at once or bow down speedily, ye opposing princes! Quickly shut your eyes, O gods, before the dust fills them!'

(37). When he marches, the princes of the east, bewildered, forsake even their relatives; those of the south in their perplexity take no note even of good news; the princes of the west find out to their sorrow that the creeping-plant of hope bears no good fruit to them; while those of the north throw themselves on their swords, and thus court death as the best and only fate left to them.<sup>72</sup>

(38). When, desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's

<sup>68</sup> *Jharjhara* and *damaru* are names of certain kinds of drums.

<sup>69</sup> *Kulāṅkula* would also mean 'crowded with nobles.'

<sup>70</sup> *I.e.*, Vishnu in his boar-incarnation, in which he raised the earth from the bottom of the sea with his tusks.

<sup>71</sup> See the *Parāśara-smṛiti*, Calcutta ed., p. 626: *Dvāu imau puruṣhau loke sūrya-maṇḍala-bhedinau, parivrāḍ yogayuktaś cā rāṇe chābhimukho hataḥ.*

<sup>72</sup> I take the words *dvedhāpy ayodhyāsyate* to mean, that the princes of the north did what is expressed by *ayodhyāsyate*, in the two senses which these words are capable of conveying. *Ayo*, *i.e. ayaḥ*, may be taken as the nominative of either the neuter *ayas*, 'iron, steel,' or the masculine *aya*, 'favourable fortune.' Compare below, verses 49 and 52.

quarter,<sup>73</sup> then, just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa, so Purandara even was of a sudden filled with apprehension.

(V. 39). When in the course of an unchecked expedition, undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tripurī and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries, he encamped on the banks of the Revā, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains.

(40). The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revā a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river-banks.

(41). Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, taking them for the elephants of the enemy because their tremulous broad torrents appeared like trunks, their projecting peaks like frontal globes, and the water flowing from their ridges like rutting-juice.

(42). He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land, and which were black with herds of countless wild elephants, excited by the odour of the rutting-juice which thickly covered the broad cheeks of the elephants of his army.

(43). Even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and Kalinga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime,—even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered<sup>74</sup> by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army.

(44). Near the eastern ocean clever men thus artfully proclaimed his praise, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully: ‘O lord, it was the holy Purushottama to whom Fortune resorted, who relieved this universe by subduing the enemy Bali, and who supported the earth’.<sup>75</sup>

(45). The elephants of his feudatories, eager to plunge into the water to . . . get rid of the fatigue of battle, worsted even those ocean-waves which resemble the circle of smoke of the all-consuming fire, and rival a bank of clouds, and are befriended with the darkness that spreads at the universal dissolution, when they harbour the down-breaking sky.

(46). When, like the pitcher-born Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Cholas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountains.<sup>76</sup>

(47). The water of the Tāmraparṇī which is famed all the earth over for the pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles on their hips, behold, even to this day that water affords a livelihood to the Pāṇḍya chief.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *I.e.*, the east.

<sup>74</sup> The word of the original would also mean ‘deprived of their trunks.’

<sup>75</sup> The words translated by ‘it was the holy Purushottama’

and ‘the enemy Bali’ would also mean ‘glorious is that chief of men’ and ‘powerful enemies.’

<sup>76</sup> See Mr. S. P. Papnit’s note on Kālidās’s *Raghuvamśa* VI, 61.

<sup>77</sup> See *ib.*, notes on verses IV, 49 and 50.

(V. 48). Respectfully informed by the people, that the dam before him, which looked like the growing Vindhya range, was the bridge of the holy Rāma, constructed of many mountain-peaks which were fetched by Māruti, he listened attentively, but scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army.

(49). When his army afterwards, having reduced both the quarter and the expectations of Yama, continued its march unscathed, the noose-bearing Varuṇa despaired of guarding his own quarter from destruction.<sup>78</sup>

(50). It is surely in some ocean or other that the Maināka and the other mountains rest, that the all-devouring fire dwells, that the Timiṅgilas and other monsters live, and that Hari sleeps; but where this is, nobody has discovered at any of the oceans at which his elephants, in swallowing all the water at a single draught, have severally acted the part of Agastya.<sup>79</sup>

(51). By those same Timiṅgilas and other monsters of the sea, floating about in company with which the Maināka and other mountains appeared like shoals of young fish, by them, unchecked . . . in the whole ocean, the massive trunks of the lordly elephants of his army were made to assume the marvellous appearance of revolving Mandara mountains.

(52). Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings, he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of Yakshas, the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of Kuvera.<sup>80</sup>

(53). And all the time even in the wilderness his wars were pleasure-gardens the trees of which were his fame, reared in the midst of multitudes of distinguished warriors as among Punnāga and betel-nut creepers, and attended by the Fortune of victory who acted as a forest-deity in the thicket of his troops; gardens which were irrigated by the streams of blood flowing down from many skulls of princes, aimed at by the flashing sword which was fiercely wielded by his strong arm.

(54). Being encamped on the banks of the Vaṅkshu,<sup>81</sup> which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turushka whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.

(55). This blessed (king), on the occasion of a solar eclipse, piously gave<sup>82</sup> with due rites two villages in the Vyāpura *maṇḍala*. Afterwards his brother, the king Naravar-madeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaka, at the request of the three places.

(56). And he has ordered the illustrious Lakṣmīdhara to construct this temple, which is adorned with many eulogies and hymns, composed by himself.

<sup>78</sup> Yama, the ruler of the dead, is the regent of the south, and Varuṇa the regent of the west.

<sup>79</sup> Agastya is fabled to have swallowed the ocean.

<sup>80</sup> Kuvera, the chief of the Yakshas, is the regent of the northern quarter.

<sup>81</sup> According to Sir M. Monier-Williams' dictionary, a small arm or branch of the Ganges.

<sup>82</sup> The original does not say in whose favour the donation was made, but contains only the relative *yasmai*, in reference to which the demonstrative *tasmai* would have to be supplied in the second half of the verse.

The year 1161.

Om!

(V. 57). O ye learned! Exert yourselves well, and make your intellect sharp as the point of *kuśa* grass! Try to judge with impartiality, and with pleasure do homage to the nectar of our poetry!

(58). Blessed are both those wise men, the poet and who listens to him, who completely overcome with delight shed plentiful tears of joy.

#### XIV.—FURTHER JAINA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The impressions of the subjoined inscriptions have all been furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer. Nos. i—viii, x—xxi, xxiii—xxxvii and xxxix—xli belong to the splendid discoveries which Dr. Führer made in the Kankālī Tīla at Mathurā during the period from November 1890 to March 1891.<sup>1</sup> No. ix comes from the same site, but was discovered during the working season of 1889-90. No. xxii is identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 19 (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xv), and No. xxxviii with Mr. Growse's No. 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 218). No. xlii is a Buddhist inscription, brought by Dr. Führer from Kāman or Kādambavana. I have added it, because it helps to interpret more correctly a sign used in one of the Jaina inscriptions, and possesses some interest in other respects.

The earliest among these inscriptions, which probably cover more than 1,200 years, is without doubt No. i, which shows exceedingly archaic characters. Its letters do not differ very much from those of Aśoka's edicts, and they look somewhat older than those in Dhanabhūti's inscription on the gateway of the Bharhut Stūpa which is dated in the reign of the Śuṅgas (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 138). It may, therefore, be assigned to the middle of the second century B.C. Its language is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, which shows a few peculiarities, partly traceable in other ancient documents. The genitive in *āsa* from *a*-stems, instead of *assa*, occurs in one of the older votive inscriptions at Bharhut.<sup>2</sup> It may be explained by the substitution of the long vowel and a single consonant for the short vowel and a double consonant. The lengthening of the initial *a* of *āntevāsi*, which is also found in *āntevāsini*, No. iv, finds an analogy in the curious *paryāntam*, which occurs twice in Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra*, I. 3, 9, 23 and I. 3, 11, 33, and has been explained in the Introduction to the second edition of that work (p. v, note 4). The use of the nominative at the end of the first part of the compound *pāsādotoranam* is well known from the inscriptions of the Indo-Skythic period, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 375 and below. Possibly it is found also in one of the votive inscriptions from the Sānci Stūpa, No. i, see *ante*, p. 90.

Next in age comes No. ii, the inscription from the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa. The existence of this ruler was first made known by Sir A. Cunningham, who found another inscription with his name in the Kankālī Tīla, (see *Arch. Surv. Rep.*,

Dr. Führer has sent me during the period mentioned altogether 74 inscriptions, among which 64 are new Jaina inscriptions from the Kankālī Tīla. Those not given in this paper are either very small fragments of no particular interest or not readable with any certainty.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. E. Hultzsch's article *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. XL, p. 60ff., No. 145.

vol. III, p. 30, and plate xiii, No. 1). On the evidence of his coins, which resemble those of Azes, Sir A. Cunningham placed Śoḍāsa about 80—70 B.C., and conjectured that he was a son of Rajubula, another Satrap of Mathurā. The latter conjecture is confirmed, as he has stated of late, by a passage on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's lion-pillar, where Śoḍāsa is called the son of Rajula.<sup>3</sup> Though the precise date assigned to Śoḍāsa may be doubted, still he must have ruled at Mathurā in the first century B.C., before the time of Kanishka and his successors. I do not dare to offer for the present any conjecture regarding the era which Śoḍāsa uses. Sir A. Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) is inclined to identify it with that used by the Mahārāja Moga and other foreign rulers of Northern India. The inscription No. ii is also in pure Prakrit of the Pali type. The next inscription, No. iii, mentions also a Mahākshatrapa, whose name seems to have begun with Ma. It is to this circumstance that it owes its place. Its appearance indicates that it is much later than No. ii, and as it is incised on a sculpture cut out of the back of that on which No. x is found, it must be later than the latter. Still its date will fall before the time of Kanishka, as the Mahākshatrapas of Mathurā must have passed away before the Kushanas reigned there. The *maṅgala* of the inscription, the only portion fully preserved, is in pure Sanskrit.

The next seven inscriptions, Nos. iv—x, which have been grouped under the name "archaic," all belong in my opinion to the period before Kanishka. But I am not able to say anything regarding their relative position towards each other or towards Nos. ii and iii. The chief differences which separate them from the documents of the Kushana-period are the use of the tripartite subscribed *ya*, the want of the loop on the left side of the ordinary *ya*, the *da*, slightly open to the left (which occurs in Nos. iv and ix), and the well developed vertical stroke and symmetrical shape of the *ta*. The *va* has a very curious shape in the word *Śivayaśā*, No. v, l. 2a, as it consists of two triangles with the apexes joined. The language of most of them is pure Prakrit of the Pali type, but No. iv shows one Sanskrit form and No. vii is apparently in pure Sanskrit. With respect to No. ix I must add that I am inclined to identify the Gotiputra Īdrapāla or Īdrapālita with Gotiputra, "the black cobra for the Śakas and the Poṭhayas" mentioned in No. xxxiii of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 396. If that is correct, the document must go back to the times before the consolidation of the foreign rule at Mathurā.

The next group, Nos. xi—xxiv, consists of the dated inscriptions which in my opinion all belong to the time of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Not one shows the name of a king. Nevertheless, I believe that nobody, who carefully compares them with the dated documents, mentioning the three kings, will come to a different conclusion. The dates range within the well-known limits from Samvat 4 to Samvat 98. The characters and the language are of the same mixed types described in the introduction to my first paper, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371ff. I have nothing to add to the remarks made there on the alphabet and the spelling. As regards the language, I will only call attention to a few points. The few verbal forms, *bhavadu*, No. xiii, *astu*, No. xviii, and *nirṇartayati*, No. xx, are pure Sanskrit. No. xxiii, where we have *śishyasya gaṇisya*

<sup>3</sup> *Academy* of April 25th, 1891, p. 397. On an impression of the inscriptions on the lion-pillar, which I owe to the kindness of Dr. Burgess, I, too, read *Rajulasa putra Sudase chhatrava*. But I do not feel quite certain that *Rajula* and *Rajubula* are the same person, nor that the words given above, which stand in two consecutive lines with other signs in between, are really connected.



*Nandiye*, furnishes an exact analogy to the curious form *Haganāmdia* in No. ix of the collection in vol. I, and shows that masculine *i*-stems really take the terminations of the feminine. Possibly No. xxix, which shows *ganisya uggahiniya*, furnishes a third instance. Very interesting, too, are the numerous cases where the nominative takes the place of the crude form, both in this and in the next group. Among the remarkable words I note *asma* or *asmi kshuṇe*, "at that moment," in Nos. xv, xxiv and xlii, *pañña* "fifty" in No. xvii and *dvāpanā* "fifty-two" in No. xviii, among which the latter possesses some interest on account of the Mahārāshṭrī *bāvaṇṇa* and the *bāvan* or *bāvaṇ* of various modern vernaculars.

After this group have been placed thirteen inscriptions, Nos. xxv—xxxvii, which in my opinion, likewise belong to the period of Kanishka and his successors, though it is impossible to exactly fix their dates. With respect to Nos. xxv—xxvii, which show the names of Devaputra Huvishka and Devaputra Huksha, as well as the titles *māhārāja rājātiraja*, the correctness of my view is evident. It can also be proved or made probable for some others, e.g., No. xxxiv, which mentions the venerable Balatrāta and his pupil Sandhi. Both names occur in No. v of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 384), which is dated in the year 25. Again, No. xxxvi certainly did bear a date, which may have been Samvat 50, and the teacher Jeshṭhastī, mentioned in No. xxxvii, is known from No. xiv of the earlier collection, where the name of his pupil, looking like *Mahalo*, has to be read Mihilo, on the evidence of the new inscription. With respect to these two inscriptions, as well as to Nos. xxviii, xxix and xxxiii, the close resemblance of the letters to those of the inscriptions, showing the names of the three kings, must be allowed its due weight. I must, however, admit that Nos. xxx and xxxi are somewhat doubtful, and that they may possibly have to be transferred to the archaic group, belonging to the time before Kanishka. The characters of some of these thirteen inscriptions show a few peculiarities worthy of note. In *pratimā* No. xxix, the *ā*-stroke has been undoubtedly placed below the consonant to which it belongs. This is quite in keeping with the "anyhow-style" of the Indian writers and masons. In No. xxix of the earlier collection (*ante*, vol. I, p. 395, fourth plate), the same vowel has been attached to the lower right limb of *ta* in the word *arahaṃtāna*, and similar instances occur in later inscriptions. In No. xxxiv, l. 2, the looped *ta* of *Navahastisya* is remarkable, especially as the same sign is used for *na* in *bhrātrinaṃ* (l. 3). The looped form of *ta* is common enough in the southern inscriptions, where it first appears in those of Siriyāṇa Sātakaṇi.<sup>4</sup> But I have not observed it on any document which comes from the northern half of India. Another curious sign is the *va* which looks, owing to a continuation of the two side-strokes beyond the apex, almost exactly like *ma*. It is quite distinct in the word *vadhuyē*, No. xxxii, l. 1, likewise in *viḥāre*, No. xlii, and in *Huvishkasya*, No. xxv. As regards the spelling, I would call attention to the tachygraphic abbreviation of the word, *siddha*, discussed in the remark on No. xxvii, in note 2 on No. xxxvi, and note 2 on No. xlii. Among the linguistic peculiarities, I would point out the phrase *bahavo[to] vachaka cha gaṇino cha*, "of the great preacher and *gaṇin*," No. xxxvi, which affords another illustration of the principle discussed in the introduction to the earlier collection, *ante*, vol. I, p. 375. Another amusing instance of the

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. IV, plate Iv, No. 22; compare also No. 20.

utter absence of all feeling for grammatical forms is furnished by the description of the *donatrix* in No. xxxiv, *Navahastisya dhītā, grahasenasya vadhu ... Sivasenasya..... bhrātrinaṃ mātū jāyāye*, where two nominatives are co-ordinated with two genitives.

The next three inscriptions, Nos. xxxviii—xl, belong, in my opinion, to the Gupta period. This is, of course, indisputable with No. xxxix, which is dated in the reign of Kumāragupta. The shape of the letters, and especially the peculiar method of marking the long and short *i*, by turning the former to the right of the consonant and the latter to the left, makes it, I think, impossible to assign No. xxxviii to an earlier period. If my conjecture is accepted, its date, the year 57, is the earliest Gupta date yet found. No. xl may perhaps be a little later than the Gupta period. With respect to the remaining two documents it will suffice to say that No. xli clearly belongs to the eleventh century A.D., and that No. xlii, the Appendix, dates from the Indo-Skythic period.

Short discussions of the historical results, obtainable from these inscriptions, have been given already in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. V, p. 59ff, and p. 175ff, and a fuller one will appear in this publication. Here I content myself with giving a brief resumé of the chief points. First, as regards the political history, we have now, through No. ii, actual proof that the Kshatrapas of Mathurā used a particular era, different from that of Kanishka and his successors. The importance of this fact will probably become still greater when Dr. Bhagvānlāl's paper on his Lion-pillar will appear. For the history of the Kushana kings, we gain through No. xxvi the certainty that the name Hushka, which the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* has preserved and which still survives in the name of the Kashmirian village Ushkar-Hushkapura, was actually used in ancient times for Huvishka. Secondly, with respect to the history of the Jaina sect, we learn through No. i that the Jainas were settled in Mathurā in the second century B.C., and through No. xx that an ancient Jaina Stūpa existed in Mathurā, which in A.D. 167 was considered to have been built by the gods, *i. e.*, was so ancient that its real origin had been completely forgotten. The inscriptions further furnish the new names of the Vachchhaliya *kula* (No. xiii) and of the Vidyādhari *Śākhā* (No. xxxix) for the Koṭṭiya or Koṭika *gaṇa*, as well as those of the Nāṭika, or perhaps Nāḍika *kula* (No. xxviii) of the Aryyabhyista or perhaps Aryyanyista *kula* and of the Sa[mkāsiyā] *Śākhā* (No. xxxvi) for the Vāraṇa *gaṇa*. The schools connected with the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* offer no difficulty, as they agree with the corresponding names of the *Kalpasaūtra*. The Nāṭika or Nāḍika *kula* may be considered to correspond to the Mālijja *kula* of the *Sthavirāvalī*, and there is just a possibility that the last name may be an abbreviated spelling for *Aryya-Aniyasa(to)* and correspond to a Prakrit corruption of *Ārya-Kaniyasa*, another equivalent for which, *Aryya-Kaniyasika*, occurs in the inscription No. xxiii of the earlier collection (see note 1 to No. xxxvi).

No. I.<sup>5</sup>

समनस माहरखितास अतिवासिस वक्षीपुत्रस सावकास उतरदासक[र]स पासादोतीरन[॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>6</sup>

TRANSLATION.

“An ornamental arch for the temple’ (*the gift*) of the lay-hearer Utaradāsaka

<sup>5</sup> Incised on a large ornamented rectangular slab, measuring 4' 2"–9".

<sup>6</sup> According to the impression the reading सावकास is perhaps possible. Possibly उतरदासक is to be read.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the irregular compound, see above the introductory remarks.

(*Uttaradāsaka*),<sup>8</sup> son of the Vachhī (*Vātsī mother and*) disciple<sup>9</sup> of the ascetic Māharakhita (*Māgharakshita*)."

No. II<sup>10</sup>.

L. 1. नम अरहतो वर्धमानस ।<sup>11</sup>

2. स्व[र]मिस महचक्षपस शोडासस सवत्सर ४० (?) २ हेमंतमास २ दिवसे ८ हरितिपुत्रस पालस  
भयाये समसाविकाये<sup>12</sup>

3. कोक्किये अमोहिनिये सहा पुत्रेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आयवती प्रतिष्ठापिता  
प्राय—[म]—

4. आर्यवती अरहतपुजाये [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! In the year 42 (?) of the Lord, the Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa, in the second month of winter, on the 9th day, an Āyavatī (*Āryavatī*), was set up by Amohini (*Amohinī*), the Kochhi (*Kautsī*), a female lay-disciple of the ascetics (*and*) wife of Pāla, son of a Hariti (*Haritī* or *Hārītī mother*), together with her sons Pālaghosha, Poṭhaghosha (*Proshṭhaghosha and*) Dhana-ghosha . . . the Āryavatī (*is*) for the worship of the Arhat."

No. III<sup>13</sup>.

L. 1. सिद्धम् । नमोस्त्वहंद्वाः<sup>14</sup>

2. महाराजमहाचक्षपस — —<sup>15</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration be to the Arhats! . . . Mahārāja, Mahākshatrapa-Ma . . .

No. IV<sup>16</sup>.

L. 1. भदतजयसेनस्य अतिवासिनीये

2. धम्मघोषाये दानो पासादो [॥\*]

## TRANSLATION.

"A temple, the gift of Dhāmaghoshā (*Dharmaghoshā*), the female disciple<sup>17</sup> of the venerable Jayasena."

<sup>8</sup> Compare the Buddhist name *Uttarasena*. *Uttara* probably stands *bhīṃavat* for Uttaraphālguni or Uttarabhadrapadā.

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the form अतिवासि see above the Introduction. The term means here no doubt that Māharakhita was the spiritual director of Uttaradāsaka; for the latter was, as the description shows, a layman, not an ascetic.

<sup>10</sup> Incised on a slab measuring 3' 2" by 3' 8" and bearing the representation of a royal lady, surrounded by attendants one of whom is holding up a parasol.

<sup>11</sup> Possibly नमो, as the ends of the upper strokes of *ma* are somewhat thickened.

<sup>12</sup> The first figure of the date may, possibly be 70. The Anusvāra of हंमंत<sup>13</sup> is not certain. Read समनसाविकाये.

<sup>13</sup> Incised on the top of a small statue cut out of the back of the panel, which bears the inscription No. X.

<sup>14</sup> The second vowel of नमो is expressed by two abnormally short strokes. An accidental scratch gives to ०हंद्वा: the appearance of ०हंद्वा: '—

<sup>15</sup> The last syllable may have been से '—

<sup>16</sup> Incised on the back of a broken sculptured Torana, measuring 1' 2" by 8".

<sup>17</sup> I suppose अतिवासिनी means here, like अतिवासि in No. 1, that Jayasena was Dhāmaghoshā's spiritual director, not that she was an ascetic.

No. V<sup>19</sup>.L. 1a. नमो अरहतानं फगुयशस<sup>19</sup>

2a. नतकस भयाये शिवयशा-

3a. — — ि — र — — — र — काये

1b. आयागपटो कारितो

2b. अरहतपुजाये [॥<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhats! By Śivayaśā (*Śivayaśas*), wife of the dancer Phaguyaśā (*Phalguyaśas*), . . . . . a tablet of homage (*āgāgapāṭa*)<sup>20</sup> was caused to be made for the worship of the Arhats.”

No. VI.<sup>21</sup>

भगवा नेमिसो भग — —

## TRANSLATION.

“The divine Nemesa (*Naigamesha*), divine . . . . .”<sup>22</sup>

No. VII.<sup>23</sup>

L. 1. य — क्ष

2. — र[क्तत्व]स्य च यो मनो

3. — यतनं धनस्य महतः

4. — — [चिप्य]चयं [न] किं<sup>24</sup>

The fragment admits of no continuous translation. It would seem that we have in line 2 the beginning of a verse in the Śārdûlavikrîḍita metre, and in line 3 the middle portion of another. The whole was no doubt a metrical Prasasti written entirely in Sanskrit.

No. VIII.<sup>25</sup>

नमो अरहतो महाविरस । मायुरक — — लवाडस [सा] —

भयाये — — व — — नीताये [आयागपटो] [॥<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

“Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira (*Mahāvira*). A tablet of homage (*āgāgapāṭa* the gift) of . . . itā, wife of . . lavāḍa (?), an inhabitant of Mathurā.”

<sup>19</sup> Incised on the base of a mutilated tablet measuring 2' 4" by 1' 9", and bearing the representation of a stûpa with rails and gate, as well as of two naked dancing women in the same posture as those on Dr. Bhagvânâl's slab, *Actes du sixième Congrès, Int. Or.*, pt. III, sect. ii, p. 142.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly फगुयशस, but I believe the apparent i-stroke to be accidental.

<sup>21</sup> Regarding the meaning of आयागपटो, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 396.

<sup>22</sup> Incised on a small sculptured frieze measuring 2' by 10", and bearing the representation of a large seated figure with a goat's head, of a small naked male and several large female figures, one of whom holds a child in her lap.

<sup>23</sup> The inscription seems to be intended to explain the meaning of the sculpture, regarding which see a subsequent article on sculptures from Mathurā.

<sup>24</sup> Incised on a fragment of a large slab, measuring 1' by 8".

<sup>25</sup> The bracketed letter looks almost like ki, but the lower part of the vertical is faint, and the top so damaged, that the apparent i-stroke may have been only a serif. The Anusvāra of किं is doubtful.

<sup>26</sup> Incised on the base of a beautifully-sculptured square panel (an *āgāgapāṭa*), measuring 2' 10" by 2' 10".

No. IX.<sup>26</sup>L. 1. मा अरहतपुजा [वि]<sup>27</sup>2. गोतीपुत्रस ईद्रपा[ल] — —<sup>28</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

An image of . . . . . for the worship of the Arhats . . . . of Īdrapāla (*Idrapāla*),<sup>29</sup> the son of the Gotī (*Gauṭī* mother).

No. X.<sup>30</sup>

— वे जीवनादाय —

## TRANSLATION.

“Of Jivanādā (*Jīvanandā*).” . . . .

No. XI.<sup>31</sup>A. सिंहं स ४ ग्रि १ दि २० वारणातो गणातो अर्यहाडकियातो कुलतो वज्रणगरित[ी शा] — —<sup>32</sup>B. पुष्यमित्तस्य शिशिनि सधिसिहावे शिशिनि सिंहमित्तस्य सदचरि — — —<sup>33</sup>C. दाति सहा ग्रहचेटेन ग्रहदासेन — —<sup>34</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“Success! In the year 4, the first (*month* of) summer, the day 20,— . . . of . . . . the female convert<sup>35</sup> (*saḍhacharī*) of Sihamitra (*Siṃhamitra*), the female pupil of Sathisihā (*Shashṭisimhā*), the female pupil of Puṣyamitra . . . out of the Vārana gaṇa, out of the Arya-Hāṭṭakiya (*Ārya-Hāṭṭakīya*) kula, out of the Vajjanagarī (*Vārjanagarī*) śākhā . . . . the gift . . . . , together with Graha-cheṭa (*and*) Grahadāsa.”

No. XII.<sup>36</sup>

— — — स्य व ५ ग ४ दि ५ कीटिया — — — — —  
त[ी] शाखात [ी] वाचकस्य अर्थ — —

## TRANSLATION.

“In the year 5 of . . . . , in the fourth (*month of*) summer, on the fifth day,— . . . . of the preacher (*vāchaka*) Arya . . . . (*Ārya* . . . .) out of the Koṭṭiya (*gaṇa*) . . . . . , out of the . . . . śākhā . . . .

<sup>26</sup> This inscription belongs to Dr. Führer's collection of 1889-90. It is incised on the pedestal of a small squatted Jina measuring 1' 6" by 1' 2".

<sup>27</sup> Restore *pratimā*.

<sup>28</sup> As the right half of the *la* has been lost, the name is not certain. It may have been *Idrapālita*.

<sup>29</sup> Regarding the person meant, see above the Introduction.

<sup>30</sup> Incised on lower border of a sculptured panel, see inscription No. III.

<sup>31</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, 2' 1" by 1' 7".

<sup>32</sup> The *i*-stroke of *siddham* has been lost; the Anusvāra is not certain. The *i*-stroke of *aryahāṭṭakiyāto* is faintly visible on the impression. Below the *ja* of *vajjanagarito* a letter, probably another *ja*, has been lost. Restore *śākhāto*, but more syllables have probably been lost.

<sup>33</sup> At the end of the line, the name of the nun has been lost, and probably also the word *nirvartanā*.

<sup>34</sup> The line is mutilated both in the beginning and at the end, the name of the donor or donatrix and the description of the gift being certainly lost.

<sup>35</sup> This translation is, of course, merely tentative; the Sanskrit equivalent is *śraddhāchārī*.

<sup>36</sup> Incised on base of a squatted figure of Jina, measuring 2 by 1' 0"

No. XIII.<sup>37</sup>

- A. स १० ८ गृ ४ दि ३ [अस्या पु] — [य] — — [या]तो गण[तो] — — — —<sup>38</sup>
- B. संभोगातो वच्छलियातो कुलातो गणि — — — — —<sup>39</sup>
- D. 1. — — — वासि जयस्य — तु मासिगिवे (?) दानं सञ्चत[?]म[द्र] — — — —<sup>40</sup>
2. — [सर्वस]वा[नं] सुखाय भवतु ।<sup>41</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the fourth (*month of*) summer, the third day,—on that (*date specified as*) above a fourfold [*image*], the gift of M ā s i g i (?), (mother of) J a y a . . . . . [*at the request*] of . . . . . a *gaṇi* out of the [K o ṭ ṭ i] y a *gaṇa* . . . . , out of the . . . . *sambhoga*, out of V a c c h h a l i y a (*Vātsaliya*) *kula*. May it be for the welfare of all beings ! "

No. XIV.<sup>42</sup>

- A. — — — य १० [८] व २ दि १० १<sup>43</sup>
- B. धितु मि[तशि]रिये भगवतो अरिष्टणेमिस्य [वेवर्तं]? — —<sup>44</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 18, the second (*month of*) the rainy season, the day 11 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [*the gift*] of M i t a - Ś i r i (? *Mitraśrī*), the daughter of . . . . .  
 a ... of divine A r i ṣ ṭ a ṇ e m i (*Ariṣṭaṇemi*) . . . . .

No. XV.<sup>45</sup>

- A. स ३० १ व १ दि १० अस्म क्षुणे
- B. 1. — — यातो गणतो [अ]र्यवेरितो शाखतो [ठा]णियातो कुलातो वह[तो] । कुटुम्बि-  
 णिये [अ]ह<sup>46</sup>
2. — — — — [अर्य] — दासस्य निवर्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देवि लस्य । शिरिये दाणं ।<sup>47</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, 1' by 8". The section C. has been cut away.

<sup>38</sup> Read *asyā*. The restoration *koṭṭiyāto* is highly probable. At the end of the line the name of the *Sambhoga* has been lost.

<sup>39</sup> Indistinct remnants of *śya* are visible after *gaṇi*. The lost piece C must have contained the name of the *Gapin* and the greater portion of the description of the donatrix which is very imperfect.

<sup>40</sup> The impressions point to *mātu*. For *māsiṅiye* it is possible to read *māsiṅiye* or *maseṅiye*, but none of these forms, admits of an explanation. May it be *Mosiniye* for *Moshiniye*? See below No. xxxvii. Restore *suṣvutobhadrikā pratimā*.

<sup>41</sup> Read *sarvasatvānam*.

<sup>42</sup> Incised on base of small standing Jina, measuring 2' by 10".

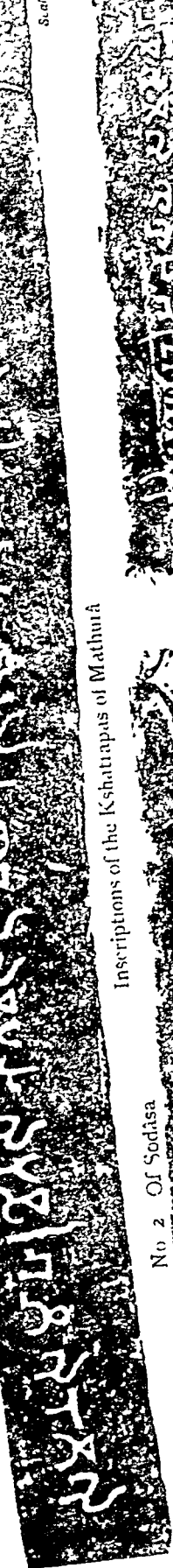
<sup>43</sup> Perhaps *varaha* is to be restored.

<sup>44</sup> The third syllable of the proper name is not certain.

<sup>45</sup> Incised on base of small squatted Jina, 2' by 1' 1".

<sup>46</sup> Restore *koṭṭiyāto gaṇāto; vāhato* (= *bṛihato*). Before *kuṭumbiṅiye* the impression shows a faint vertical stroke, which apparently indicates that in reality the line is at an end, and that one must read on from the beginning of B 2. the last words, which would give no sense, must be read at the end of the second line.

<sup>47</sup> Probably *ganisya* is to be restored in the beginning. As only one syllable has been lost between *arya* and *dāsasya* the restoration *gopāsasya* seems certain. The name occurs in the *Kulpasūtra* (p. 79 ed. Jacobi). After *devilasya* stands again a faint vertical stroke, exactly corresponding to that in the upper line. The proper order of the words is therefore:—  
 कटुम्बिणा वहशिरिये दाणं । शिरिये दासस्य निवर्तना बुद्धिस्य धितु देवि लस्य ।  
 कटुम्बिणिये वहशिरिये दाणं ।

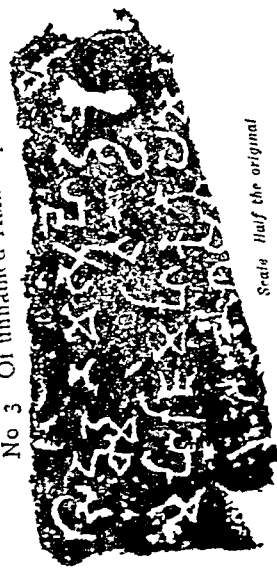


Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Mathurā

No 2 Of Sodasa

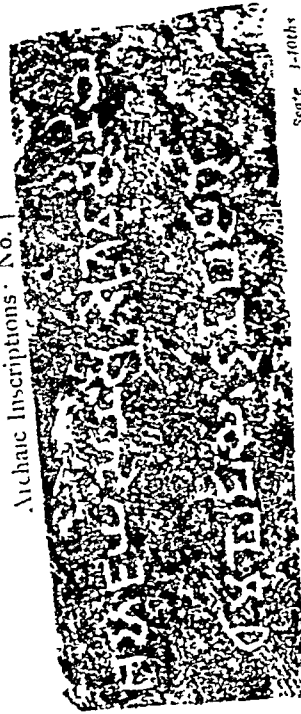


No 3 Of unnamed Kshatrapa



Scale Half the original

Archaic Inscriptions. No. 1



Scale 1-10ths

No 5 Archaic



Scale 1-3rd

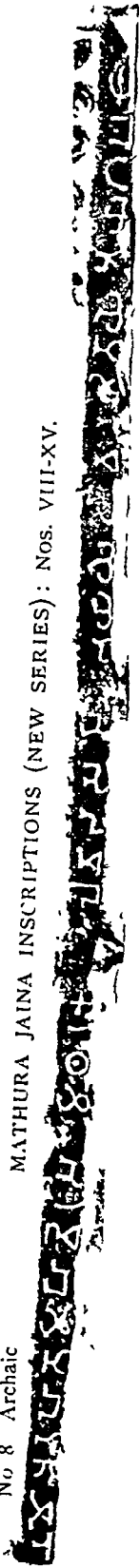
No 6. Archaic.



Scale. 1 3rd

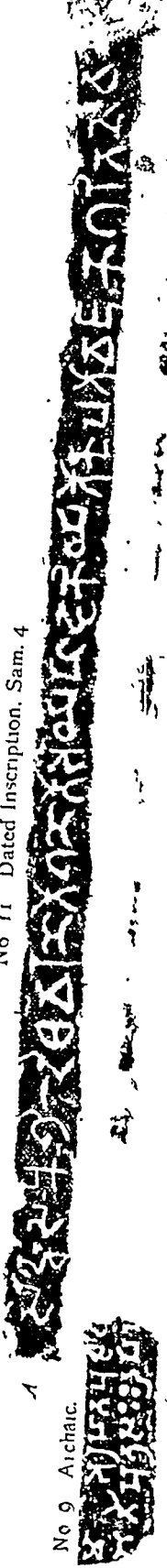
No 7. Archaic.



1. 

Scale 3-1/2 in

No 11 Dated Inscription. Sam. 4

1. 

No 9 Archaic.

1. 

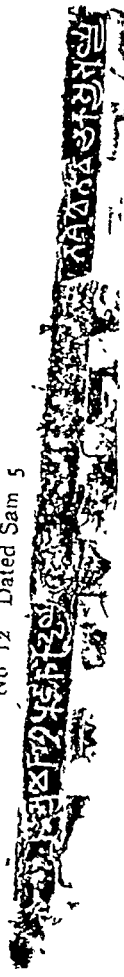
Scale 1 1/2 in

No 10. Archaic

1. 

Scale 1 1/2 in

No 12 Dated Sam 5

1. 

No 14 Dated Sam 18 vaisha

1. 

B

2. 

Scale Half the original

No 15 Dated Sam 31

1. 

A

B

A Führer, Ph D impress

Scale Half the original

No 13 Dated Sam 18, grishma

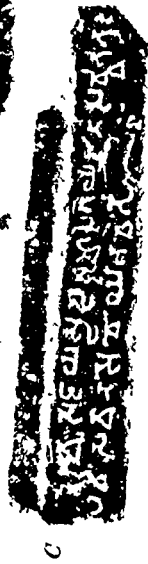
1. 

A

Scale 1-3/4 in

2. 

B

3. 

C

Scale. 1-3/4 in

4. 



## TRANSLATION.

"The year 31, the first (*month of the*) rainy season, the tenth day,—at this moment a gift (*was made*) by Grahaśiri (*Grahaśiri*), daughter of Buddhi (*and*) wife of Devila at the request of the great (?) [*Gaṇin*] Aryya [-Go-]dāsa, out of the [*Koṭṭijya* (*gaṇa*), the Aryya-Veri (*Ārya-Vajri*) śākhā, the Thāṇiya (*Sthāniya*) kula."

No. XVI.<sup>49</sup>

A. 1. सिद्धम् । सव[त्स]रे ३० । २ हेमन्तमासे ४ दिवसे २ वारणातो गणा — — —  
यातो[कु]()[<sup>50</sup>]

2. — — — — —

B. 1. — णि अर्यनन्दिकस्य निर्वर्त्तना जितामित्रय [रितु]नन्दिस्य धीतु बुद्धिस्य कुटुम्बिनिये  
प्रा—<sup>50</sup>

2. रिक्तस्य — नो — ि— प्य मातु गन्धिकस्य अरहन्तप्रतिमा सर्वतोभद्रिका ।<sup>51</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! In the year 32, in the fourth month of winter, on the second day, a fourfold image of the Arhat (*was dedicated*) by Jitāmitrā, daughter of Ritunandi (*Ritunandi*), wife of Buddhi (*and*) mother of the perfumer . . . . . at the request of gaṇi Aya-Nandika (*Ārya-Nandika*), . . . . . out of the Vārāṇa gaṇa, the . . . ya kula . . . . ."

No. XVII.<sup>52</sup>

L. 1. पण ५० हेमन्तमासे प — — —

2. आर्यचरस्य — — — <sup>53</sup>

3. ये युषदिनस्य

4. धित

5. पूषवुधिस्य — — —

No continuous translation of the fragment is possible. The date is "the year 50 and the first or fifth (?) month of winter."

No. XVIII.<sup>54</sup>

L. 1. सिद्ध संवत्सर द्वापना ५० २ हेमन्त[मा]स प्रथ—दिवस पंचवीश २० ५ अस्म क्षणे क[रे]  
द्वियातो गणात[रे]<sup>55</sup>

2. वेरातो पखतो स्थानिकियातो कुलात[रे] श्रीगृहतो संभोगातो वाचकस्यार्यवस्तुहस्तिस्य<sup>56</sup>

3. शिष्यो गणिस्सार्थमंगुहस्तिस्य पटचरो वाचको अर्यदिदितस्य निर्वर्त्तना शूरस्य ऋम-<sup>57</sup>

4. शकपुत्रस्य गोहिकस्य लीहिकाकारकस्य दानं सर्वसत्त्वानं हितसुखायास्तु ।

<sup>49</sup> Incised on base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 8" by 11".

<sup>50</sup> Possibly gaṇāto koṭṭiḍyāto is to be restored.

<sup>51</sup> Restore gaṇi; ritu is uncertain.

<sup>52</sup> Perhaps prātārikasya to be restored, which might mean 'a ferryman.' See below. No. XXXIX.

<sup>53</sup> Incised on base of large squatted Jina, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 10".

<sup>54</sup> Perhaps Āryya kharasya.

<sup>55</sup> Incised on the base of a broken image, measuring 8" by 1' 6".

<sup>56</sup> The Anuvāsa of saṃvatsara is doubtful.

<sup>57</sup> Read śākhāto.

<sup>58</sup> Śaḍghacharo stands no doubt for saḍghacharo; possibly devetasya or divetasya.

## TRANSLATION.

"Success! the year fifty-two, 52, the first month of winter, the twenty-fifth day, 25—at that moment (*was dedicated*) the gift of the worker in metal<sup>58</sup> Goṭṭika, the Śūra,<sup>59</sup> the son of Śramaṇaka, at the request of the preacher Aryya-Divita, (*who is*) the convert of the *gaṇi* Aryya-Maṅguhasti (*and*) the pupil of the preacher Aryya-Ghastuhasti out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Verā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, the Sthānikiya *kula* (*and*) the Śrīgriha *sambhoga*. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures!

No. XIX<sup>60</sup>.

L. 1. सिद्ध स ६० २ व २ दि ५ एतस्य पुवय वाचकस्य आयकर्कुहस्य[स]<sup>61</sup>

2. वारणगणियस शिषो ग्रहबलो आतपिको तस निर्वतना

"Success! the year 62, the second (*month of the*) rainy season, the day 5, on that (*date, specified as*) above, the pupil of the preacher Āya-Karkuhastha (*Ārya-Karkaśa-gharshita*)<sup>62</sup> of the Vāraṇa *gaṇa*, was the ātapika Grahabala, at his request . . . . .

No. XX.<sup>63</sup>

A. 1. सं ७० ८ व ४ दि २० एतस्यां पुर्वीयं कोट्टिये गणे वडरायां शाखायां — <sup>64</sup>

2. को अयवृद्धस्ति अरहतो णन्दि[आ]वर्तस प्रतिमं निर्वर्तयति ।<sup>65</sup>

B. — — — भार्यये आविकाये [दिनाये] दानं प्रतिमा वोढे शुभे देवनिर्मिते प्र — — — <sup>66</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"The year 79, the fourth (*month of the*) rainy season, the twentieth day—on that (*date, specified as*) above, Āya-Vṛidhahasti (*Ārya-Vṛiddhahastin*), a preacher in the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* (*and*) in the Vairā (*Vajrā*) śākhā, gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandīāvarta (*Nāndyāvarta*)<sup>67</sup> . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay-disciple Dinā (*Dattā*), wife of . . . , was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods."

No. XXI<sup>68</sup>.

L. 1. स ८० १ व १ दि ६ एतस्य पुवाय [अ]यिकाजीवाये अंते-

2. वासिकिनिये दताये निवतना । [य]हशिरिये — — —

<sup>58</sup> Compare *ante*, vol. I, p. 391, No. xxi.

<sup>59</sup> I take Śūra, as the name of the family or the clan.

<sup>60</sup> Incised on the upper part of the base of a sitting Jina 2' 8" by 1' 8"; the lower part has been destroyed.

<sup>61</sup> On further consideration, I read the numeral sign, which I formerly believed to possibly stand for 40, always as 60.

<sup>62</sup> The persons named here are probably the same as those in Sir A. Cunningham's inscription, re-edited in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. I, p. 172.

<sup>63</sup> Incised on the left portion of the base of a large standing figure of Jina, measuring 2' 3" by 1' 8"; the right portion is missing.

<sup>64</sup> I now recognise that the second figure is 9, not 8, as I read it formerly. Possibly the apparent *ra*-stroke above *va* may be accidental. Possibly *koliye* to be read. At the end of the line the two syllables *vācha* have certainly been lost, because the syllable *ko* in l. 2 stands exactly under *saṃ* and l. 2 is, therefore, complete.

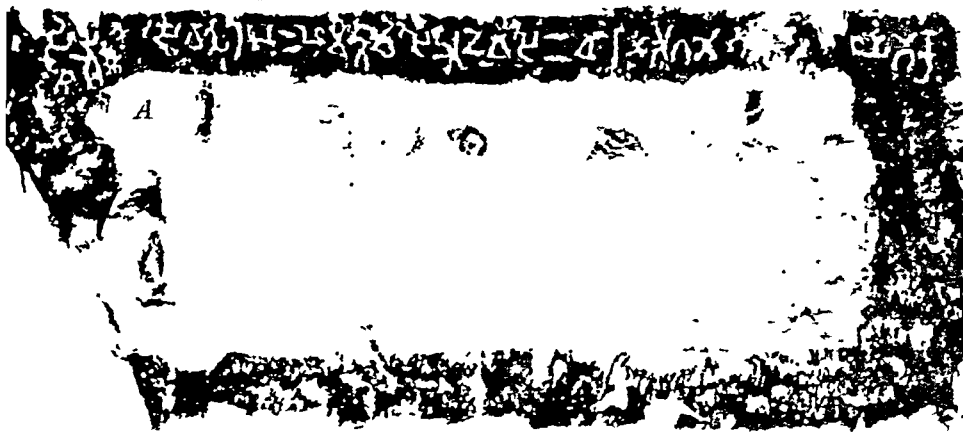
<sup>65</sup> The *na* is abnormal, and so is the marking of the length of *d* by a stroke going upwards.

<sup>66</sup> It is possible to read also *vofve*, which, however, is as unsatisfactory as *vodve*. Perhaps *voddhe*, i.e. *vṛiddhe* "ancient," is meant. Professor E. Leumann proposes to divide *pratimāvo dve* and to take this in the sense of *pratime dve* (two images)? This exceedingly ingenious explanation becomes difficult, because in A only *one* statue is mentioned. Restore *pratishṭhāpitā*. At the beginning of the line stood the name of Dinā's husband, as a small remnant of a *śya* is still visible on the impression.

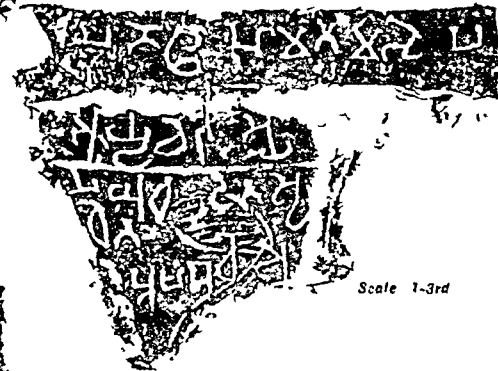
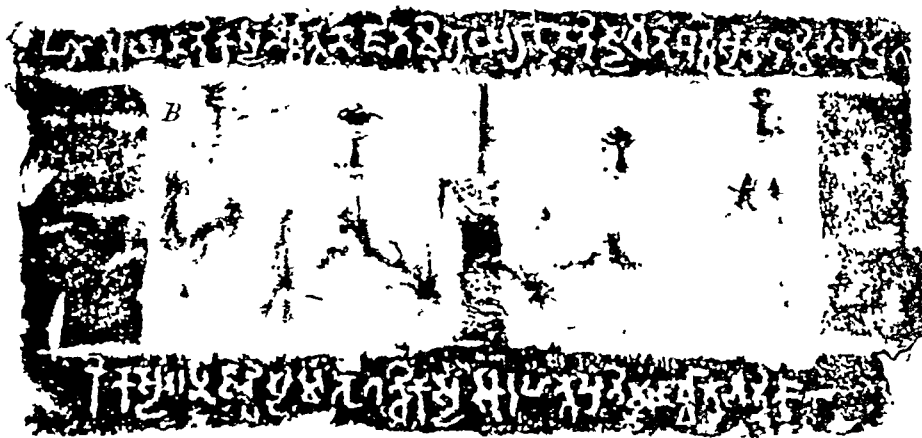
<sup>67</sup> The Arhat Nāndyāvarta, i.e., he whose mark is the *Nāndyāvarta* symbol, is Ara, the eighteenth Tirthamkara.

<sup>68</sup> Incised on the upper part of the base of a seated figure, 2' 5" by 1' 10", lower part destroyed.

No. 16: Dated Sam. 32.



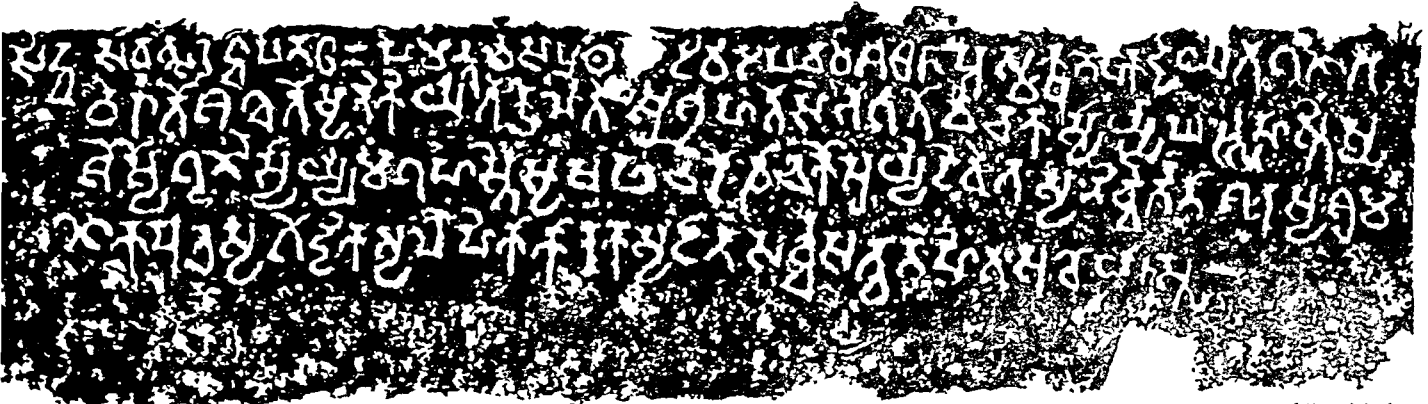
No 17. Dated Sam 50



Scale 1-3rd

Scale: Half the original

No. 18. Dated Sam 52



Scale. Half the original

No 19 Dated Sam 62



No. XXV.<sup>76</sup>— — — — [व]पुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य स — — —<sup>76</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“In the year . . . . . of . . . Devaputra Huvishka . . . . .”

No. XXVI.<sup>77</sup>

A. 1. एकुनती [श]

B. 1. अ[र]ह[तो]

C. 1. — — —

2. वा — —

2. — [ह]रवल

2. प्रतिस — —

D. 1. स्थ म — र — स्य देव[पु]त्रस्य[हु]चस्य — —<sup>78</sup>

2. [वा]सि[क] नगदतस्य शिषो मि[ग क]— — ो स — —

I am not able to give a certain connected translation of this fragment. It is only evident that D. 1—2 gives us the names of the Mahārāja Devaputra Huksha, (*Hushka* or *Huvishka*), and of a monk named Nagadata (*Nāgadatta*). It may also be suggested that the inscription begins with D. 1, because that line contains the group *sdha*, an abbreviation of *sidham*, and the name of the king. The continuation may possibly be looked for in A 1, where the word *ekunatīśa*, the twenty-ninth, seems to belong to the date. The year 29 would fall in the reign of Huvishka.

No. XXVII.<sup>79</sup>

L. 1. सिद्धम् महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य — — — — —

2. ओहनन्दिस्य शिष्येण से — न — — — — —<sup>80</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“Success! Of the great king, the supreme king of kings . . . . . by Sena, the pupil of Ohanandi (*Oghanandin*”) . . . . .<sup>81</sup>

No. XXVIII.<sup>82</sup>A. — — भगवतो उसभस वारणे गणे नाडिके कुले — — — — — खा [य] — —<sup>83</sup>B. दुक्स वायक्स सिसिनिण सादिताए नि — — —<sup>84</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

“[Adoration] to divine Usabha [*Rishabha*]! At the request of Sâditâ, female

<sup>76</sup> Incised on the base of a standing Jina, measuring 3' 6" by 2' 6".

<sup>76</sup> Restore *devaputrasya* and *saṃvatsare*.

<sup>77</sup> Incised on the base of a broken standing Jina, measuring 1' 8" by 1' 1".

<sup>78</sup> The bracketed letters are all more or less uncertain: *hukshasya* looks, because the first letter is blurred, like *pukshasya*. But two impressions show a small curve at the extremity of the top of the right-hand vertical stroke.

<sup>79</sup> Incised on the base of a sitting Jina, 1' 6" by 2' 1".

<sup>80</sup> Restore *senena* according to C. No. 10 (republished *ante*, vol. I, p. 396, No. xxx), where *Sena*, pupil of *Ohanandi*, is mentioned. The last *na* is faintly visible on the impression. It is important to note that in this inscription the initial letter of *Ohanandi's* name is unmistakable and that the reading *Deha*<sup>o</sup> is impossible.

<sup>81</sup> As the other inscription is dated Sam. 47, the king, whose name has been lost, must be Huvishka.

<sup>82</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 2' by 1' 8".

<sup>83</sup> Restore *namo* before *bhagavato*. Possibly *nāṭike* or *nāḍike* to be read. Restore *sākhyām*

<sup>84</sup> Restore *sārvarand*.

pupil of . . . dhuka, a preacher<sup>55</sup> in the Vâraṇa *gaṇa*, Nâḍika *kula* and . . . . .  
śākhā . . . . .

No. XXIX.<sup>56</sup>

ख[र]निकिये कुले गनिख उगगहिनिय शिषो वाचको घोषको आर्हतो<sup>57</sup> पर्वस्य प्रतिमा — —

TRANSLATION.

. . . "The preacher Ghoshaka, pupil of the Uggahini,<sup>58</sup> a *gaṇi* (*gaṇin*) in the Sthānikiya (*°kiya*) *kula*; an image of the Arhat Parśva (*Pārśva*)."

No. XXX.<sup>59</sup>

L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं सिहकस वानिकस पुत्रेण कोशिकिपुत्रेण<sup>60</sup>

2. सिहनादिकेन आयागपाटो प्रतिधापितो अरहंतपुजायै [॥\*]

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*āyāgapāṭa*) was set up by Sihanâdika (*Simhanâdika* ? *°nandika* ?), son of the Vānika<sup>61</sup> Sihaka (*Simhaka*) and son of a Kośikī (*Kauśikī* mother), for the worship of the Arhats."

No. XXXI.<sup>62</sup>

नमो अरहंताना शिवघो[पक]स भरि[या] — — — — ना — — — — ना — —

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! . . . . the wife of Śivaghoshaka . . . ."

No. XXXII.<sup>63</sup>

L. 1. नमो अरहंतानं [मल] — एस धितु भद्रयशस वधुये भद्रनदिस भयायै<sup>64</sup>

2. अ[चला]यै आ[या]गपाटो प्रतिधापितो अरहंतपुजायै [॥\*]<sup>65</sup>

TRANSLATION.

"Adoration to the Arhats! A tablet of homage (*āyāgapāṭa*) was set up by Achalā (?), daughter of Mala-ṇa (?), daughter-in-law of Bhadrayaśa (*Bhadrayaśas*), and wife of Bhadrānadi (*Bhadrānandin*), for the worship of the Arhats."

<sup>55</sup> *Vāyaka* is the Jaina-Prakrit form for *vāchaka*.

<sup>56</sup> Incised on the left side of the upper part of the base of a squatted Jina, 1' 2" by 1' 9", the right side being broken off.

<sup>57</sup> Read *arhato*.

<sup>58</sup> The word looks like a female name, and might correspond with Sanskrit *udgrahinī*. But the difficulty is that it is joined with the title *gaṇi*, which is given to males alone.

<sup>59</sup> Incised on the base of a beautifully sculptured square panel measuring 2' 1" by 1' 11", the central figure of which is a seated Jina.

<sup>60</sup> *Ārahanta* is a mistake for *arahaṃta* and *āyāgapāṭa* may be a mistake for *pāṭa*, but, as the Sanskrit has *pāṭa* and *patta*, the form *pāṭa* is not impossible.

<sup>61</sup> This might be a corruption or misspelling for *vānikaja* or *vāniyaka*. But, as Sihanâdika receives the epithet *kośikī-putra*, I suspect that he was a Kshatriya, not the son of a merchant, and that *Vānika* is the name of his clan.

<sup>62</sup> Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 10" by 3' 1".

<sup>63</sup> Incised on the base of a sculptured square slab, measuring 2' 7" by 2' 4".

<sup>64</sup> The bracketed letters are uncertain. The first may be स.

The second and third letters of this line are uncertain.

No. XXXIII.<sup>96</sup>

A. वर्धमानपटिमा वजरनद्यस्य धिता वधिशिव — — —

B1. — ि— स्य — कुटीबिनि<sup>97</sup> दिनाये दाति नडिम[शि] ये — — —

2. — — — — — — — — —

## TRANSLATION.

“An image of Vardhamāna, the gift of Dinā (*Dattā*), daughter of Vajaranadya (*Vajranandin*), [daughter-in-law]<sup>98</sup> of Vādhīśiva (*Vṛiddhīśiva*?) house-wife of . . . , i; Baḍimasi's (?)” . . . . .

No. XXXIV<sup>99</sup>L. 1. उचेनगरितो शखतो अर्यबलत्तस्य शिसिणि अर्यबल्ल—<sup>100</sup>2. अर्यबलत्तस्य शियो अर्यसन्धिस्य परिग्रहे नवहस्तिन्य धितर ग्रहसेनय वधु — — — — —<sup>1</sup>3. गिवसेनस्य देवसेनस्य शिवदेवस्य च भ्रातिनं मातु जायये प्रतीमा प्र — — — — —<sup>2</sup>

4. [मा]नस्य सर्व्वसत्त्वानं हितसुखय ॥

## TRANSLATION.

“For the acceptance<sup>3</sup> of Aryya-Sandhi (*Arya-Sandhi*), pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Arya-Balatrāta*) [and of ?] Aryya-Balma, . . . (*Arya-Brahma* . . .), the female pupil of Aryya-Balattrata (*Arya-Balatrāta*) out of the Uchenagarī (*Uchchānagarī*) śākhā, Jāyā, daughter of Navahastī (*°hastin*), daughter-in-law of Grahasena . . . . , mother of the brothers Śīvasena, Devasena and Śivadeva, has set up an image of [Var-dha]māna for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.”

No. XXXV.<sup>4</sup>

A. तिये निर्वर्तना

B. 1. तो शखतो शिरिकतो संभोक्तो अर्य

2. ि—धराये निवतना शिवद[त] —<sup>5</sup>

3. — — लनस्य मतु ह[स्ति] — — —

## Remark.

If the two fragments, which admit of no connected translation, belong to one inscription, the occurrence of the words *nirvartanā* and *nivatana* is very remarkable. There is no other instance of the kind.

<sup>96</sup> Incised on the base of a squatted Jina, measuring 1' 11" by 1' 6".

<sup>97</sup> The *ba* of *kuṭībini* is abnormal, being made round and not perfectly closed.

<sup>98</sup> The restoration proposed may be safely made according to the analogy of the other inscriptions.

<sup>99</sup> Incised on the base of a large slab, measuring 2' 10" by 2' 1".

<sup>100</sup> Read शाखाती. Restore अर्यबल्लदासिये or 'मिवाये.

<sup>1</sup> The apparent *ā*-stroke after the *la* of *Balattrata* is an accidental scratch, not visible on the reverse. The same remark applies to the apparent *ra*-stroke above the *va* of *Navahastīya*. According to the reverse of the impression the real reading is *parigrahe*, not *parigraho*, as the obverse seems to show. At the end of the line, five or six letters have been lost, probably *bhaya* or *bharya*, preceded by a male name in the genitive.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śīvasenasya*. Restore *pratishṭhāpitā vardha*.

<sup>3</sup> *Parigrahe* 'for the acceptance' is common on the Buddhist inscriptions of the first and the following centuries of our era. Here it indicates that the ascetics named exhorted Jāyā to make the donation and that the spiritual merit is made over to them; for, the image itself could, of course, be of no use to them.

<sup>4</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jinas, measuring 2' by 8", sections C and D being cut away.

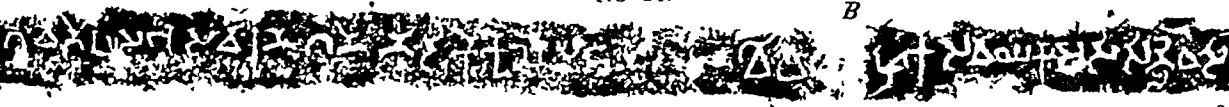
<sup>5</sup> A. the beginning पणतिधराये i.e. प्रज्ञतिधरायाः has probably to be restored; compare below No. XXXVI.

No. 27.



No 28.

B



No. 29.



Scale. Half the original

No 30

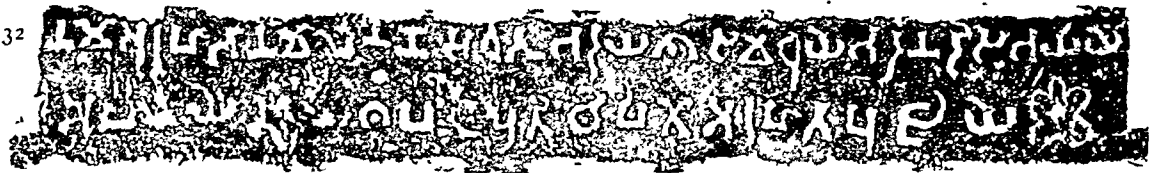


No 31.

Scale Half the original



No 32



Scale 1-3rd

No 33



B



Scale 1-3rd



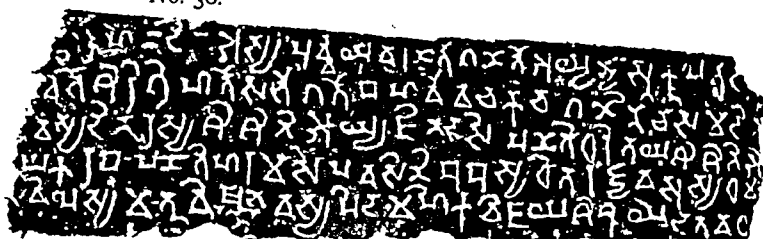
No. 35.

MATHURA JAINA INSCRIPTIONS (NEW SERIES): Nos. XXXV-XLII.



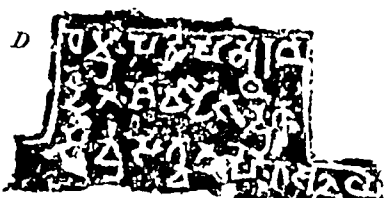
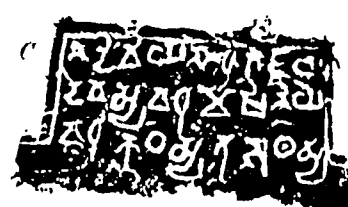
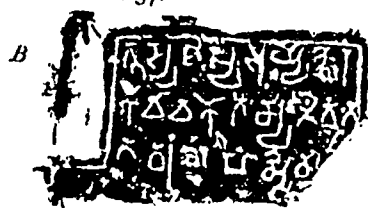
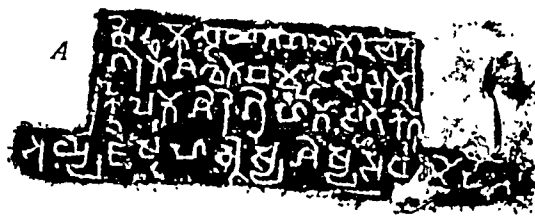
Scale: Half the original.

No. 36.



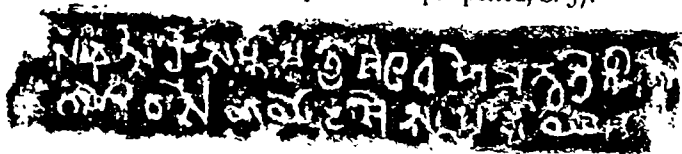
Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 37.



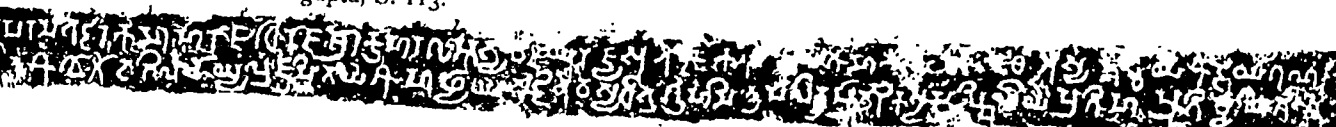
Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 38: Inscription of Gupta period, S. 57.



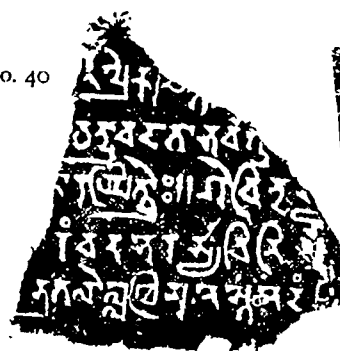
Scale: Half the original.

No. 39: Inscription of Kumâragupta, S. 113.



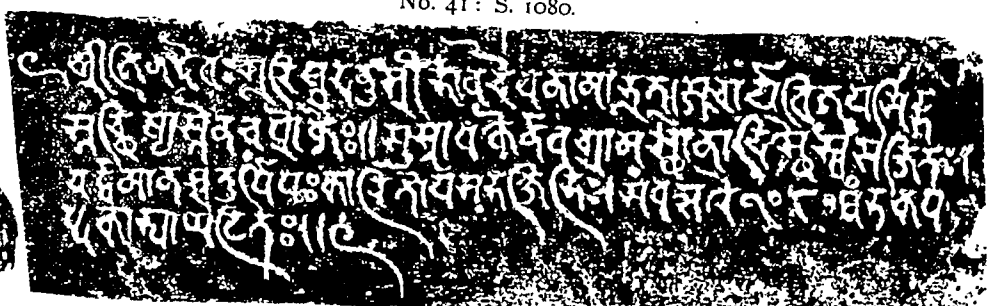
Scale: 3-10th.

No. 40



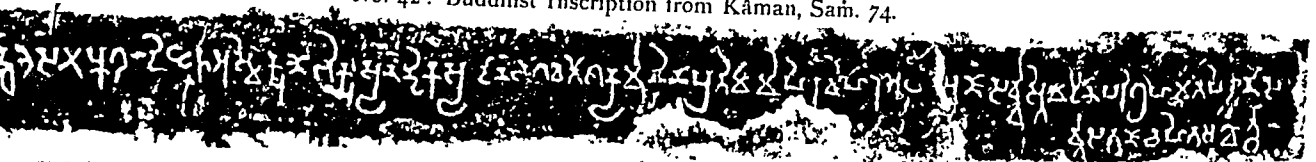
Scale: 1-3rd.

No. 41: S. 1080.



Scale: Half the original.

No. 42: Buddhist Inscription from Kāman, Sain. 74.



Scale: 1-3rd.



L. 1. — — ५० (?) हे २ दि १ अस्य पूर्व्वय वरणतो गणतो अय्यभ्यस्तकुलतो [स] — — 7  
 2. — खतो शिरिग्रहतो सभोगतो वहवो वचक च गणिनो च समदि[अ]—8  
 3. — वस्य दिनरस्य शिशिनि अय्यजिनदसिपणतिधरितय शिशिनिअ — 9  
 4. घकरवपणतिहरमसोपवसिनि बुबुस्य धित रज्जवसुत्यधर्म — 10  
 5. [द]विलस्य मतु विष्णु[भ]वस्य पिदमहिक विजयाशिरिये दन वध — 11  
 6. — — — — —

“ . . . . . 50, (?) second month of winter, first day, on that (*date, specified as*) above, [*an image of*] Vadha[māna] (*Vardhamāna*), the gift of Vijayaśīrī (*Vijayaśrī*), daughter of Bubu, first wife of Rājyavasū (*Rājyavasū*), mother of *Devila* and) paternal grandmother of Viṣṇubhava, who fasted for a month<sup>12</sup> (and) obeys the command<sup>13</sup> of A[yya] . . . ghakaraba (?) (*who is*) the female pupil, obeying the command<sup>14</sup> of Ayya-Jinadasi (*Ārya-Jinadāśī*), (*who was*) the female pupil of Samadi . . . va Dinara, the great (?) preacher and *gaṇi* out of the Varāṇa (*Vārāṇa*) *gaṇa*, the Ayyabhyista (?) *kula*, the Sa[mkāsiyā] *śākīā*. and the Śirigriha (*Śrīgriha*) *saṁbhoga* . . . . .”

A 1. सिद्ध को[ट्टि]यतो गणतो उचैन-  
 2. गरितो श्रुततो वम्हादासिअतो<sup>16</sup>  
 3. कुलतो गिरिग्रिहतो संभोक्तो  
 4. अय्यजेट्टहस्तिस्स शिष्यो अ[र्य्यमि]हि[लो]

B 1. तस्य शिष्य[ी] अर्य्यजेर<sup>17</sup>  
 2. [को]वाचको तस्य निर्वत-  
 3. न वर[ण]हस्ति[स्य]<sup>18</sup>

<sup>†</sup> The first figure may possibly have been 7. In the transcript, I have given the apparently plain, but inexplicable, reading *ayyabhyistakulato*. It is, however, possible that the third syllable may be intended for *nyi*. If this were the case, and if we might assume that we had to deal with a combination of the consonants and a partial omission of the vowels, as in *śdha* for *śidha* (see No. xxvi), the first four syllables might be a kind of tachygraphic representation of *ayyānīyasato* and correspond to *dryakaniyasataḥ*. This *kula* of the *Vārāṇa gaṇa* is mentioned in No. 23, *ante*, vol. I, p. 392. The *Śākha* was probably *Samkasiyā*, see *Kaṭhasūtra*, p. 80 (ed. Jacobi).

<sup>15</sup> *Nirvatana* is, no doubt, meant for *nirvartanā*.

C 1. [च] देविय च धित जय-

2. देवस्य वधु मोषिनिने

3. वधु कुठस्य कसुथस्य

D 1. धम्मप[ति]ह स्थिरए<sup>19</sup>

2. दन शवदोभद्रिक<sup>20</sup>

3. सर्वसत्वन हितसुखये<sup>21</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

“Success! The pupil of Ayya-Jesṭhahasti (*Jyeshṭhahastin*) out of the Koṭṭiya *gana*, the Uchenagarī (*Uchchānagarī*) *Śākhā*, (and) the Bamhadāsia (*Brahmadāsika-kula*) (was) Aryya-Mihila (*Ārya-Mihira*); his pupil (was) the preacher (*vāchr-ka*) Arya-Ksheraka (*Ārya-Kshairaka* ?); at his request a fourfold (image was dedicated as) the gift of Sthirā, daughter both of Varanahasti (*ḥastin*) and of Devī, daughter-in-law of Jayadeva (and) daughter-in-law of Moshinī (and) first wife of Kuṭha Kasutha for the welfare and happiness of all creatures.”

No. XXXVIII.<sup>22</sup>

संवत्सरे सप्तपञ्चाश ५० ७ हेमन्वत्रितो —<sup>23</sup>

— स [दि]वसे त्रयोदशे अ—पूर्वायां —<sup>24</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

In the fifty-seventh, 57, year, in the third month of winter, on the thirteenth day, on that (date specified as) above . . . .

No. XXXIX.<sup>25</sup>

L. 1. सिद्धम् । परमभट्टारकमाह्वाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्यसं [१०० १०]

३ क — — — — न्तमा — — [दि]— स २० अस्यां पू[र्व्यायां]कोट्टिया गणा-<sup>26</sup>

2. द्वियाधरी[तो] शाखातो दतिलाचाय्यप्रज्ञपितायै शमादयायै भट्टिभवस्य धीतु ग्रहमिस्रपा-  
लि[त]प्रा[ता]रिकस्य कुटुम्बिनीये प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ।<sup>27</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

“Success! In the year 113, in the victorious reign of the supreme lord and supreme king of great kings, the illustrious Kumāragupta, on the twentieth day [of the winter-month] Kārttika—on that (date, specified as) above an image was set up by Śāmādhya (*Śyāmādhya*), daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava (and) house-wife of the ferry-

<sup>19</sup> *Dhamrapatiha* seems to be a misspelling of *dharmapatiye* with *dhama* for *dharma*. Compare the forms of the Girnār version of Aśoka's rock-edicts *drabhiptā* for *drabhiptā*, *tiṣṭanti* for *tiṣṭanti*, and so forth.

<sup>20</sup> Meant for *dānaṃ sarvatobhadrikā* viz. *pratimā*.

<sup>21</sup> Meant for *sarvasatāna hitasukhāye*. The spelling *sarava* for *sarva* is not uncommon in bad MSS.

<sup>22</sup> This is Mr. Growse's No. 5 (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 219). It is incised on the base of a small statue, now preserved in the Mathurā Museum,

<sup>23</sup> Read *hemanta*; restore *tritiya* or *tritiye*.

<sup>24</sup> Restore *māse* and *asyām*.

<sup>25</sup> Incised on the base of a large sitting Jina, measuring 3' 8" by 2' 7".

<sup>26</sup> Read *-mahādhya-*; restore *kārttikahemantamāsasya divase*.

<sup>27</sup> Read *ḍatīlāchāryya*.—Possibly *prābhārikasya* is to be read,

man (?) Grahamittrapālita,<sup>29</sup> who had received the command (to make the dedication) from Datilāchāyya (*Dattilāchārya*) out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* (and) the Vidyā-dharī *Sākhā*."

No. XL.<sup>29</sup>

- L. 1. —प्रीक[रच त]<sup>30</sup>  
 2. चन्द्रावदाता भवतु  
 3. तारयिष्योः ॥ गोविन्दस्य  
 4. रं वडभेरस्या विनि.—  
 5. भतलीलेखि मुनेस्तेनेदं

This fragment, of which no continuous translation is possible, belongs to a longer metrical *Prasasti*, which apparently recorded the building or restoration of a temple. For the remnant of line 5 says :—"By him this . . . of the sage, which touches the sky." It is evident that a word like *गृहम्* or *आयतनम्* has been lost. The verses to which the pieces in lines 2, 3 and 5 belong, seem to have been in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

No. XLI.<sup>31</sup>

- L. 1. ओ ओजिनदेवः स्मरिस्तदनु श्रीभावदेवनामाभूत् ।  
 आचार्यविजयसिङ्ग-  
 2. स्तच्छिष्यस्तेन च प्रोक्तैः ॥ [१॥]<sup>32</sup>  
 सुखावकैर्नवग्रामस्थानादिस्यै स्वसक्तिः ।  
 3. वर्धमानश्चतुर्विवः कारितोयं सभक्तिभिः । [१२॥]<sup>33</sup>  
 संवत्सरै १०८० धंभकप-  
 4. प्यकाभ्यां घटितः ॥ ओ<sup>34</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

"Om! The illustrious Jinadeva (*was*) a Sūri; after him was he who is named the illustrious Bhāvadeva. His pupil (*is*) the *Āchārya* Vijayasīṅga (*Vijaya-simha*). Exhorted by him the virtuous laymen, who reside in Navagrāma, Sthāna and other (*towns*), caused to be made, full of devotion, (*and*) in accordance with their means, this fourfold Vardhamāna; it was fashioned in the [*Vikrama*] year<sup>35</sup> 1080 by Thāmbhaka and Pappaka. Om!"

<sup>29</sup> The translation of *prālārika* by "ferryman" seems to be justified by the use of *prātri*, which frequently means "to carry over in a ship or boat."

<sup>30</sup> Incised on the back of a large broken slab, the surface of which is beautifully carved.

<sup>31</sup> Only the lower portions of the bracketed syllables are visible.

<sup>32</sup> Incised on the base of a quadruple image of four sitting Jinas, measuring 2' 5" by 1' 3".

<sup>33</sup> Read ओ. Both here and at the end of the inscription, the word is expressed by the symbol resembling the figure 9. Read -*vijayasimha*—.

<sup>34</sup> Read *suśrāvalair; sthāih, svasaktitāh*.

<sup>35</sup> Read *संवत्सरै*

<sup>36</sup> It is evident from the characters, which show the common Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.D., that the era must be the Vikrama Samvat, and that the date corresponds to A. D. 1022—24, accordingly as the year was expired or current and a northern or a southern one. This donation was, therefore, made within five years after Mahmud's expedition against Mathurā (A.H. 409) during which the temples of the town are said to have been burnt (Elliot, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 456ff.). Probably the Jaina temples of the Kankālī Tila escaped destruction; for, it seems hardly likely that they could have been rebuilt so quickly.

No. XLII.<sup>36</sup>

- L. 1. सिद्धं । सं ७० ४ ष्ट १ दि १० ५ अस्मि क्षणे भिक्षुस्य नन्दिकस्य दानं भगवतो शक्यमुनिना  
प्रतिमा मिहिरविहारे अ[चार्या]णां सर्वस्तिवादीनां परिग्रहे मातपितृणां स.<sup>37</sup>  
2. वस[त]णा च हितसुखार्थं ।<sup>38</sup>

TRANSLATION.

"Success! The year 74, the first (*month of*) summer, the fifteenth day,—at that moment, a statue of divine Śākyamuni (*Śākyamuni, was set up as*) the gift of the monk Nandika in the Mihiravihāra, for the acceptance of the Sarvastivādi, (*Sarvāstivādin*) teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (*the donor's*) parents and of all creatures."

### XV.—SANGAMNER COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YADAVA BHILLAMA II.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 922.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit this inscription from excellent impressions prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Western India. The original plates belong to an inhabitant of Sangamner, in the Sangamner Sub-Division of the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay Presidency.

The inscription is on three plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and which are held together by a ring, bearing a Garuḍa as seal.<sup>1</sup> Each plate measures about  $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by  $13\frac{1}{4}$ " high. The first plate contains 28, and the last 22 lines of writing; on the front of the second plate are 37, and on the back 29 lines. Below the writing on the third plate, in the proper right corner, the figure of a conch-shell is engraved; and the same plate, in line 110, contains an ornamental device, shaped like an open flower. The plates are on the whole well preserved, but in the upper part of the second plate the writing on both sides has suffered slightly from corrosion, and in consequence a few *akṣaras*, of no great importance, have become illegible. As may be inferred from the numbers of lines on the several plates, the writing, though done by one and the same writer, is wanting in uniformity. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{5}{8}$ " on the first and last plates and on the lower part of the back of the second plate, but only between  $\frac{3}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " on the front and at the top of the back of the second plate. The characters are those of the ordinary Nāgarī alphabet of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Saṁskṛit, but the names of the Brāhmanas, men-

<sup>36</sup> Incised on the base of a large seated Buddha, found in the town of Kāman.

<sup>37</sup> The curve open to the left with a small horizontal bar in the centre is, as now appears, a peculiar form of the full-stop. It occurs also in No. ix of the collection, published *ante*, vol. I, p. 387. There I failed to recognise its value (see note 6), because I misread the preceding sign as *śū*. The latter is, as I now recognise, *śha*, the abbreviation for *śidha*, which occurs also in No. xxiv of the earlier collection as *śhi* and as *śha* in No. xxvi of the present one. The first numeral sign may also be read as 40. The vowels of the bracketed syllables are not certain. Possibly the stone has *māḍā*, which has to be restored in any case. The long *ri*-vowel in *pitrindā* is plainly expressed on the impression by a curved stroke slanting to the left, to which a second stroke is attached.

<sup>38</sup> The third sign of *sarvasatvanā* is so badly injured that it is impossible to say if it was not *tvā*. The vowel of the last sign is perfectly plain on the impression.

I owe this information to Mr. Cousens

tioned in lines 66-77, and the name of the writer in line 114 are given in their vernacular forms (*Keśavainpādhyāyena* for *Keśavopādhyāyena*, in line 114, *Nāraṇaiupādhyāya* for *Nārāyaṇopādhyāya*, in line 66, *Vidyādharaīāya* for *Vidyādharaīya*, and *Śrīdharaiupādhyāya* for *Śrīdharopādhyāya*, in line 67, etc.). Besides, attention may be drawn to the term *khaśrevādhā*, in line 88, which is equivalent to the expression *khaśrāvādhā* of the Sīyadōpi inscription, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165; and to the title or *biruda sellaviḍega*, which does not look like Sanskrit and which I am unable to explain, in line 51. Excepting the words *om namaḥ Sivāya* and a date in lines 1-2, the first part of the inscription which treats of the genealogy of the grantor, up to line 45, or perhaps 47, is in verse. The formal part of the grant, beginning with line 48, is in prose, but quotes a large number of benedictive and imprecatory verses,<sup>2</sup> in lines 55-61, 89-98, 102-106, and 108-110; and another verse, asking the reader's indulgence for any clerical mistakes which the writing may be found to contain, is given in lines 114-116. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal, *e.g.*, in *Sivāya*, l. 1, *īsaḥ*, l. 6, *visālaḥ*, l. 26; and the palatal occurs instead of the dental in *śamsāra*, l. 60, and *śakala*, l. 82. Besides, the vowel *ṛi* is employed instead of *ri* in *Aṭṛi*, l. 10, and *ṭṛigrāmī*, l. 84, and *ri* in the place of *ṛi* in the word *riṣayaḥ*, l. 95. Altogether the inscription has not been written carefully, and, though corrected in several places, it is by no means free from serious mistakes. The rules of *saṃdhi* are frequently disregarded; the verses of the genealogical portion are only partially numbered or have wrong numbers appended to them; single *akṣaras* and whole words or groups of words are either given quite wrongly or left out; and I hope to prove below that even one or more whole lines have been omitted by the writer.

The inscription is one of the *Mahāsāmanta* Bhīllama II., and it is the earliest record, hitherto discovered, of the Yādava dynasty (of Devagiri). After the words 'om, adoration to Śiva', it gives (in lines 1-2), both in words and in figures, the date—the Śaka year 922. It then has (in lines 2-7) two verses, one of which glorifies Śiva (Chandramauli), while the other invokes the god's blessing on Bhīllama, the donor of this grant. The genealogy of Bhīllama forms the subject of lines 7-47. Of these, lines 7-22 are of no importance because, beginning with the god Śambhu, they merely contain an account of the descent of the mythical prince Yadu, the reputed founder of the Yādava family,—the intermediate beings mentioned being Brahman, Marīchi, Atri, Indu, Purūravas, Āyus, Naghusha, and Yayāti. Nor do the following lines, from 23 to 34, record anything that was not known before.<sup>3</sup> The first historical prince spoken of is Seṇachandra (lines 22-26), who here as elsewhere is reported to have called his dominion (*maṇḍala*) and the people of it after himself. His son was the prince Dhāḍi[yappa]<sup>4</sup> (lines 26-28). After him came, evidently his son, the prince Bhīllama I. (lines 28-33).<sup>5</sup> And he again was succeeded by his son, the prince Rājān or Rāja, called elsewhere Śrīrāja or Rājagi.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription resembles in this the Kalas-Budrūkh grant of Bhīllama III., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Compare, in addition to the Kalas-Budrūkh plates of Bhīllama III., the Fassein grant of Seṇachandra II., *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 119, and Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, pp. 75-77.

<sup>4</sup> See note 40, below.

<sup>5</sup> Bhīllama provided the god Somanātha (or Śiva), at the place where this inscription was composed, with a valuable head-dress or turban.

From the end of line 34 our inscription becomes more interesting, but also presents some serious difficulties. According to the Kalas-Budrûkh plates of Bhillama III. and the Bassein grant of Seunachandra II., Śrīrāja was succeeded by his son Vaddiga, and he again by Bhillama II., who married Lakshmī or Lachchhiavvā, a lady born in the Rāshtrakûṭa family.<sup>6</sup> The present grant first tells us (in lines 34-40) that from Rājan or Rāja sprang the prince Vandiga (the Vaddiga of the other plates), a great warrior, who was a follower or feudatory of the illustrious king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, and that this Vandiga married the lady Voddīyavvā,<sup>7</sup> a daughter of the great prince (*mahānṛipa*), the illustrious Dhorappa. It then has to be referred, as the text stands, to the same Vandiga, two verses (in lines 40-45), the first of which glorifies (as it seems) Vandiga for having in battle destroyed the fortune of the great prince Muñja,<sup>8</sup> and for having thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Ranaraṅgabhīma; while the second verse, among the advantages or blessings which he enjoyed, besides recording that Sindinagara was his residence, somewhat pointedly enumerates the fact that Lakshmī incarnate, or in visible shape, always dwelt in his house, full of joy. After these verses, what may be called the poetical part of our inscription contains three more lines (45-47), which read like fragments of verses or like verses turned somehow into prose, in praise of a new Śiva-temple, called *Vijayābharāṇātha*; but there is no indication as to who erected this temple or why it is mentioned here at all, an omission which must appear the more remarkable because this temple is poetically described as the collected fame, or the fame in bodily form, clearly of its founder who is not named.

The grant recorded in this inscription was made by Bhillama II., and there can be no doubt that the genealogy given in the introductory *praśasti* should have been continued to, and that the author who composed it did bring it down to, that Bhillama. Moreover, I consider it to be perfectly certain that the Lakshmī, spoken of in line 43, is the Lakshmī or Lachchhiavvā of the other grants, the wife of Bhillama, the donor of this grant; and I feel almost as sure that the temple, spoken of in lines 45-47, which, or the god worshipped in which, was named *Vijayābharāṇātha*, was founded either by Bhillama himself one of whose titles or *birudas*, as we learn from line 51, was *Vijayābharāṇa*, or by his wife. I am thus driven to the conclusion that the writer, who copied this inscription, has omitted at least two verses, one verse, before the words *svenārāti* in line 40, recording that Voddīyavvā bore to Vandiga a son, named Bhillama, and another, after the word *-mahasaḥ* in line 45, stating that Bhillama or his wife Lakshmī erected the temple eulogised in lines 45-47. And accordingly, what is stated in the verse in lines 40-42, must in my opinion really be referred, not to Vandiga, but to his son, and it was Bhillama II. who defeated the great prince Muñja, and who thereby secured uninterrupted fortune for his sovereign lord, the illustrious king Ranaraṅgabhīma. The question then arises, who were these kings Muñja and Ranaraṅgabhīma, and who was the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, to whom Bhillama's father Vandiga owed allegiance?

Our grant being dated in Śaka 922=A. D. 1000, it is clear that Bhillama II.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Bassein grant Lachchhiavvā was the daughter of Jhañjharāja.

<sup>7</sup> This lady built a Śiva-temple, the exact name of which I am unable to make out.

<sup>8</sup> See note 32, below.

lived during the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. The only great prince Muñja known to us, who could have been his contemporary, was Vâkpatirâja-Muñja of Mâlava,<sup>9</sup> and it is undoubtedly this Muñja whose defeat by Bhillama is recorded in line 41 of this inscription. From this it follows that the king named Raṇaraṅga-bhîma in our grant, as whose general or feudatory Bhillama was acting, was an adversary of Vâkpatirâja-Muñja; and I believe that he was really no other than the Western Châlukya Tailapa,<sup>10</sup> by whom Muñja was utterly defeated and taken prisoner, and at whose orders he was finally beheaded. Tailapa ruled from A. D. 973-997; we know him to have also been called Âhavamalla; and Raṇaraṅga-bhîma is little less than a synonym of Âhavamalla.—Bhillama's father Vandiga or Vaddiga may reasonably be supposed to have lived during the third quarter of the 10th century A.D., and, such being the case, the king Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarâja, whose follower he is represented to have been in this inscription, can only have been the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa,<sup>11</sup> for whom we have the dates Śaka 867 and 878 = A.D. 945 and 956, the son of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. Evidently, down to Vandiga, the Yâdavas were feudatories of the Râshṭrakûṭas; after the overthrow of this dynasty by the Châlukyas, which took place in A.D. 973, their allegiance was transferred to the Châlukyas.—As the father-in-law of Vandiga our inscription mentions another great prince, the illustrious Dhorappa. About this prince I am unable to speak with confidence, but I will not suppress a conjecture on the probability of which I leave others to judge. Dhorappa is only a Prakṛit equivalent of the Samskrit Dhruva, and we know that one of the earlier Râshṭrakûṭa kings was named Dhruva or Dhora, or Nirupama. Now Kṛishṇarâja, the sovereign lord of Vandiga, had a younger brother likewise named Nirupama, the father of Kṛishṇa's successor Kakkala, and it seems to me not at all improbable that this Nirupama, like his ancestor Nirupama, may too have been called Dhruva or Dhora, and that it is he whose daughter was given in marriage to Vandiga.<sup>12</sup> The description of Dhorappa as *mahânripa* would thus, I believe, be well accounted for.—I will only add here that, if, as we apparently are obliged to do, we place Vandiga in the third quarter of the 10th century A.D., the rise of the Yâdava family and the date of Seṇa-chandra (or his predecessor Dṛidhaprabhâra) can hardly be put earlier than A.D. 850.

The proper object of our inscription is, to record that Bhillama, the king (as he is called), granted certain lands, described in lines 78-84, to twenty-one Brâhmanas who are enumerated in lines 64-77. The general meaning of the passage (in lines 48-86) which contains this information is clear enough; but the construction, changing as it does from the active to the passive, and again to the active construction, is altogether ungrammatical.

Omitting what is of no importance, the illustrious Bhillamarâja is described in lines 48-52 as a *mahâsâmantâ* or great feudatory who had obtained the five *mahâśabda*, the supreme lord of the city of Dvâravâtî, . . . born in Vishṇu's family, eager to worship Śiva, . . . and rendered illustrious by such royal titles as *Arâti-nishâdana*, 'the destroyer of enemies,' *Samgrâma-Râma*, *Kandukâchârya*, *Sellavidêga*, and

<sup>9</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pp. 226-227.

<sup>10</sup> See Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, and Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> See Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, *ib.* pp. 54-57, and Dr. Fleet, *ib.*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>12</sup> It may be noted that Bhillama III. married 'Hammâ, the daughter of Jnyasimha and sister of Âhavamalla, the Châlukya emperor.' See Professor Bhâṇḍârkar, *ib.*, p. 78.

*Vijayābharana*. Professor Bhāṇḍārkar has already pointed out that,<sup>13</sup> since Viṣṇu Kṛiṣṇa is represented in the *Purāṇas* to have belonged to the Yādava family, even the later princes of Devagiri called themselves *Vishṇuvamśodbhava*, and that, as Kṛiṣṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvārakā, they assumed the title of *Dvāravatīpuravarādhīśvara*, 'the supreme lords of Dvāravati, the best of cities.' As regards the titles or *birudas* of Bhillama, the term *Samgrāma-Rāma* is applied to him also in line 8 of the Kalas-Budrākḥ plates. *Kandukāchārya* apparently means 'a master in playing at ball', and *Sellaviḍega* seems to be a Prākṛit expression, the meaning of which I do not understand. The title *Vijayābharana* has already been referred to above.

The names of the twenty-one donees, given in lines 64-77, it is unnecessary to repeat here. From line 64 it would seem<sup>14</sup> that they lived at Sindinagara, which according to line 43 was the place of residence of Bhillama, and which has been identified<sup>15</sup> with the modern Sinnar, the chief town of the Sinnar Sub-Division of the Nāsik District. All were Brāhmanas, some students of the *Rigveda* or *Sāmaveda*, and others members of the Kāṇva or Mādhyandina *śākhās* of the Vājasaneyin branch of the *Yajurveda*, or of the Maitrāyaṇīya *śākhā* of the black *Yajurveda*. Some belonged to the Gautama, Kaundinya, Bhāradvāja, or Kausika *gotras*. And one (in line 72) is described as *rāja-dauvārīka*, 'the king's doorkeeper'

To these Brāhmanas Bhillama gave<sup>16</sup> (lines 78-80) the village of Arjunonḍhikā, situated on the banks of the river Mātulingī, and some land between the two villages Laghu-arjunonḍhī and Laghu-vavvulavedra. The boundaries of the village were (lines 83-84), to the east, Samgamanagara, to the south, the village of Chikhali, to the west, the village of Jamvalenimva, and to the north, the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra. On the maps at my disposal I find no name similar to Arjunonḍhikā, but Dr. Burgess has suggested to me that the village granted may be the modern Rājapur, on the Mālunḡī river of the Samgamner Sub-Division of the Aḥmadnagar District, which perhaps may have received this name in consequence of this grant. And judging from the position, this identification would suit very well indeed. The Samgamanagara of the grant would of course be the town of Samgamner of the Aḥmadnagar District, which is about three miles east of Rājapur. Chikhaliḡrāma would be the village of Chikhali on the river Ārdalā, about two miles south of Rājapur, and Jamvalenimvagrāma the village of Javlekardak, which is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of Rājapur. And the group of three villages named Vavvulavedra would be represented by the village Velhāle (not marked on the G. T. S. Map, sheet 38) on the Mālunḡī river, about two miles north of Rājapur, and two deserted "wādis" not far from it.

Lines 86-110 in the usual terms admonish future rulers to protect the donees and their descendants in the possession of this grant and warn them not to resume it. Lines 110-113 add that the illustrious Bhillamarāja made the donation here recorded on the new-moon *tithi* of the month Bhādrapada of the year Śārvarin, on the occasion of a solar

<sup>13</sup> See *ib.*, p. 85; compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 121; and this inscription, lines 21-22.

<sup>14</sup> I am not sure about this, for after the word *Sri-Sindinagar-antakpāti* one would certainly expect the name or names of one or more villages, situated in the district of Sindinagara.

<sup>15</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 118.

<sup>16</sup> In the formal part of the grant the only unusual term is *śakṣīdāśaprakṛityopetam* in line 80. I can only compare with it *śakṣīdāśaprakṛiti* in line 14 of the inscription published in the *Proceedings, Beng. As. Soc.*, 1877, p. 73, but am not able to explain the term properly.



eclipse, at the holy bathing-place of the confluence of the Arunā<sup>17</sup> (and Godāvari) at Nāsik. And line 114 gives the name of the writer of this śāsana-paṭṭa, Keśava-upādhyāya, who (in lines 114-116) asks the indulgence of the reader for any mistakes, and winds up with the remark that no verbal deficiencies of this document will affect its validity.

The date of this inscription does not work out satisfactorily. The Jovian year Śārvarin, mentioned in line 110, correctly corresponds, by the southern luni-solar system, to the expired Śaka year 922, given in lines 1-2; but there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon *tithi* of either the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Bhādrapada of that year,—the 2nd and 31st August, A.D. 1000. There was a solar eclipse a month later, on the 30th September, A.D. 1000, but it was not visible in India.

TEXT.<sup>18</sup>

## First plate.

- L. 1. श्रीं [नमः] सि(शि)वाय । स्वस्ति शकनृपका[ला]तांतसंवत्सरशतेषु नवसु द्वाविंश-  
 2. [त्य]धिकैर्वक्तोपि संवत्सराः ८२२ ॥ त्रयमपि<sup>19</sup> भुवनानामीषदुन्मै-  
 3. [ष]मात्रावभवति लयशेषं यन्निमेषादुपैति [1<sup>x</sup>] अतिशयि-  
 4. तचरितो योगिनामप्यगम्यः स इह जयतु देवः<sup>20</sup> चारुच-  
 5. [न्द्राङ्ग]मौलिः ॥ १ । भुव[न<sup>x</sup>]भवनहेतुः दुष्कृतान्मोक्षिसेतुः विहितम-<sup>21</sup>  
 6. दनमायः पार्वतीप्राणनाथः ॥ (1) निहतमरुदरोस(श)ः पातु भिन्न-  
 7. ममोशः ।<sup>22</sup> करतलहतशूलः सर्वदा चन्द्रचूलः ॥ युगस्यादी<sup>23</sup>  
 8. श[च्यु ?]र्भुवनमष्टजङ्गवन्मूर्तिस्तेषां सुरगिर्पविर्चिप्रभवतः ॥ (1)  
 9. वि[रि]चिः संभूतः सकलमरुतां योनिरमलो मरीचिर्या(र्य)क्ती-  
 10. [र्त्ति]र्भूमति भुवने कुन्दविशदा । ३ ।<sup>24</sup> अतृ(वि)नामाभवत्तस्मात्सूनुस्त्र-  
 11. त्वपरायणः । तत्तृतिरिन्दुराख्यातो जगदानन्दमन्दिरम(म्) । ४ ।  
 12. ततोभुवन्निर्गलसौमवंशजो विशालभूपालगुणालयं हि  
 13. यः [1<sup>x</sup>]पुरुषा भूपतिरर्द्धमामनं सदा सुरेन्द्रस्य व(व)भाज लीलया  
 14. । ६ ।<sup>25</sup> अमृदायुस्तस्मात्पतिरमरैर्वन्द्यचरितो हठाक्नान्तारा-  
 15. तिप्रणतचरणान्मोजयुगलः [1<sup>x</sup>] ततो जातो यास्मिन्नुपपन्न-<sup>26</sup>  
 16. पतिर्लोच्छ्र(ह्)नमिषालिलिख स्वस्या[ख्यां ?]<sup>27</sup> स्वभुजविजयी चन्द्रफलके । ७ ।  
 17. अजनि<sup>28</sup> नष्टभूपाङ्गमिपालो ययातिस्त्रिदशमहितकी-  
 18. र्त्तिर्विरलक्ष्मीर्विलासः<sup>29</sup> [1<sup>x</sup>] किमिव<sup>30</sup> गुणगणोसौ व[रण्ये]ति<sup>31</sup> त-  
 19. स्य सान्ध्याज्जगद्वननिमित्तं यादवानां प्रसूतिः ॥ ८ ॥ अ-

<sup>17</sup> See the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XVI (Nāsik), p. 524 : their general sense is apparent, do not admit of a proper construction.  
 'Aruna tirth' is where the Aruna joins the Godāvari near

Ram's Pool'.

<sup>18</sup> From an ink-impression, prepared by Mr. H. Cousens.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>20</sup> Here and in other places below which it is unnecessary to point out separately the rules of *śamudhi* have not been observed.

<sup>21</sup> The *akṣhara* त was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line between वि and हि.

<sup>22</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous. In the preceding the metre is incorrect.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Sīkharinī. In the first half of the verse five syllables have been omitted, and the words given, though

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Vamśastha.

<sup>26</sup> From here the numbers of the verses are wrong.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Sīkharinī.

<sup>28</sup> Read यस्याव?

<sup>29</sup> The two *akṣharas* स्या[ख्यां?] were originally omitted, and are engraved above the line.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>31</sup> I believe the reading intended to be 'कीर्तिवीरलक्ष्मीर्विलासः', although this would offend against the metre.

<sup>32</sup> Here I would propose reading किमिव गुणगणोसौ वर्यते तस्य यस्याव?

<sup>33</sup> The *akṣhara* in brackets, as engraved, is र्यते.

L. 20. भवदिह ययातिः सज्जनानन्दकारी यदुत्पतिरशेषाक्रा-

21. न्तादाय(था)दचक्रः [1<sup>x</sup>] सकलविवु(वु)धहृन्दैर्व्विन्दितोसौ मुरारिज्ज-

22. गदवननिमित्तं यस्य वंशे प्रसूतः ॥ ८ ॥ <sup>31</sup>एतस्माद्यदुवं-

23. शतः<sup>35</sup> समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिर्भूपालः<sup>36</sup> कलिकाल-

24. कल्म[ष<sup>x</sup>]लवैर्नालीकितो भूतले । ख्यातः सेउणचन्द्र एव स-

25. हसा नाम्ना निजेनाह्वय<sup>37</sup> यो लोकं निजमण्डलं च समदा-

26. रातीभकण्ठीरवः । १० । प्रख्यातोसौ<sup>38</sup> सद्गुणैर्यो विसा(शा)लः

27. संग्रामोयुद्धमारातकालः । <sup>39</sup>जातःस्तस्मादष्टमीचन्द्र-

28. भालः सूनु [ः<sup>x</sup>] श्रीमान्वाडिख्यो<sup>40</sup> नृपालः ॥ ११ ॥ <sup>41</sup>तदनु विवु(वु)धह-

*Second plate ; first side.*

29. [न्दान]न्दसन्दोहसीमा समदमदन — — [मानि]नीमानचौरः [1<sup>x</sup>] असमस ७ ७ —

30. — योरिकालानलोभूतत इह ७ ७ [रि]न्दो भूतले भिल्लमाख्यः ॥ १२ ॥

31. [ननु] किमिह कवीनां तस्य वण्ण्यं हि न स्यात्कुमुदविस(श)दकीर्त्तभू-

32. [तले]द्यापि यस्य । रुचिरकनकभासोद्भासिनोभाववन्<sup>42</sup> प्रति-

33. दिनमिह देवः पट्टिकां [सो]मनायः<sup>43</sup> ॥ १३ ॥ <sup>44</sup>तस्माज्जातः सुतो रा[जा] रा-

34. जा राजीवलोचनः [1<sup>x</sup>] राजिव राजते योत्र प्रजानन्दकरः सदा ॥ १४ ॥ तस्मा-<sup>45</sup>

35. हन्दिगभूपतिः समभवद्भूपालचूडामणिः यः सौभाग्यमहोदधि-

36. मृगदृशं कन्दर्पदर्पोदितः । राजा दीर्घभुजह्वय[ः<sup>x</sup>] पृथुलसहस्र-

37. लः संगरे ।<sup>46</sup> क्रूरारिप्रमदेभदर्पदलनः श्रीलक्ष्णराजानुगः ॥ १५ ॥

38. श्रीधो[र]प्पमहानृपस्य दुहिता श्रीवीहिय[व्वा]भिधा<sup>47</sup> शंभोः सै(शै)ल-

39. सुतेव कैटभरिपोःलक्ष्मीरिव<sup>48</sup> प्रेयसी [1<sup>x</sup>] यस्यासौकुमुदा[व]दातयशसः स्तूपायमा[नं] यया

40. [ना]मावेश्वरमीशवेश्म<sup>49</sup> विहितं कैलासलीलाहरम्<sup>50</sup> ॥ [स्त्रे]<sup>51</sup>नारातिकरालकालर[च]ना-  
चण्डा[सि]-

41. दण्डेन यो हत्वा सज्जमहानृपप्रणयिनी<sup>52</sup> संग्रामरंगांगणे [1<sup>x</sup>]लक्ष्मीमस्तु(स्तु)धिमिखलावल-

42. यित[क्ष्मा]वर्त्तिनोम्यापयद्भूपश्चरिणरंगभीमभवने साचात्कुलस्त्रीव्रतम् ।(॥) अधि-<sup>53</sup>

43. छानं सिन्दीन[ग]रसर्परंस्वर्गवदिदं<sup>54</sup> सदा मूर्त्ता लक्ष्मीर्व्वसतिभवने यस्य सुदिता ।

44. मनः स(श)भोः पादास्तु(स्तु)रुहयुगले ध्याननियतं यदोर्व्वेशे भूपाचरितमभवं<sup>55</sup> चा[रु ?]-

45. महसः ।(॥) <sup>56</sup>हिमगिरिसि(शि)खरसदृशमिह राजति सुरपुरवर्त्मसंनिभं<sup>57</sup> हतपुर[म]-

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>22</sup> Originally °शती, but altered to °शतः.

<sup>23</sup> Originally °मणिः भूः, but altered to °मणिर्भूः.

<sup>24</sup> Read °ह्वयो; this correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Śālinī.

<sup>26</sup> Read जातम्.

<sup>27</sup> The intended reading most probably is चाडियप्पी.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>29</sup> Read °ह्वयः.

<sup>30</sup> The akshara in brackets is गो rather than सो.

<sup>31</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next two verses

<sup>33</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>34</sup> The akshara in brackets looks very much like घा.

<sup>35</sup> Read °रिपोर्लक्ष्मीः.

<sup>40</sup> The consonant of the first akshara of this line is slightly damaged, and it may possibly be त; the following aksharas are quite clear.

<sup>41</sup> Originally °हरं was engraved.

<sup>42</sup> Of this akshara, again, only the superscript vowel is quite certain, and the whole akshara might possibly be read वै.

<sup>43</sup> Read सुत्रं.

<sup>44</sup> Metre, Sikkharinī.

<sup>45</sup> Read सिन्दीनगरमपरस्त्रं.

<sup>46</sup> Read °भवत्ता.

<sup>47</sup> This passage, from here to the end of line 47, looks as if it were intended to be in verse or contained fragments of verses, but I cannot recognize in it any of the known metres.

<sup>48</sup> Read °सन्निभं.

- L. 46. धननियतकैलामगिरिस्थहम[श]मसप्रभम्<sup>53</sup> ॥ पुंजितयश इवेन्दुकुन्द[द्यु]-  
 47. ति भूतलतिलकसुन्दरं विजयाभरणनाथाभिधमभिनवगिरि[श]मन्दिरम् ॥  
 48. समधिगतपंचमहाशब्द(ब्)महासामन्तहारवतीपुरपरमेश्वरैकशंखध्वनिव(व)-  
 49. धिरितदिगन्तरालविजयतूर्यारवंसंतासितजितरिपुसमूहविष्णुवंशोद्भ-  
 50. वभवचरणाराधनैकतत्परमनस्विनीमानोन्मूलनकन्दर्पदयोदिताराति-  
 51. निपटनसंग्रामरामकंदुकाचार्यसंज्ञविडिगविजयाभरणेत्यादिसमस्तार-<sup>59</sup>  
 52. जावलीविराजितश्रीमद्भिन्नमराजा<sup>60</sup> ॥ अन्तःशून्यः कदलीगर्भवदसारः  
 53. संसारः । व्याधिरामरणसाधारणं शरीरं । प्रव(व)लपवनकम्पितनलि-<sup>61</sup>  
 54. नीदलगततुषारतरले च धनायुषी यौवनं च । तथा च । कृततेतहापर-  
 55. युगेभ्यो अत्यर्थ<sup>62</sup> दानफलं ।<sup>63</sup> कलौ युगे पुनः<sup>64</sup> शंसन्ति । न<sup>65</sup> तथा सफला विद्या  
 56. न तथा सफलं धनं [I\*] यथा तु सुनयः प्राहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे ।(॥) अग्नेरपत्यं<sup>66</sup>  
 57. प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्विष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लो[क\*]त्रयं तेन भवेत्प्रदत्तं य[ः]  
 58. कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात्(त्) ॥ आस्फोटयन्ति<sup>67</sup> पितरः प्रवल्भ(ला)न्ति पिताम-  
 59. हाः [I\*] भूमिदोस्तकुले जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति ।(॥) भूमिदानं सुपात्रेषु सु-  
 60. तीर्थेषु सुपर्वणि । अगाधापारशं(सं)त्तरसागरोत्तारणं<sup>68</sup> भवेत्(त्) ॥ धवलान्यातप-  
 61. [त्राणि] दन्तिनचि(च) मदीदताः । भूमिदानस्य पुण्याणि फलं स्वर्गं पुरन्दरः<sup>69</sup> ॥ इ-  
 62. [ति] पराशरवस्कुलो(त्वा)ङ्गिरसगौतममनुयाजवल्काग्रमुनिवचनाच्यव[धा]-  
 63. [र्यं] मया [दृ]ष्टरविरक्तबुद्ध्या<sup>70</sup> मातापितोरात्मनश्च त्रैयोर्थिना हि मया<sup>71</sup> [ब्रा(ब्रा)]-  
 64. [क्षण] ?]नां या[मो] दत्तः । श्रीसिन्धीनगरान्तःपाति । वाजिकाण्डवसा(शा)खिने<sup>72</sup> गौत-  
 65. मगोत्राय —

*Second plate ; second side.*

66. — होपाध्याय<sup>73</sup> नारणैउपाध्यायसु[ताय] तथा वाजिकाण्डवसाखाय कौण्डिन्यगोत्राय [विद्या ?]-  
 67. [ध]रैत्राय श्रीधरैउपाध्यायसुताय तथा व(व)हृचशाखाय भरद्वाजगोत्राय म[हल ?]-  
 68. [पै]त्राय वि[ह ?]पैयसुताय तथा वाजिमाध्वंदिनशाखाय कौण्डिन्यगोत्रा(त्राय) य [महल ?]-  
 69. पैत्राय इन्द्रपैयसुताय तथा व(व)हृचशाखाय देवपैयाय अश्वपैसुताय तथा [हं ?]-  
 70. [दो ?]गप्रभाकरदीक्षिताय तथा मित्रायणीवच्छपैयः<sup>74</sup> तथा अन्ध्रपन्थयैः  
 71. [त]था माध्वंदिन[गु]हिसपैयः तथा च्छन्दोगगलः<sup>75</sup> सोमैयसुतः तथा माध्वं-  
 72. दिनमहलपैयः तथा व(व)हृचराजदौवारिकमहलपैयः तथा व(व)हृचसंग[लः]  
 73. तथा करहाटवप्यलः तथा वाजिकाण्डनिस्त्रैयः तथा व(व)हृचनेवपैयः तथा  
 74. व(व)हृचशाखा[य\*]कौशिकगोत्राय विष्णुपैयाय श्रीधरैसुताय तथा

<sup>53</sup> Read 'अंशुप्रभम्'.

<sup>59</sup> The *akshara* चा of कंदुकाचार्य was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>60</sup> Read 'राजः'. Some of the following signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>61</sup> The *akshara* प of पवन was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>62</sup> Read 'त्यर्थ'.

<sup>63</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous, and may have been struck out already in the original.

<sup>64</sup> Instead of पुनः, one would have expected सुनयः.

<sup>65</sup> Metre, Sloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>66</sup> Metre, Indravajra

<sup>67</sup> Metre. Sloka (Anushtubh); and of the two next verses.

<sup>68</sup> The *akshara* री was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>69</sup> Read स्वर्गः पुरन्दरः.

<sup>70</sup> Read 'बुद्ध्या'.

<sup>71</sup> This word is unnecessarily repeated here.

<sup>72</sup> Originally साखिनि was engraved; see below, line 75.

<sup>73</sup> One would expect 'ध्यायाय'.

<sup>74</sup> Read 'नेत्रायणीव'.

<sup>75</sup> The writing is quite distinct here, but must be faulty.

- L. 75. [धो?]प्लाय कौशिकगोत्राय व(व)हृचसाखिनि<sup>66</sup> । तथा व(व)हृचशाखा-  
 76. य अरण्येनैत्राय तथा व(व)हृचशाखाय दन्दपैत्राय कालपैसुताय  
 77. तथा पौम्बदेवः अल्लपैसुताय । एवममीषां द्विजानां पितृपै-  
 78. तामहीपार्जितं<sup>67</sup> मातुलिङ्गीतटसमावासितं अर्जुनोष्टि-  
 79. काग्रामं तथा लघुअर्जुनोष्टीग्रामलघुवव्वुलवेद्रग्राम-  
 80. [ह]याभ्यन्तरं सहचमालाकुलं चा(च)तुःसीमापर्यन्तं साष्टा-  
 81. दशप्रकृत्योपेतं वापीकूपतडागारामसहितं सतृणका[ष्ट]-  
 82. पाषाणोपेतं श(स)कलसमस्तोपेतं [1<sup>x</sup>] ग्रामस्याघाटाः<sup>68</sup> लिख्यन्ते ।।  
 83. पूर्वतः संगमनगरं दक्षिणतः चिखलीग्रामः पश्चिम-  
 84. तः जम्बलीनम्बग्रामः उत्तरतः वव्वुलवेद्रतृ(त्रि)ग्रामी [1<sup>x</sup>] एवं चा(च)-  
 85. तुराघाटविशुङ्गं सर्वाभ्यन्तरसिद्धा<sup>69</sup> पुत्रपौत्रादिसंनत्योपे-  
 86. तानां चद्रार्कं यावत्प्रतिपालनीयं । एवमन्वयजां बन्धूनामापि  
 87. [सुञ्जानानां भो]जयतां<sup>70</sup> कषतां कर्षापयताम्वा<sup>71</sup> यथेष्टं प्रतिदशता प्रात-  
 88. देशयतां ।<sup>72</sup> केनापि खयेवाधा<sup>73</sup> न करणीया । उक्तं च मुनिभिः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 89. यानीह<sup>74</sup> दत्तानि पुरा नेरेन्द्रैर्द्वैतानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 90. निर्माल्यमालाप्रतिमानि तानि ।<sup>75</sup> को नाम साधुः पुनराद-  
 91. द्दोत ।(॥) व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा<sup>76</sup> भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि  
 92. भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा  
 93. फलं ।(॥) सद्यो दानं निरायासं सायासं तस्य पाल-  
 94. नम् ॥(॥)

*Third plate.*

95. एवं हि रिषयः<sup>77</sup> प्राहुः दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् ॥ दत्ता<sup>78</sup> भू[मि] भाविनः  
 96. पार्थिवेन्द्राः भूयो भूयो याचतै रामभद्रः । सा-  
 97. मान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नपाणां काले काले पालनी-  
 98. यो भवद्भिः ।(॥) इत्यर्थितोपि यः कलिकालवस(श)क्षोभा-  
 99. भिभूतो यः<sup>79</sup> पूर्वदानमपहरिष्यति ।<sup>80</sup> स पञ्चम  
 100. हापातकैरुपपातकैर्युतो रौरवादिषु नरकेषु  
 101. पच्यमानो दुष्कृतमनुभविष्यति<sup>81</sup> । तथा च ।<sup>82</sup> व्यासभट्टार-  
 102. कः प्राह । स्रदत्तां<sup>83</sup> परदत्ताम्वा<sup>84</sup> यो हरत वसुन्धराम(म्) [1<sup>x</sup>]

<sup>66</sup> Read °प्राखिने तय।

<sup>67</sup> Read °महीपा°.

<sup>68</sup> Read °घाटा.

<sup>69</sup> Read °भ्यन्तरसिद्धा.

<sup>70</sup> Read °जानां वन्धूनामापि.

<sup>71</sup> Originally only सुञ्जयतां was engraved; but three or four *aksharas* were afterwards engraved above the line, which, together with the former, appear to me to yield the reading given in the text.

<sup>72</sup> Read °तं वा.

<sup>73</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>74</sup> The second *akshara* might also be read ये, but compare

खद्यावाधा, *ante*, vol. I, p. 165.

<sup>75</sup> Metre, Upajāti. Read नरे°.

<sup>76</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>77</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next verse

<sup>78</sup> Read ऋण्यः प्राहुर्दत्ता°.

<sup>79</sup> Metre, Śālīni. Read दत्ता, °वेन्द्रान्, and याचते.

<sup>80</sup> This word is superfluous.

<sup>81</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

<sup>82</sup> The *akshara* नु was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>83</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the two next verses.

<sup>84</sup> Read °दत्तां वा.

- L. 103. स विद्यायां कृमिर्भूत्वा कृमिभिः सह पच्यते ।(॥) विन्ध्याटवी-  
 104. प्वतोयासु गुष्ककोटरवामिनः । महाहयो हि जायन्ते  
 105. भूमिदानापहारकाः ।(॥) तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजिमधश्तेन च [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 106. गवां कोटिप्रदानेत(न) भूमिहर्त्ता न गृह्णाति ।(॥) इति महर्षिर्वचना-  
 107. न्यवधार्य ।<sup>1</sup> आगन्तुकराजभिः धर्मलोपभयेन प्रतिपालनीयम् [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 108. मईम(श)जाः<sup>2</sup> परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः [1<sup>x</sup>]  
 109. वे पालयन्ति मम धर्ममिमं समग्रं तेषां मया विरचितोज्जलि-  
 110. रेप मूर्ध्नि<sup>3</sup> ॥ ॐ ॥ सा(शा)र्वरीसंवत्सरीयभाद्रपदासावास्या-  
 111. याम् ।<sup>4</sup> श्रीनासिकीयश्रृणामवै(वे)यमहातीर्थे ।<sup>5</sup> परम-  
 112. व्रतौ(तो)पवासनियमयुक्तेन स्त्री(श्री)भिल्लमराजेन सूर्यग्रहणे ग्रा-  
 113. सोयं प्रदत्तः ॥ लिख(खि)तमिदं शासनपटं स्थाननियमेन  
 114. राजनियमेन च ॥<sup>6</sup> मया केशवैडपाध्यायेनेति ॥ यद्-<sup>7</sup>  
 115. क्षरं परिभ्रष्टं मात्ताह्नीनं च यद्भवेत्(त्) । चां(चं)तुमर्ह्य विद्वांसः क-  
 116. स्य न स्खलते मनः ॥ यदक्षोनाक्षरेमधिकम्वा<sup>8</sup> तत्सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥

## XVI.—STONE INSCRIPTIONS AT VAGHLI IN KHANDES.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 991.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 478, Vāghli,<sup>1</sup> a village six miles east (or rather north-east) of Chalisgaon in the Khândes District, has three temples, an old temple of Madhâidevi, a small ruined temple to its right, and a temple of the Mân-bhâva<sup>2</sup> sect. "The Mânabhâva temple, built in Hemâdpanti style, 33 feet long by 22 broad and 13 high, with ornamented pillars and doorway, formerly contained a *linga*, and has still the sacred bull outside. Three large stones (within) bear illegible Sanskrit inscriptions. Near the temple is a well, inside and on each side of which is a small cell. The temple is undoubtedly very old, and has for the last seven generations been in the possession of the Mânabhâva sect." Good impressions of the three inscriptions thus referred to, taken by Mr. H. Cousens, have been supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. They show that the three inscriptions are indeed damaged, especially one of them, but that they are by no means so illegible as they have been reported to be. And their contents appear to me sufficiently interesting to justify my furnishing a short account of them. I shall denote the inscriptions by the letters A, B, and C, but shall show that all three really form part of a single inscription.

A.—This inscription contains 14 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' 6" broad by 1' 1½" high. On the proper right side the writing is much damaged and

<sup>1</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

<sup>2</sup> Really सूर्य is engraved.

<sup>3</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>4</sup> Read चरमधिकं वा.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Indian Atlas*, sheet 38, spelt "Bangley," in

the *Postal Directory* "Waghli," in Long. 75° 16' E., Lat. 20° 31' N.

<sup>6</sup> See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII, p. 122; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 335; and Dr. Burgess' *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, pp. 122, 320.

partly altogether illegible, but, as will be seen from my transcript of the text, the greater portion of the inscription is fairly well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{5}{8}$ " and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of about the 11th century A.D. The language is Saṁskṛit, and the inscription is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *ḍ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is several times used instead of the palatal; and the vowel *ṛi* is employed instead of *ri* in *tri/aya*, line 5.

The inscription opens with a verse invoking the blessing of Ganapati; after that it has twelve verses, numbered 1-12; and it breaks off, at the end of line 14, in the third Pāda of another verse which would have been verse 13. Verse 1 describes the origin of the solar race, and tells that from Māndhātṛi, a prince of that race, sprang the Maurya family. Verse 2 then relates how Soma, *i.e.*, the god Śiva, left his home on the mountain Kailāsa and came for the welfare of the people to settle in the country of Surāshṭra; and verse 3 states that here, in Surāshṭra, there is the city of Valahhi, the capital of the Mauryas, the Brāhman citizens of which enjoy all the blessings of life through the favour of the Mauryas. Verses 4-13 then record the names of a series of princes or chiefs, the first of whom is stated to have been born in the Maurya family, and each of whom has a verse, eulogizing his valour, allotted to him. This list, for it is nothing more, is as follows:—

1. The illustrious Kīkaṭa, born in the Maurya family (v. 4).
2. After him came the illustrious Takshaka (v. 5).
3. After him, Bhima (v. 6).
4. Sarvaśūra (v. 7).
5. After him came the prince Govindarāja (v. 8).
6. After him, the prince Sādhvasika (v. 9)
7. The prince Jhañjha (v. 10).
8. From him was born the prince Devanastin (v. 11).
9. From him, the prince Muñja (v. 12).
10. From him, the prince Padmākara (v. 13).

*B.*—This inscription contains fragments of 16 lines of writing, found on a stone which apparently measures about 3' 3" broad by 1' 8" high, and the inscribed surface of which is greatly damaged. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{4}$ " and 1". The characters are the same as those of the inscription A. The language is Saṁskṛit, and the inscription is throughout in verse.

Though, owing to the damaged state of the stone, I am unable to furnish a text of this inscription, I feel no hesitation in saying that we have here the continuation of the preceding inscription A. Here, too, the verses have numbers appended to them, and the first number which is preserved is 14, and occurs towards the end of line 2. This verse 14, in the Mandākrāntā metre, must have commenced about 13" from the commencement of line 1, where verse 13 would have ended, on a part of the stone which is broken away. Comparing the end of the inscription A, we see that that inscription ends in the third Pāda of a Vasantatilakā verse which would have been verse 13, and that 19 syllables are wanted to complete that verse. Now 19 syllables would in the present inscription have taken up a space of exactly 13", and, moreover, the *aksharas* preserved at the commencement of line 1 of B undoubtedly do belong to a Vasantati-

lakā verse, and their sense suits well the incomplete verse at the end of A. For what we can read at the commencement of line 1 of B, is—

. *prayarchchhami=Lakṣhmyās=chalaiva=vaḍanīyam=a* .

which, with the end of A, would give us the following verse:—

पद्माकरो नरपतिः प्रव(व)भूव तस्माद्युक्तः पदा[ति]गजवाजिरथैरनैकैः ।  
दानानि वोभ्युदयधर्मा[रतः?] प्रयच्छन्मन्त्राद्यन्तवदनीयम[पाचकार ॥ ?]

As stated before, verse 14 ends in line 2; verse 15 ends in line 3, verse 16 in line 4, verse 17 in line 5, and verse 18 in line 7; verse 19 probably ended towards the end of line 8; verse 20 ends in line 10, verse 21 in line 11, and verse 22 in line 12; verse 23 must have ended in line 13; verse 24 ends in line 14, and verse 25 in line 15; and the end of verse 26 must have coincided with the end of line 16, the last line of this inscription. I believe, I cannot go wrong in saying that, exactly like the verses 4-13 of the inscription A, each of the verses 14-24 gave the name of one prince, and that the eleven verses together therefore recorded the names of eleven princes, who one after another succeeded the prince Padmākara, spoken of in verse 13. The names of the two immediate successors of Padmākara (the 11th and 12th members of the family), which must have been contained in verses 14 and 15, are broken away or at any rate no longer legible. Further on the following are mentioned:—

13. Vappaiya (*Vappaiya-nāma sa nareśa āsīt*, in verse 16).

14. Vappaiya's son, whose name has not been preserved (*Vappaiyasya sutas-tato=vanitale*, in verse 17).

15. Vālaparāja (*tasmād=Vālaparāja ity=abhihito bhūpāla-chūḍāmaṇiḥ samjajñe*, in verse 18).

16. Sādhasika (*rājā Sādhasikas=tataḥ param=abhūt*, in verse 19).

17. Śāntirāja (*śrī-Śāntirāja iti bhūmipatir=evabhūva*, in verse 20).

18. Pravarasūka (? *Śānty-ātmajaḥ sakala-bhūpa-guṇair=upetaḥ śrīmān=abhūt=Pravarasū[ka]ra-nāmadheyaḥ*, in verse 21).

19. Bhāileka (*tasmād=abhūt=prachura-śatru-gaṇa-pramātṛ śrī-Bhāileka-nripatir-jagati prasiddhaḥ*, in verse 22).

20. Bhīmarāja (*śrī-Bhīmarāja-nripatis=tu Śiva-prasādāt*, in verse 23).

21. Govinda (*Govinda-bhūpatir=iti*, in verse 24).

No further names seem to occur in the short passages which remain of the verses 25 and 26.

C.—This inscription contains 18 lines of writing which cover a space of 4' 2½" broad by 1' 10½" high. With the exception of a few *aksharas*, lines 1-16 are well preserved; but the middle of line 17 is greatly damaged, and the writing of line 18 is almost entirely effaced. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and 1". The characters are the same as in the inscriptions A and B. The language is Samskr̥it, and the inscription is throughout in verse. As regards orthography, *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*; the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *vimiśṛita*, line 3, and *tṛidiva*, line 8; and the *jihvāmūllya* and *upadhmanīya*, both denoted by the ordinary sign for *sh*, are employed in *anvitoḥ kīrtti-*, line 8, *sevadhiḥ padma-*, line 5, and *tanuḥ puṇya-*, line 7.

From the text, which will be given below, it will be seen that the inscription commences with a verse which is numbered 27, and which thus at once shows it to be the

continuation of the inscription B, which ends with verse 26. The inscription clearly divides itself into two portions, the first of which, extending to nearly the end of line 9, comprises the nine verses 27-35. All that it is necessary to say about this part, is, that it eulogizes the piety of a prince (*narapati*, *nripati*, *bhūmipāla*) Govinda or Govindarāja, who in verse 27 is styled *Mauryakula-pradīpa*, 'the light of the Maurya family,' and who evidently is the Govinda spoken of in verse 24 of the inscription B; and that in particular it records the foundation by this prince of a *sattra*, or hall of charity for travellers and for the learned and indigent, and the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Siddheśanātha or Siddheśvara, with a tank or well attached to it. In all probability, the temple is the same at which the inscription is still preserved.

The second part of the inscription, the verses of which are numbered separately, opens, towards the end of line 9, with a date, and records up to line 15 various donations in favour of the temple and the charitable institute mentioned before, made both by Govindarāja himself and by (his sovereign lord) the *mahāmaṇḍala-nātha*, the illustrious king Seuṇa.

According to verses 1-3 (lines 9-11), the king Seuṇa, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the month of Āshāḍha of the Jupiter year Saumya which was the (expired) Śaka year 991, granted to the temple of Siddheśvara the two villages of Saṁgamī and Madhuvāṭikā, together with the income due from them to the king himself.—The date corresponds, by the *amānta* scheme, to Tuesday, the 21st July, A.D. 1069, when about half an hour after mean sunrise there was a solar eclipse which was visible in some parts of India; and the king Seuṇa is the Devagiri Yādava Seunachandra II., of whom we possess a copper-plate grant which is dated only a fortnight later than the present inscription, on Gurudina or Thursday, the 14th of the bright half of Śrāvana of the year Saumya, corresponding to Śaka-saṁvat 991<sup>3</sup>.—The villages of Saṁgamī and Madhuvāṭikā I am unable to identify on the maps at my disposal.

Govindarāja's donations are enumerated in the verses 4-13 (lines 11-15). Some of the particulars of this passage I do not fully understand; but it is clear that Govinda provided for the worship of the god in the temple founded by him (verses 4-5); that, for the support of the learned men and their pupils who resorted to his *sattra*, he gave four fields which are described as *Vagalūkamatabhūmi*, *Vakkulīkshetra*, *Vanakūtakabhūmi* and *Paṭayakshinivāṭa*, and the exact boundaries of which are recorded in the text (verses 6-12); and that he besides granted sixteen *nivartanas* of land to certain secular and religious teachers (verse 13).

The concluding lines of the inscription once more state that the temple, referred to in the preceding, was founded by the prince Govinda and his wife, the *rājñī* Nāyakī (verse 14), and contain the usual admonitions to future rulers to watch over, and not to resume, the donations here recorded.

Taken as a whole, what is contained on the three stones is a single inscription, dated in Śaka 991 or A.D. 1069, of a chief Govindarāja of the Maurya clan, a feudatory of the Devagiri Yādava king Seunachandra II. Its proper object is, to record that Govindarāja built the temple at which the inscription was put up, and made various

<sup>3</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 120. It should be stated, however, that the date of the copper-plate is incorrect; for Śrāvana-śuddhi 14 of Śaka 991 expired (= Saumya) corresponds to the 4th August, A.D. 1069, which was a Tuesday, not a Thursday.



donations in favour of it; and by way of introduction the inscription furnishes a list of the names of the ancestors of Govindarāja for no less than twenty generations, and records that the original home of the Maurya clan was the city of Valabhi in Surāshtra, which was their capital. As Govindarāja himself is indirectly described as a feudatory of a Yādava king, it may be assumed that his ancestors or at least some of them owed allegiance to the same family, and that these Mauryas came from Kāthiāvād to Khāndes together with the Yādavas, 'the lords of Dvāravatī.'<sup>4</sup> As regards the individual chiefs mentioned in this inscription, I have not met with any of them in other inscriptions.<sup>5</sup>

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION A.<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. [ओ३।?] ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ ७ — क्षसि[त]र[त्न]मरीचि ७ — ७ [ता]: । चरण-  
युग्मसरोरुहरेण्वो गणपतेर्विजयाय भवन्तु वः ॥ ७ ॥ आदावव्यक्तमासीत्तदनु<sup>7</sup> कमल[जस्त?]—  
2. क्षुतः कश्यपोभू — — — ७ — — [तद]नु मनुभूत्तत्सुतात्सूर्यवंशः । विख्यातः सर्वलोकेष्व-  
मलनृपगुणै[र]न्वितः<sup>8</sup> कीर्त्तिधर्म्मैर्मान्यातुर्भूमिपालात्सकलगुणनिधेर्म्मैर्यव[शो]  
3. व(व)भूव ॥ १ ॥ आसीत्कैलास[शृंगे रुचिर]शसि(शि)सुधाश्वगंगाप्रवाहे दिव्यारामोपभोगातु-  
रसुरनिकरोद्दृष्टकाम्यप्रलापे । सोमः सोमार्द्धभूषः सकलसुरनुतः [का ?]—  
4. स[चित्तप्रदो]षः सर्वेषां लौकिकानामशुभविहृतये सोवतीर्णः सुराष्ट्रम् ॥ २ ॥ तस्मिन्<sup>9</sup> देशेस्ति  
रम्या विवु(वु)धसुरवराकीर्णदेवालयव्या मौर्याणां राजधानी वलभिरिति ७ —  
5. — स[खल] मण्डलानां । यस्यान्निःशेषविद्यासुनिश्चितम[त]यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण ब्र(ब्र)ह्मतुल्या;  
पौरा धर्म्मार्थकामतृ(त्रि)तयफलभुजः सन्ति<sup>10</sup> मौर्यप्रसादात् ॥ ३ ॥ <sup>11</sup>खड्गप्रहारदृढपाटि[त?]  
6. [कुम्भिकुम्भसु?]<sup>12</sup> क्ता[फ]लप्रकरतारकितां दिनार्द्धे । रात्रिं चकार रुचि[रां] रुचिरप्रतापः श्रीको-  
कटः प्रवरमौर्यकुलप्रसूतः ॥ ४ ॥ श्रीतत्त्वकस्तदनु<sup>13</sup> यस्य पराक्रमाग्निदंद्दह्य[मा?]  
7. ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ [म]ग्नाः । गंगाजलेष्वभिलषन्ति ननु प्रपातं शैत्याभिलाषिण इव  
द्विषतां समूहाः ॥ ५ ॥ भीमो<sup>14</sup> भीमप्रराक्रमस्तदनु यो दृष्ट्वा व(व)लं विद्विषां<sup>15</sup> सद्यो वैरि ७ —  
8. — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — स्व[र्गे] स्थि[त] — ७ — [न्] । कालक्षेपकरं रिपुव्रजमिव क्रोधा-  
न्वितः स[त्त्व]रः [स]ष्टारं कृतसंस्तुती रणरसात्प[क्षी]हमं प्रार्थय[त्] ॥ ६ ॥ [ओ३?]किषु<sup>16</sup> वा-  
लिगजप[त्ति] ७ — —  
9. ७ नेषु — — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ सत्सु । शौर्यं करोति सकलोरिषु तस्य सौ(शौ)-  
र्यं सर्वेष्विति प्रगदितः स हि सर्वस्व(शु)रः ॥ ७ ॥ गोविंदराज इति च प्रथितः पृथिव्यामा-  
सीनृप—

<sup>4</sup> See Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> I know that the Yādava Bhīllama II. married the daughter of a Rāja Jhañjha (see *ib.* p. 77); but that Jhañjha could not possibly have been the Jhañjha of the present inscription; for, not to mention other reasons, Bhīllama lived about A.D. 1000 (see *ante*, p. 212), and the Jhañjha of this inscription lived fourteen generations before Govindarāja (A.D. 1069).

<sup>6</sup> From impressions taken by Mr. Cousens.

<sup>7</sup> Metre, Drutavilambita.

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Sragdharā; and of the two next verses.

<sup>9</sup> The *akshara* in brackets was originally रं.

<sup>10</sup> Read तस्मिन्.

<sup>11</sup> Originally संनि was engraved.

<sup>12</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

<sup>13</sup> The *aksharas* in these brackets are almost entirely effaced.

<sup>14</sup> Originally ०कः रुदनु was engraved.

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>16</sup> Originally a sign of punctuation was engraved here; but it is struck out again.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

- L. 10. स्तदनु यस्य ७ — ७ — — । गोविंदवत्सपदि चिंतितमा[त्र]सिद्धास्तेनेति नाम स दधौ चरि-  
तार्थसुचैः ॥ ८ ॥ राजा<sup>18</sup>साध्वसिकः<sup>19</sup> ततः परमभूयः<sup>20</sup>स्मा[द्र]णे युध्य तस्मासी रिपुदंति— ७
11. ७ ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — । साधुः साधुरयं तवांसिरमरैः स्वस्वैरिति स्वा[ज्ञा]घत  
शत्रून्साध्वसिनः करोति यदि वा तेनेतिनामा नृपः ॥ ९ ॥ भंभाभिधाननृपतिः<sup>21</sup>प्रथितो  
धरित्रयां — — —
12. ७ — ७ ७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — । संग्रामभूषभिसुखो रभसाग्रधावन्यर्त्तु न शक्य इति  
नाम व(व)भार सार्थ ॥ १० ॥ श्रीदेवहस्तीति<sup>22</sup> ततः क्षितोशो जज्ञे धरामंडलशीतरश्मिः ।  
सम[स्तलो] — — —
13. ७ ७ — ७ — — — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — ॥ ११ ॥ श्रीमान्मुंजनरेखरः<sup>23</sup>  
समभवत्तस्मान्नृपग्रामणीर्यः सौभाग्यसुधासरित्परिहृदो [रू]पावधौ[त]स्मरः । [दुर्वा]रप्र-  
मदाविलो ७ ७ —
14. ७ — — — ७ — — ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — — सुहृर्म्म[त्र]वत्  
॥ १२ ॥ पद्माकरे<sup>24</sup> नरपतिः<sup>25</sup> प्रव(व)भूष तस्माद्युक्तः पदा[ति]गजवाजिरथैरनेकैः । दानानि  
योभ्युदयधर्म-

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION C.<sup>26</sup>

- L. 1. [गो]दानभूमितिल[दान]हिरण्यवेश्मत्रस्त्राश्वरत्नवरधान्यधनादि सर्वम् ।  
संपूज्य यः प्रवरं विप्रगणं प्रहर्षात्<sup>27</sup> शश्वद्दावमलमौर्यकुलप्रदोपः ॥ २७ ॥<sup>28</sup>  
यस्मिन्प्रशासति म[ही]
2. महनीयकीर्त्तौ पंग्वंधदोनविकला न जना व(व)भूतुः ।  
शश्वन्महोत्सवपरंपरया जनानां धर्मार्थकामफलसिद्धिरर्खडिताभूत् ॥ २८ ॥<sup>29</sup>  
यः प्रीणयत्यमृतगंधसुगंधमालाधूपाक्ष[त]-
3. प्रचुरदीपविचित्रभक्षैः ।  
देवग्रहहजिगुरुन्पृ(त्रिप)तृगोग्निसुख्यान्गोविंदराजनृपतिः स सुखी सदा स्थात् ॥ २९ ॥  
कर्पूरकुसुमधनाधिपकर्हमेन कस्तूरिकाजलविमिश्र[त्रि]ति-
4. चंदनेन ।  
आदौ विलिप्य शिवविप्रगुरुनुदारः पश्चाद्विलिपनविधिं स्वयमन्वतिष्ठत् ॥ ३० ॥  
यः पांथसार्थगुणिविप्रभुजिज्ञियार्थं दीनान्यहहविकलस्य च तृप्तिहेतोः ।  
सत्त<sup>30</sup> [च]-
5. कार. नृपतिर्व्व(व्व)हुविद्याशिर्यैर्व्विद्याविनोदनिरतैः परितोतिपूरणैः ॥ ३१ ॥  
यद्गुपैरप्यशक्यं प्रवरवसुमतीदेशभोगाधिरुदै-  
र्निष्पत्यै यस्य तुच्छो धनदधनमृतः से(शे)वधि७पद्मनामा ।  
अत्यु[च]

<sup>18</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>19</sup> Read °कनतः.

<sup>20</sup> Read °यसा.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>25</sup> This sign of *resurgya* was originally omitted.

<sup>26</sup> From an impression taken by Mr. Cousens.

<sup>27</sup> Read °षांष्यं.

<sup>28</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the four next verses.

<sup>29</sup> Read २८.

<sup>30</sup> Read सत्त.

- L. 6. दिव्य[भू]षं सुरसदनसमं मंदिरं तद्वैमौलिः  
कोन्यो गोविंदराजाक्षरपतिरमलो मर्त्यलोके चकार ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>31</sup>  
ब्र(वृ)ह्मज्ञानामृतांतर्निभृतवरसरोराजहंसोमलांगो<sup>32</sup>  
राजश्रीचारुकान्तादायिततर[त]
7. नु७७पुण्यवृत्तस्य<sup>33</sup> मूलं ।  
धात्वा सृष्टोयमेकी जगति नरपतिः सञ्जनानन्दकारो  
शैवध्यानासिभिन्नसहृदयजतमोवृत्तिगोविन्दराजः ॥ ३३ ॥  
[अं]"तर्मीनावताराद्याभिनवतनुभिर्विष्णुरूपैरुपे-
8. तं  
चक्रे सिद्धेशनाथावसथमतिमहत्सर्वभोगोपपन्नं ।  
सर्वेषां पार्थिवानां तृ(त्रि)दिवपतिपुरारोहनिश्रेणिभूतं  
गोविन्दो भूमिपालस्त्वमलनृपगुणैरन्वितक्रीत्तिकामः ॥ ३४ ॥  
वापीं च-
9. कार सुविमलीयलगादव(व)हसोपानप[ङ्क्ति]सुरवेशसनिविष्टदेवं ।  
शश्वल्लोर्भिर्व(व)[हु]श[भ]जलप्रवाहसंज्ञापिताभिश्पनामघनाशदक्षाम् ॥ ३५ ॥<sup>35</sup>  
रूपनंदांकतुल्ये तु ८८१
10. शककालस्य भूपती [I\*]  
सौम्यसंवत्सरापाठरविग्रहणपर्वणि ॥ १ ॥<sup>36</sup>  
महामंडलनाथस्तु श्रीमान्सेउणभूपतिः ।  
सिद्धेश्वराय प्रददौ ग्रामद्वयमुदारधीः ॥ २ ॥  
निजेन राजभोगेन संग[मी]<sup>37</sup>
11. स[धु]वाटिकाम् ॥ ३ ॥  
गोविंदराजोपि ददौ ग्रा[म]यो[र्मा]न्य[भो]गकं ।  
मेलक देवपूजार्थं घ्राणक दीपसिद्धये ॥ ४ ॥  
पाठकं गीतनृत्यार्थं विलासिणिसमन्वितं ।  
तृष्कालं<sup>38</sup> देवभोगार्थं गच्छकानां च भूमि — [॥ ५ ॥\*]  
12. विप्राणां भोजनार्थाय सत्र(च)मुद्दिश्य शाश्वतं ।  
विद्याभ्यासरतानां च<sup>40</sup> क्वात्वा(क्षा)णां भोजनाय च ॥ ६ ॥  
क्षेत्राणि यानि भूपालो ददौ तानि लिखास्यतः ।  
वगलुकम्रतभूमे[ः]<sup>41</sup> पूर्वसीमा तु भूमि —

<sup>31</sup> Metre, Sragdhara; and of the two next verses.

<sup>32</sup> The *akshara* व was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>33</sup> The *akshara* च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>34</sup> I am doubtful about this *akshara*, and the intended reading may possibly be प्रति सौ°.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>36</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the following twelve verses.

<sup>37</sup> Of this *akshara* only the sign of *anusvāra* is doubtful.

<sup>38</sup> The reading here and up to the end of the line is quite clear in the original. Read विष्वासिमी° (?).

<sup>39</sup> I do not understand this, nor the following गच्छकानां ; तृष्कालं may have been put for विष्कालं.

<sup>40</sup> This च was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>41</sup> Originally मृत्सु was engraved, but the *akshara* मृ. has been struck out.



where in the least doubtful. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{3}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 15th century A.D. The language is Samskrit, employed by a person of little knowledge; and, excepting the introductory *om śrī-Gaṇapataye namaḥ*, and a date and the name of the engraver at the end, the inscription is in verse. The letter *b* is, as usually, written by the sign for *v*; otherwise the orthography calls for no remarks.

The inscription, called by the author a *praśasti*, was composed by Miśra Dāmodara (verse 11), written on the stone by Rāmadāsa of the Vāstavya<sup>3</sup> family (v. 13), and engraved by the artisan Ratnadeva (line 16). And its proper object is to record the foundation of a temple of Nārāyaṇa (or Viṣṇu) by the shoemaker (*mochī*) Devapāla, a son of Śivadāsa and grandson of Jasau (vv. 9, 10, and 12), at the town of Khalvāṭikā (v. 7), *i. e.*, the modern Khalāri. By way of introduction the inscription—after the words 'om, adoration to Gaṇapati' and three verses in honour of that deity and of Bhārati, the goddess of eloquence, and Nārāyaṇa,—gives us (in verses 4-6) the following genealogy of the prince, the illustrious Haribrahmadeva, whose capital (*rājadhānī*) Khalvāṭikā is represented to have been when the inscription was composed:—

In the Kalachuri (or Kalachuti) branch of the Haihaya (here called Ahihaya) family was the prince Simhaṇḍa, a worshipper of Śambhu (or Śiva), who conquered eighteen strongholds of adversaries. His son was the prince, Rāmadeva, who slew in battle Bhoṇṅadeva (apparently a prince, whom I am unable to identify). And his son again was the illustrious prince, Haribrahmadeva.

The inscription is dated (in lines 15 and 16) in the (Vikrama) year 1470, the Śaka year 1334, and the year Plava of the sixty-years' cycle of Jupiter, on the 9th of the bright half of Māgha, a Saturday, while the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇī. Had the years been given correctly in this date, the Vikrama year 1470 would have to be taken as a current year, and the Śaka year 1334 as an expired year. But the date works out satisfactorily neither for Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired, nor for Vikrama 1470 expired, and its proper year undoubtedly is Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, as will be seen from the following equivalents:—

For Vikrama 1470 current = Śaka 1334 expired Māgha-śudi 9 corresponds to Wednesday, the 11th January, A.D. 1413;

for Vikrama 1470 expired = Śaka 1335 expired, to Tuesday, the 30th January, A.D. 1414;

for Vikrama 1471 expired = Śaka 1336 expired, to Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise, and when the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇī from 13 h. 8 m., or, by the *Garga-siddhānta*, from 1 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise, or, by the *Brahma-siddhānta*, from about sunrise. This Saturday, the 19th January, A.D. 1415, also, as required, fell in the Jovian year Plava, which by the *Sūrya-siddhānta* rule without *bija* lasted from the 24th April, A.D. 1414, to the 20th April, A.D. 1415.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, Index of vol. I, under *Vāstavya*.

Of the reign of the prince Hariabrahmadeva we possess another (carelessly written) inscription of the Vikrama year 1468, which was found at Rāyapur and is now in the Nāgpur Museum<sup>4</sup>, and the full date of which I have given in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 26, No. 20. In that inscription, which records the foundation of a temple of Haṭakeśvara (Śiva) by the *Nāyaka* Hājirājadeva, the prince is described as *Mahārājā-dhīrāja*, and called Rāyabrahmadeva, Harirāyabrahma, and simply Brahmadeva. The inscription also mentions his predecessors, who are there called Simha and Rāmachandra, instead of Simhaṇa and Rāmadeva.

I may mention, besides, that the names of these princes Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra also occur in a large mutilated inscription at Ramtek<sup>5</sup> in the Central Provinces of which I owe a faint rubbing to Dr. Fleet.

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

- L. 1. श्रीं [॥\*] श्रीगणपतये नमः । (॥)  
सकलदुरितहर्त्ताऽभीष्टसिद्धिप्रकर्त्ता निगमसमुपगोतः शेषयज्ञोपवीतः ।  
ललितमधुकरालोसे-
2. विता<sup>7</sup> गंडपालीतटमुवि गणराजः पातु वो विघ्नराजः ॥ १ ॥<sup>8</sup>  
वेदानाराध्य वेधाः पठति भगवतीं यामनायस्तचित्तः  
श्रीकंठस्यापि नादैरपहरति मनः
3. पार्वती किन्नरीभिः ।  
हारा नारायणस्योरसि रहसि रणत्वंकणा यद्भुजाः स्युः  
सद्यः सत्काव्यसिद्धौ स्फुरतु कविमुखाभोरुहे भारती सा ॥ २ ॥<sup>9</sup>  
ब्र(ब्र)ह्माद-
4. यो द(दि)विषदः श्रुतिवाक्यदृष्ट्या ध्यायति यं पुरुषमात्मविदोऽप्यमूर्त्तं ।  
पापानि यत्स्मरणतो विलयं प्रयाति नारायणः स्फुरतु चेतसि सर्वदा वः । (॥) ३ ॥<sup>10</sup>  
अहिह-<sup>11</sup>
5. यत्पदंशे शंभुभक्तोऽवतीर्णः कलचुतिरिति शाखां प्राप्य तीव्र(ब्र)प्रतापः ।  
निजभुजगुरुदर्पाद्योऽरिदुर्गाख्यजैषोद्वरणमुवि दश चाष्टौ सिंहणचोणिपालः ॥
6. ४ ॥<sup>12</sup>  
अभवद्वनिपालस्तत्पुतो रामदेवः समरशिरसि धीरो येन भीषिगदेवः ।  
मणिरिव फणिवंशस्याऽहतः कोपदृष्ट्या तरुणतरुणितेजःपंजराजव्रतायः ॥ ५ ॥
7. तत्पुत्रः शत्रुहंता जगति विजयते चंद्रचूडस्य भक्तः  
श्यामः कामाभिरामो मनसि मृगदृशासुझटानां कृतांतः ।  
सर्वेषां याचकानां स्फुरदमरतर्कवाक्पतिः पंडिता-

<sup>4</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> See *ib.*, vol. VII, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup> From rubbings supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

<sup>7</sup> Read "विता"

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Mālinī.

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Sragdharā. In the second line of this verse a relative pronoun has been omitted.

<sup>10</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>11</sup> I give this verse exactly as I find it in the original. Its meaning is clear enough. In the Kalachuribranh of the Haibaya family there was the prince Sihhapa, who conquered eighteen fortresses of adversaries. But the Haibayas are called by the writer Ahihaya, and the Kalachuris Kalachutis, not to mention the grammatical mistakes which the verse contains.

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 4 and 5, Mālinī.

L. 8.

ना

गोतमनानां द्वितीयो भरत इव नृपः श्रीहरिः (त्र) द्वादशदेवः ॥ ६ ॥<sup>13</sup>  
तद्गानधानी नगरो गरिष्ठा खल्वटिका राजति वाटिकाभिः ।  
सुरालया यत्र हिमालयाभा विभांति

9.

शृंगैरतिशुभ्रतुंगैः ॥ ७ ॥<sup>14</sup>

भूदेवा यत्र वेदाध्ययनमनु रताः स्वस्तिमंतो वसंति  
श्रीमंतः श्रीविलासैरमरपरिहृदं राजराजं हसंतः ।  
कामिन्यः कामदेवं त्रिपुरहर-

10.

दृशा दग्धसुज्जीवयंत्यः

श्रीवद्मोर्मूलकांत्या स्मितमधुरगिरा भूलताडव(व)रेण ॥ ८ ॥<sup>15</sup>  
मोची तत्रेदुरोचीरुचिरतरयशाः कर्मनिर्माणदक्षः  
सौजन्या-

11.

दशजन्माऽनुचर इव जसीनामधेयस्य पौत्रः ।

नानाधर्माभिलाषी गुणनिधिशिवदासाऽभिधानस्य पुत्रः  
श्रीमन्नारायणस्य स्मरणविमलधी राजते

12.

देवपालः ॥ ९ ॥

नारायणस्यायतनं स्वशक्त्या भक्त्या महत्या सह मंडपेन ।  
निर्मापितं तेन परत्र चात्र तस्मै हरिर्यच्छतु वांछि(द्धि)तार्थं ॥ १० ॥<sup>16</sup>  
हरिचरणसरोजध्यान-

13.

पीयूषसिंधुप्रसरदलपुवेलास्फालकेलीरसेन ।

सरसकविजनानां निर्मितेयं प्रशस्तिर्मनसि रसविधात्री मित्रदामोदरेण ॥ ११ ॥  
वहति जगति गंगा याव-

14.

दादित्यपुत्रा स्फुरति वियति तारामंडलाऽखंडलेन<sup>18</sup> ।

तरणिरमरसङ्घच्छद्मना तावदेषा जयतु जयतु मोचीदेवपालस्य कीर्तिः ॥ १२ ॥  
श्रीवास्तव्यान्वयेनैषा

15.

प्रशस्तिरमलाक्षरा ।

लिखिता रामदासेन पंडिताधीश्वरेण च ॥ १३ ॥<sup>19</sup>

स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १४७० वर्षे साके १३३४ षष्ठाब्दयोर्मध्ये<sup>20</sup> ज्ञानामसंवत्सरे माघसुदि ८

16. शनिवासरे रोहिणीनक्षत्रे [॥\*] शुभमस्तु सर्वजगतः ॥ स्वधाररत्नदेवेन [॥\*]

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.<sup>14</sup> Metre, Upajāti.<sup>15</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9, Sragdharā.<sup>16</sup> Metre, Indravajrā.<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 11 and 12, Mālinī.<sup>18</sup> The word *ākhaṇḍala* is perhaps (wrongly) used here in the sense of 'rain-bow'.<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>20</sup> Read षष्ठाब्दमध्ये 'in the sixty-years' cycle.'

XVIII.—DUBKUND STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE KACHCHHAPAGHATA  
VIKRAMASIMHA.

THE [VIKRAMA] YEAR 1145.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered, in 1866, by Captain W. R. Melville,<sup>1</sup> in the ruins of a temple at 'Dubkund,' *Indian Atlas*, Quarter-sheet 51, S. E., Long. 77° 5½' E., Lat. 25° 43½' N. The place is in a dense forest on the left bank of the Kunu river, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwálor; and the temple is situated in the middle of an enclosure on a peninsula, the neck of which is defended by a fortified wall, and all around it are a mass of ruined houses and the remains of several smaller temples. Captain Melville sent two copies of the inscription to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but they were probably too imperfect to be used for editing the inscription. The ruins of Dubkund were examined again, in 1882-83, by Sir A. Cunningham's native draughtsman, and from his account a description of them is given in *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XX, p. 99, and Preface, p. v, together with a small photo-lithograph of the inscription, *ib.*, plates xxi and xxii. I now edit the inscription from one of his rubbings, apparently the same from which the photo-lithograph was prepared.

The inscription contains 61 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 3½" broad by 3' 2" high. With the exception of about twenty *aksharas* in lines 1 and 2 which have become damaged by the peeling off of the surface of the stone, and perhaps a few other *aksharas* which are illegible in the rubbing, the writing is well preserved, and everything of importance may be read with certainty. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and ¾". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Samskr̥it, and, excepting the introductory *om om namo vītarāgāya* and the greater portion of lines 54-61, the inscription is in verse. It is called a *praśasti* (lines 47 and 60), and was composed by the Jaina Vijayakīrti (line 46), written on the stone by Udayarāja (line 60), and engraved by the stone-mason Tilhaṇa (line 61). Both the writer and the engraver have done their work with great care, and in respect of orthography I have only to note that the letter *ḍ* is throughout written by the sign for *ṣ*, and that the dental sibilant is occasionally employed instead of the palatal.<sup>2</sup>

The object of the inscription is, to record the foundation of a Jaina temple—clearly the temple at which the inscription was discovered—by some private persons (lines 52-53), and certain donations made in favour of it by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 54-58) who ruled the country around Dubkund when the inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1145 (line 61). And the inscription clearly divides itself into two parts, the first of which (lines 10-32) gives an account of the prince Vikramasimha and his ancestors, while the other (lines 32-51) treats of the founders of the temple and certain Jaina sages connected with them. In six introductory verses (lines 1-10) the poet invokes the blessings of, or glorifies, the Jaina Tīrthakāras Rishabhasvāmin, Śāntinātha, Chandraprabha and the Jina (Mahāvira), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of eloquence (*śrūta-devatā*) 'famous in the world under the name of Paṅkajavāsini.'

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXV, part I, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> In the rubbing before me it is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between the palatal and dental sibilants.



The poet's account of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha (lines 10-32) is as follows:—

“There was, an ornament of the Kachchhapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvarāja who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth.<sup>3</sup>

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva, fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl-strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea.

The notes of his musical instruments which rose, when he marched out, resembling the roaring of the sea, and the sounds of the bells of his countless troops of mountain-like elephants, eagerly marching forth, vied with each other in spreading on all sides, and never left off filling the hollow of heaven and earth, joined by the loud echo which rose from mountain caves.

From him was born Abhimanyu, who, always possessed of many unblemished qualities which supported crowds of suppliants who (but for him) would have wandered round the circuit of the quarters,<sup>4</sup> and which in splendour rivalled the moon's crescent, . . . . . having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, valued other princes as lightly as a straw.

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella?

When he marched forth, the thick clouds of dust which rose from the earth, pounded by the sharp hoofs of his chargers, covering the sun's orb, predicted as it were with certainty that soon indeed would be dimmed the lustre of all other illustrious beings.

From that illustrious prince was born the prince Vijayapāla, who filled the circuit of the quarters with his boundless glory which spread about, bright like the quivering rays of the autumnal moon, and who allayed all suffering whatever on the whole orb of the earth.

Moreover, this prince in a high degree roused the feeling of wonder in the minds of the learned, because in the battles which were viewed by the damsels of heaven he imparted fear to all his enemies one after another, although he had not got it himself, while he never gave to them a portion of the earth, which he did possess.

From him was born the illustrious prince Vikramasimha, ‘the lion of valour,’ rightly so named, because in the display of his mighty valour, which performed valorous deeds, he cleft asunder the projecting fleshy frontal globes of the arrayed elephants of

<sup>3</sup> Arjuna being the name of one of the Pāṇḍava princes, the poet manages to bring into the verse the words *Pāṇḍu Bhīmasena* (the second son of Pāṇḍu and elder brother of Arjuna), and *Dhanvin* (an epithet of Arjuna).

<sup>4</sup> The words of the original would also mean ‘possessed of many uncut bow-strings which supported crowds of arrows able to conquer the circuit of the quarters’.

all his enemies, and because his brilliant fame, as if it were his big shining mane, spread at once in all quarters.

Having perceived that his club-like right arm, even while he was a child, was taken possession of by the Fortune of heroism, who had given up all idea of occupying any other resting-place, the Fortune of royalty, proudly desirous of asserting her superiority, when he was older, determined on embracing his whole body, turning away with disdain from all other men.

Useless indeed is yonder sun, so long as this sun of a king disperses the thick darkness of exceedingly haughty adversaries, and eclipses the stars of the badly-conducted, and illumines all round the wide expanse of this whole earth, and uninterruptedly touches with his fierce rays of supremacy, which spread to the confines of the regions, mountain-like princes.

At his conquest of the quarters, the dust which rose from the orb of the earth, crumbling to pieces under the sharp hoofs of his choice chargers, spread over the chief towns of his adversaries, and, enveloping all things, foretold as it were the time of the universal destruction.

To this noble prince belongs the town named Chaḍobha, the lustre of which spreads on all sides, the excellent markets and the thriving trade of which are celebrated by the people that come to it from all quarters to traffic in things which they have got or wish to acquire."

The historical information contained in these verses is this :—

In the Kachchhapaghāta family there was—

1. Yuvarāja. His son was—
2. Arjuna, who, as an ally or feudatory of Vidyādharadeva, slew in battle Rājyapāla. His son was—
3. Abhimanyu, whose valorous bearing was eulogized by the king Bhoja. His son was—
4. Vijayapāla; and his son again—
5. Vikramasimha, for whom the inscription (in line 61) furnishes the date Monday, the third of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada of the year 1145, corresponding, as I have shown in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 361 (No. 170), to the Northern Vikrama year 1145 expired, or to Monday, the 21st August, A. D. 1088.<sup>5</sup>

Of the Kachchhapaghāta family we possess two other inscriptions of about the same time and from the same part of India. One is the large Gwālior Śāsbaḥū temple inscription<sup>6</sup> of the Vikrama year 1150, which gives us the line of princes Lakshmaṇa, Vajradāman, Maṅgalarāja, Kīrtirāja, Mūladeva, Devapāla, Padmapāla, and Mahipāla. And the other is the Narwar copper-plate inscription<sup>7</sup> of Vīrasimhadēva of the Vikrama year 1177, which mentions, as the immediate predecessor of Vīrasimhadēva, Śaradasimhadēva, and as his predecessor, Gaganasimhadēva. As these two inscriptions contain totally different names, and as none of the names occurring in either agree with the names furnished by the present inscription, it is clear that the three

<sup>5</sup> The date is one of those in which the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced.

<sup>6</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> See *Journal, Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. VI, p. 543, and Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. II, p. 313.

inscriptions belong to three different branches of the Kachchhapaghâta family, which must have been in possession of the country around Gwâlior in the 11th century A. D. We know that the prince Vajradâman of the Gwâlior inscription, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1034,<sup>9</sup> defeated a ruler of Kanauj and conquered the fort of Gwâlior which before belonged to Kanauj. And I shall try to show that one of the princes mentioned in the present inscription, too, had some share, perhaps an important one, in the wars which must have been waged against the rulers of Kanauj during the first quarter of the 11th century A. D.

About Vikramasimha and his predecessor Vijayapâla the author of our inscription has nothing of importance to report. I myself believe Vijayapâla to be identical with the *nripati* Vijayâdhirâja, who is mentioned as a ruling prince in an inscription of the Vikrama year 1100 at Byânâ, which is about 80 miles north of Dubkund, and whose name is preserved in the local traditions as Vijayapâla<sup>10</sup>; and I may mention that, like the inscription of Vikramasimha, here published, the Byânâ inscription of Vijayâdhirâja also is a Jaina inscription. Of Vijayapâla's father Abhimanyu our inscription merely says that his valour and skill were highly eulogized by the intelligent king Bhoja. Considering that for Vikramasimha we have the date Vikrama 1145, and for Vijayapâla (Vijayâdhirâja) the date Vikrama 1100, Abhimanyu must have ruled shortly before Vikrama 1100, and there can therefore be no doubt that the king Bhoja, here spoken of, is the Paramâra Bhojadeva of Mâlava, for whom we possess the two dates Vikrama 1078 and Śaka 964=Vikrama 1099.<sup>10</sup>

Abhimanyu's father Arjuna, whose rule may be placed some time between Vikrama 1060 and 1090, is said to have slain, in the cause of the illustrious Vidyâdharadeva, the illustrious Râjyapâla; and this, in my opinion, is really a valuable piece of information. As regards Vidyâdharadeva, he can be no other than the Chandella king of that name, the successor of Gaṇḍadeva and predecessor of Vijayapâladeva.<sup>11</sup> Gaṇḍadeva was preceded by Dhaṅgadeva, who ruled from about Vikrama 1011 to about 1055,<sup>12</sup> and Vijayapâladeva was succeeded by Devavarmadeva, for whom we have the date Vikrama 1107.<sup>13</sup> Gaṇḍadeva therefore must be placed approximately about Vikrama 1060-1080,<sup>14</sup> which shows that his successor Vidyâdharadeva may well indeed have been a contemporary of the Kachchhapaghâta Arjuna. As to Râjyapâla, I think it highly probable that he is the Râjyapâla who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Trilochanapâla in the Jhûsi (or Allahâbâd) copper-plate of this king of the Vikrama year 1084, published by me in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 34; and I now believe that the three kings Vijayapâladeva, Râjyapâladeva and Trilochanapâladeva of that inscription, about whom I could say nothing at the time, were really rulers of Kanauj. For we know that the Chandella Vidyâdhara brought about the destruction of a ruler of Kanyâkubja (or Kanauj)<sup>15</sup>, and it appears very probable that he allied himself for that purpose with his neighbours, the Kachchhapaghâta chiefs, and that the prince of

<sup>9</sup> See *Journal, As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, p. 393.

<sup>10</sup> See Dr. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 8.

There can, in my opinion, be little doubt that the Maṅgalârâja, mentioned in another fragmentary inscription at Byânâ (*ib.* p. 9), is the Kachchhapaghâta Maṅgalârâja of the Gwâlior inscription, the successor of Vajradâman.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, p. 232.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*, p. 196.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 124 and 139.

<sup>14</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 201.

<sup>15</sup> See also *ante*, vol. I, p. 219.

Kanauj destroyed by him was the very Rājyapāla, mentioned in the present inscription and in the Jhūsi copper-plate. As indicated by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, vol. I, p. 219, we have hitherto known nothing certain of the kings of Kanauj between A. D. 948 and 1097. If my suggestions are approved of, we have now at least the names of three kings of Kanauj, who together must have ruled approximately from about A. D. 980 to about A. D. 1040.—About Arjuna's father Yuvarāja the author of our inscription has nothing to say.

Of the second part of the inscription it will, I think, be sufficient to give an abstract of the contents. The last versè translated above told us that to Vikramasimha belonged the town of Chaḍobha, evidently the place now called Dubkund which at the time must have been noted for its trade; and in continuation of it the verses in lines 32-39 give the genealogy of the two Jaina traders Ṛishi and Dāhaḍa, on whom Vikramasimha had conferred the rank of *śreshṭhins*<sup>15</sup> in that town, and one of whom is mentioned afterwards among the founders of the temple. Both were sons of Jayadeva and his wife Yaśomatī, and grandsons of the *śreshṭhin* Jāsūka, who is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jāyasapur, a town which I am unable to identify.

Lines 39-48 then contain an account of some Jaina sages, the last of whom, Vijayakīrti, not only composed this inscription, but also by his religious teaching incited the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. The first sage spoken of, an ornament of the Lāṭavāgaṭa *gaṇa*, is the Guru Devasena. His son was Kulabhūṣaṇa; and his son again was Durlabhasenastūri. From him sprang the Guru Śāntiśeṇa who, in a *sabhā* held before the king Bhojadeva, defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. And his son was Vijayakīrti.

Of the founders of the temple lines 48-51 mention by name the Sādhu Dāhaḍa whose genealogy has already been given, Kūkeka, Sūrpata, Devadhara, Mahichandra, and Lakshmaṇa; but others also, who are not named, are said to have rendered assistance.

The prose passage, commencing in line 54, records that the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasimha, for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purposes of worship, assigned (a tax of) one *vinśopaka* on each *goṇi* (of grain?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahāchakra, capable of being sown with four *goṇis* of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadrāha; and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil<sup>16</sup> for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men.—I can find no names like Mahāchakra and Rajakadrāha anywhere near Dubkund on the maps at my disposal.

After the usual appeal to future rulers to keep the above donations intact, lines 60-61 give the names of the writer and of the engraver, already mentioned; and the inscription closes with a date, the European equivalent of which I have given above.

<sup>15</sup> See Jacobi's edition of Dhadrabāhu's *Kolpasūtra*, p. 107: *śreshṭhinaḥ śrīdevatādhyāsita-sauvarṇapaṭṭa-bhūṣi-tattumāṅgāḥ*.

<sup>16</sup> The original has the compound *lava-ghoṣilā-drayam*, the first word of which I am unable to explain properly.

TEXT.<sup>17</sup>

- L. 1. श्री<sup>18</sup> ॥ [श्री] न[मो] वीतरागाय ॥ श्री<sup>19</sup> — — द्रि — ट — उ — टना[यत्पा]दपोठं लुठसं-  
[दा]रसगम[द]गुंज[द]लि[म]विहृतसंराविणम् । [त]-  
2. [त्पा] — उ — वद[च]ः उरु — — — [तां] सं — ि — हे[ग]मिवाकरोत् ऋषभस्वामी  
त्रिये स्तात्सता[म्] ॥ वि(वि)धा-  
3. [णो] गुण[सं]ह[ति] हततमस्तापो निजज्योतिषा [यु]क्तात्मापि जगंति संगतजय[च]क्रे सरा-  
गाणि यः । उन्माद्यन्-  
4. कर[ध्व]जोर्जितगजग्रासील्लसत्केसरी संसारोग्रगदच्छिदेस्तु स मम श्रीसां(शां)तिनाथो जिनः ॥  
जा[द्यं] सस्वदखंडित-<sup>20</sup>  
5. क्षयमपि क्षीणाखिलोपक्ष[यं] साक्षादीक्षितमक्षिभिर्दधदपि प्रौढं कलंकं तथा । चिह्नत्वाद्यदु-  
पांतमाप्य सततं [जात]-  
6. [स्तथा?]नंदकचंद्रः सर्वजनस्य पातु विपदचंद्रप्रभोर्हंस नः ॥ सो(शो)कानोकहसंकुलं रतितृण-  
श्रेणि प्रणश्य[द्भ्रम]-  
7. — — [त्वा]ध्वगपूगमुद्रतमहामिथ्यात्ववातध्वनि । यो रागादिमृगोपघातक्षतधीर्ध्यानान्निना  
भस्मसाद्भावं कर्म-  
8. वनं निनाय जयतालोयं जिनः सन्ततिः ॥ <sup>21</sup>प्रसाधितार्थगुर्भयपंकजाकर[भा]स्कारः । अंतस्तमो-  
पहो वोस्तु गो-  
9. तमो सुनिसत्तमः ॥ <sup>22</sup>श्रीमज्जिनाधिपतिसद्वदनारविंदमुद्रच्छदच्छतरवो(वो)धसमृद्धगंधम् ।  
अध्यास्य या जगति पंकजवासिनी-  
10. ति ख्या[ति] जगाम जयतु सु(शु)तदेवता सा ॥ <sup>23</sup>आसीत्क्षच्छपघातवंशतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनि-  
र्यद्यशःपांडुश्रीयुवराजसुनुर-  
11. समद्युद्धीमसेनानुगः । श्रीमा[न]र्जुनभूपतिः<sup>24</sup> पतिरपामप्याप यत्तुल्यतां नो गांभीर्यगुणेन  
निर्जितजग[द्व]न्वी धनु-  
12. र्विद्यया ॥ श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं दृढात्कांठास्थिच्छिदनेकवाणनिवहैर्हत्वा  
महत्याह्वे ।  
13. <sup>25</sup>[डिंडीरा]वलचंद्रमंडल[मि]लम्भुक्ताकलापोज्ज्वलैस्त्रैलोक्यं सकलं यशोभिरचलैर्योजसमा-  
पूरयत् ॥ <sup>26</sup>यस्य  
14. प्रस्थानकालीत्यितजलधिरवाकारवादितशब्दा(ब्दा) वेगाभिर्गच्छदद्रिप्रतिसगजघटाकोटिघंटा-  
वाद्य । संस-  
15. र्पतः समंतादहमहमिकया पूरयंतो विरेमुनो रोदोरंभभागं गिरिविवरगुह्यव्रतिध्वानमिश्राः ॥  
<sup>27</sup>दिक्च-  
16. क्राक्रमयो[र्य]मार्गणगणाधाराननेकान् गुणानच्छिन्नाननिशं दधद्विधुकलासंस्पर्द्धमानद्युतोन् ।  
[च]उ-

<sup>17</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess.

<sup>18</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>19</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next three verses.

<sup>20</sup> Read शयद°.

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

<sup>24</sup> The *akṣhara* in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved below the line.

<sup>25</sup> The *akṣharas* in these brackets have been partly painted over in the rubbing.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

- L. 17. [च्छि]न्नधनुर्गुणं<sup>28</sup> विजयिनोप्याजी विजित्यो[र्जि]तं जातोऽस्मादभिमन्युरन्यनृपतीनामन्यमान-  
स्तृणम् ॥ यस्यात्त्व[हुत]-  
18. वाहवाहनमहाशस्त्रप्रयोगादिषु प्रावीर्यं प्रविकल्पितं पृथुमतिश्रीभोजपृथ्वीभुजा । च्छत्रालो<sup>29</sup>-  
कनमात्रजात-  
19. भयतो दृष्टारिभंगप्रदस्यास्य स्याद्गुणवर्णने त्रिभुव[ने] की लब्ध(ब्ध)वर्णः प्रभुः ॥ <sup>30</sup>तुरगखरखुरा-  
ग्रीत्वात[धात्री]-  
20. समुत्थं स्थगयदङ्गिमरस्त्रे(श्रे)र्मंडलं यत्प्रयाणे । प्रचुरतररजोन्याशेषतेजस्वितेजोहृतिमचिरत  
21. एवा[शं]सतीवानिवारम् ॥ शरदमृतमयूखप्रेखदंशप्रकाशप्रसरदमितकीर्त्तिव्याप्तदिवचक्रवालः ।  
अजनि विजय-  
22. पालः श्रीमतोऽस्मान्महीशः शमितसकलधात्रीमंडलक्लेशलस(श): ॥ <sup>31</sup>भयं यच्छत्रूणां त्रिदशतरुणी-  
वीक्षितरणे  
23. क्रमेणाशपाणां व्यतरदसदध्यात्मान सदा । सतोप्यंशन्नादादव[नि]वलयस्याधिकमतो बु(बु)धा-  
नामाश्चर्यं व्यतनुत  
24. नरेंद्रो हृदि च यः ॥ <sup>32</sup>तस्माद्विक्र[म]कारिविक्रमभरप्रारंभनिर्भेदितप्रोचुंगाखिलवैरिवारणघटो-  
द्यन्मा[स]कुं-  
25. भस्थलः । श्रीमान्विक्रमसिंहभूपतिरभूदन्वर्थनामा समं सर्वासा(शा)प्रसरद्विभासुरयशःस्फारस्फुर-  
त्केसरः ॥  
26. वा(वा)लस्यापि विलोक्य यस्य परिधाकारं भुजं दक्षिणं क्षीणाशेषपराश्रयस्थितिधिया वीरश्रिया  
संश्रितम् । सर्वाशेष-  
27. वगृह्णनाग्रहमहंकारादहंपूर्विका<sup>33</sup> राज्यश्रीरक्त[ता]धिगस्य<sup>34</sup> विसुखी सर्वान्यपुंवर्गतः ॥ <sup>35</sup>अत्यंतो-  
दृप्तविद्वित्तिमि-  
28. रभरभिदि च्छादितानी[ति]ताराचक्रे विष्वक्प्रकाशं सकलजगदमंदावकाशं दधाने । निःपर्याय<sup>36</sup>  
दिगास्यप्रसरदुरु-  
29. क[राक्रां]तधात्रीधरेंद्रे यस्मिन्नाजांसु(श)मालिन्यहह सति हृद्यैवैषकोन्यांशमाली ॥ <sup>37</sup>यद्दिग्जये  
वरतुरंगखुरप्रसं-  
30. गच्छुणावनीवलयजन्यरजोभिसर्पत् । विहेषिणां पुरवरेषु तिरोहितान्यवस्तूत्करं प्रलयकालमि-  
वादिदे-  
31. श ॥ तस्य क्षितीश्वरवरस्य पुरं समस्तं विस्तीर्णंशोभमभितोपि चडोभसंज्ञम् । प्राप्तेप्सितक्रय-  
समग्रदिगागतांगि-  
32. व्यावर्ण्यमानविपणिव्यवहारसारम् ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>38</sup>आसील्लायसपूर्वनिर्गतवणिग्वांशव(व)राभीश-  
मान्<sup>39</sup> जासूक्तः प्रक[टाक्षता]-  
33. शनिकरः श्रेष्ठी<sup>40</sup> प्रभाविष्ठितः । सम्यन्दृष्टिरभीष्टजेन[च]रणहंघाचने यो ददौ पात्नीघाय [चतु]-  
र्विधं [त्रि]विवु(बु)-

<sup>28</sup> The above appears to be what was originally engraved, but the *akshara* शे may have been altered.

<sup>29</sup> Read हृत्ता<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Metre, Mālinī; and of the next verse.

<sup>31</sup> Metre, Śikharinī.

<sup>32</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

<sup>33</sup> Originally "पूर्विका" was engraved.

<sup>34</sup> Read "धिकस्य.

<sup>35</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.

<sup>36</sup> Read निःपर्यायं.

<sup>37</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>39</sup> Read "माझामुकः."

<sup>40</sup> Perhaps altered to श्रेष्ठप्रभा<sup>०</sup>.

- L. 34. धो दानं युतः यडया ॥ <sup>41</sup> श्रीमज्जिने[श्वर]पदां(वु)रुहद्विरेफो विस्फारकीर्त्ति[ध]वलीकृतदिग्वि-  
भागः । पुत्रोस्य वैभव-  
35. पदं जयदेवनामा सीमायमानचरितोजनि सज्जनानाम् ॥ <sup>42</sup> रूपेण सी(शी)लिन कुलिन सर्वस्त्रीणां  
गुणैरप्यपरेः  
36. शिरसु । पदं दधानास्य व(व)भूव भार्या यशोमतीति प्रथिता पृथिव्याम् ॥ <sup>43</sup> तस्यामजीजनदसा-  
वपिदाहडाख्यौ पुत्रौ पवि-  
37. त्वसुराजितचारुमूर्त्ति । प्राच्यामिवार्कस(श)शिनौ समयः समस्तसंपन्नसाधकजनव्यवहारहे-  
[तू] ॥ <sup>44</sup> प्रोन्माद्यत्सकला-  
38. रिक्कुंजरशिरोनिर्द्धारणीयद्यशोमुक्ताभूषितभूरभूरपि भियान्नोन्मार्गगामी च यः । सोदादिक्रम-  
सिंहभूष-  
39. तिरतिप्रीतो यकाभ्यां युगयेष्ठः अष्टिपदं पुरेत्त परमे<sup>45</sup> प्राकारसौधापणे ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>46</sup> आसीद्विशुद्ध-  
तरवो(वो)धचरितदृ-  
40. ष्टिनिःशेषशू(स्)रिनतमस्तकधारि[ता]न्नः । श्रीलाटवागटगणोन्नतरोहणाद्रिमाणिक्यभूतच-  
रितो गुरुदेवसे-  
41. नः ॥ <sup>47</sup> सिद्धांतो द्विविधोप्यवाधितधिया येन प्रमाणध्व[नि]ग्रंथेषु प्रभवः त्रियामवगतो हस्तस्थ-  
सुक्तोपमः ।  
42. जातः श्रीकुलभूषणोखिलवियदासोगणग्रामणीः सम्यग्दर्शनशुद्धवो(वो)धचरणालंकारधारी  
ततः ॥ <sup>48</sup> रत्नत्रया[भ]रण-  
43. धारणजातशोभस्तस्मादजायत स दुर्लभसेनसूरिः । सर्वं श्रुतं समधिगम्य सहैव सम्यगात्मस्वरू-  
पनिरतोभवद्विद्व-  
44. [धी]र्यः ॥ <sup>49</sup> आस्थानाधिपतौ वु(वु)धा[दवि]गुणे श्रीभोजदेवे नृपे सभ्येष्वव(व)रसेनपंडितशिरो-  
रत्नादिपूज्यन्मदान् । योने-  
45. कान्<sup>50</sup> शतसो व्यजेष्ट पटुताभीष्टोद्यमो वादिनः शास्त्रांभोनिधिपारगोभवदतः श्रीशान्तिप्रेषो  
गुरुः ॥ <sup>51</sup> गुरुचर-  
46. णसरोजाराधनावासपुष्पप्रभवदमलवु(वु)द्धिः शुद्धरत्नत्रयोन्मात् । अजनि विजयकीर्त्तिः सूक्तारत्नाव-  
47. कीर्णो जलधिभुवमिवैतां यः प्रस(श)स्ति व्यधत् ॥ <sup>52</sup> तस्मादवाप्य परमागमसारभूतं धर्मापदे-  
शमधिकाधिगत-  
48. प्रवो(वो)धाः । लक्ष्म्याश्च वं(वं)धुसुहृदां च समागमस्य गत्वायुषश्च वपुषश्च विनश्चरत्वं ॥ <sup>53</sup> प्रार-  
व्या(व्या)धर्मकांतारविदाहः  
49. साधुदाहडः । सद्भिर्वेकश्च [कू]केकः सूर्यटः सुकते पटुः ॥ तथा देवधरः शुद्धः<sup>54</sup> धर्मकर्मधुरंधरः ।  
च[ंद्रा]लिखि-  
50. तनाकश्च महीचंद्रः शुभार्जनात् ॥ गुणिनः क्षणनाशिश्चोक्तादानविचक्षणाः । अन्येपि यावकाः  
केचिद-

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>42</sup> Metre, Upajñti.<sup>43</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>44</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>45</sup> Read परमप्राकार°.<sup>46</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>47</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>48</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>49</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>50</sup> Read °काव्यतयो.<sup>51</sup> Metre, Mālinī.<sup>52</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>53</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next three verses.<sup>54</sup> Read शुद्धी.

- L. 51. कर्ते[धन]पावकाः ॥ किंच लक्षणसंज्ञोभू—हृदेवस्य मातुलः । गोष्ठिको जिन्मभक्तश्च सर्वशास्त्र-  
 52. विचक्षणः ॥ <sup>55</sup>शृंगाग्रोस्त्रिखितांव(ब)रं वरसुधासांद्रद्रवापांडुरं सार्थं श्रीजिनमंदिरं त्रिजगदानं-  
 दप्रदं सुं-  
 53. दरम् । संभूयेदमकारयन्गुरशिरःसंचारिकेत्वं(ब)रप्रातिनोच्छलतेव वायुविहतेर्यामादिश[त्पश्य-]  
 54. ताम् ॥ ॐ ॥ अथैतस्य जिनेश्वरमंदिरस्य निष्पादनपूजनसंस्काराय कालान्तरस्फुटितदुटित-  
 प्रतीका-  
 55. रार्थं च महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहः स्वपुण्यरासे(शे)रप्रतिहतप्रसरं परमोपचयं चेतसि  
 [नि]धाय  
 56. गोष्ठीं प्रति विंशोपकं गोधूमगोणीचतुष्टयवापयोग्यक्षेत्रं च महार[चक्र]यामभूमौ रजकद्रहपू-  
 57. र्वदिग्भागवाटिकां वापीसमन्वितं । <sup>56</sup>प्रदीपसुनिजनशरीराभ्यंजनार्थं करघटिकाद्वयं च दत्त-  
 वान् । तच्चाचं-  
 58. द्वाकं महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहोपरोधेन ॥ <sup>56</sup>व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा<sup>57</sup> भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-  
 दिभिः । यस्य य-  
 59. स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति स्मृतिवचनान्निजमपि श्रेयः प्रयोजनं मन्यमानैः  
 सकलैरपि  
 60. भाविभिर्भूमिपालैः प्रतिपालनायमिति ॥ ॐ ॥ <sup>58</sup>ललिखीदयराजो यां प्रस(श)स्तिं शुद्धीरि-  
 माम् । उल्लोर्णवा-  
 61. न् <sup>59</sup>शिलाकूटस्तीर्हणस्तां सदचराम् ॥ संवत् ११४५ भाद्रपदसुदि ३ सोमदिने ॥ मंगलं मन्त्राश्रीः ॥

### XIX.—PABHOSĀ INSCRIPTIONS.

By A. FÜHRER, PH.D.

The small modern village of Pabhosā stands on a cliff about 30 feet high, overlooking the northern bank of the Jamnā, in tahsil Manjhānpur, 32 miles south-west of Allahābād, and represents the ancient site of the once famous Prabhāsa.<sup>1</sup> The classical hill of Prabhāsa, which is the only rock in the Antarvedī, or Doab between the Ganges and Jamnā rivers, is 5 miles to the north-west of the great fort of Kosām Khirāj, the ancient Kauśāmbī, and not more than 2 miles from the present villages of Kosām Inām and Pāli,<sup>2</sup> which formed the old city outside the walls of the fort. High up, in the face of this hill, there is a typical rock-hewn cave, in an inaccessible position. This lofty stone cavern is, no doubt, the stone dwelling of the venomous Nāga described thus by Hiuen Tsiang<sup>3</sup> in his account of Kauśāmbī:—"To the south-west of the city, 8 or 9 li (about 1½ miles), is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nāga. Having subdued

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikīṭita.

<sup>56</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>57</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>58</sup> Metre, Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>59</sup> Read °वाञ्छिषा°.

<sup>1</sup> The Prabhāsa, mentioned in the Mau Chandella inscription of Madanavarman, *ante*, vol. I, p. 197 & 204, most probably is the modern Pabhosā on the Jamnā, and not the distant place of pilgrimage in Sorāṭh.

<sup>2</sup> A copperplate grant, measuring 7 inches by 6 inches, of Mahārāja Laskshmana, dated (Gupta)-Samvat 168, was found in this village in May 1891.

<sup>3</sup> Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. I, p. 237.



this dragon, Tathāgata left here his shadow; but, though this is a tradition of the people there is no vestige of the shadow visible."<sup>4</sup> Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the cave is 8 or 9 *li* to the south-west of Kauśāmbi, is erroneous, as the hill bears north-west from the fort of Kosām. According to the popular belief of the villagers there is a Nāga inside the cave, of which everybody has heard, but which no one has seen. The serpent is believed to have his head in the Jamnā while his tail remains in the cave, which is more than a quarter of a mile from the river. The Nāga is said to be seen once a year at the time of the Divālī festival.<sup>5</sup> Not a little surprised were the people, therefore, to find that no Nāga was encountered when I entered and examined the cave during the night of the 25th March 1887.

At the back of the village a flight of about one hundred and ten steps leads up to a platform, formed of a mere mass of débris, the refuse of former quarries, on which stands a small modern Jaina temple. Close by are three small standing figures of naked Jinas cut in the rock. About 150 feet from the north-east corner of the temple rises the rock perpendicularly about 47 feet in height, in the highest scarp of which the cave is situated. Above the solid rock, in which the cavern is hewn, several large boulders of hard grey quartzite are lying, one upon another, in a sloping position. No doubt, the access to this cave from below was removed by the quarrymen, as it would seem, shortly after the eighth century A.D. In order to effect an entrance into the cave and to copy its inscription outside (Facsimile No. I), which is visible to the naked eye from below, I intended first to erect a staging from the temple below up to the cave and inscription; but finding this to be extremely dangerous on account of the locality and its surroundings, I had a wooden crib made to let down by means of strong ropes from above the cave. As, however, the neighbourhood of the cavern was infested by numerous swarms of wild bees, the cave had to be entered by night and the inscriptions to be copied by the light of a lantern, which added much to the difficulty of the undertaking.

The cave is entirely hewn in the solid rock, the marks of the chisel being apparent throughout; the left side is occupied by a stone couch and pillow, or *sej*, for the hermit's use. The roof is of very curious formation, being cut into vaulted shelves or cupboards, on each side of the centre; these shelves occupy about half of the roof, and the remainder is plain. The main entrance, a door measuring 2' 2" by 1' 9", has a stone lintel and plain pilaster of red-coloured sandstone on each side, with square holes above and below, seemingly to bar up the entrance. The lintel of the door is 10 feet from the upper edge of the precipice. To the left of the door, at a distance of 2' 3" are two small windows of irregular shape, one with a diameter of 1' 5" and the other of 1' 7". The thickness of this wall is only 9 inches. About 1' 3" above the left top corner of the entrance door, there is an inscription (Facsimile I) of eight lines, in characters of the second or first century B.C., carved on the rough surface of the natural rock. Inside, the cave measures 9 feet on the left and 8' 6" on the right in length, by 7' 4" in width and 3' 3" in height. The stone bed, or *sej*, is 9 feet in length, 1' 8" in

<sup>4</sup> Compare, however, Sung-Yun's account of Buddha's Shadow Cave, or the Cave of Gopāla, Beal, *l.c.*, vol. I, page cvii.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXI, p. 2. Sir A. Cunningham, although speaking of the cave, does not mention its rock-cut inscription.

breadth, and 1' 2" in height. On it are ten short pilgrims' records: five of the early Gupta period, four of the fifth or sixth, and one of the eighth century A. D. On the west wall of the cave, opposite to the entrance door, there are three inscriptions: one of the second or first century B. C. (Facsimile II) and two short records of visitors in early Gupta characters.

## No. I.

*On the rock outside the cave*

The inscribed surface of the rock measures 14" by 10½". Each letter is on an average 1·3" long and 3·6 inches deep. With the exception of four *aksharas* in the sixth and nearly the whole of the eighth line, the record is in surprisingly perfect preservation, considering its great age and its long exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather. This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. S. J. Cockburn<sup>6</sup> of the Opium Department who made a (not very accurate) eye-copy of it by means of an astronomical telescope, a tentative reading of which was given by Dr. Hörnle in the *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for March 1887, page 105. In January 1887, during a short visit to Kauśāmbi, the inscription was independently discovered by me, and I now edit it according to impressions taken from the rock.

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

- L. 1. राज्ञो गोपालीपुत्रस
2. बहसतिमित्रस
3. मातुलिन गोपालीया<sup>8</sup>
4. वैहिदरीपुत्रेन [आसा ]
5. आसादसेनेन लेनं
6. कारितं [उदाकस]<sup>10</sup> दस-
7. मे सवखरे कश्चपीयानं अरहं-
8. [ता]नं — — — — — [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"By Âsâdhasena, the son of Gopâlî Vaihidarî (*i.e. the Vaihidara-princess*), and maternal uncle of king Bahasatimittra (*Brihaspatimitra*), son of Gopâlî, a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of . . . . of the Kaśāpīya Arhats (*i.e. either the Buddhists of the Kāśyapiya school, or the pupils of Vardhamāna who was a Kāśyapa by gotra*<sup>11</sup>) . . . ."

## No. II.

*Inside the cave.*

The inscription is incised on the rough surface of the west wall of the cave and measures 32" by 12". On an average each letter is 1·6" long and 3·6 inches deep; the record is in perfect preservation.

<sup>6</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. LVI, part I, pages 31 to 35.

<sup>7</sup> See Facsimile No. I.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly गोपालीया. The genitive गोपालीया is construed with the crude form वैहिदरी which stands in the sense

of a genitive, compare, e.g. शिष्टच्छेदनं सवृषपस्य (Âpastamba, न लोपः प्रातिपदिकानस्य (Pāṇini).

<sup>9</sup> Afterwards erased.

<sup>10</sup> All letters doubtful.

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Bühler for the interpretation of this passage.

## PABHOSA INSCRIPTION NO. I,—ON THE ROCK OUTSIDE THE CAVE.



PABHOSA INSCRIPTION NO. II,—INSIDE THE CAVE, ON WEST WALL.



A Führer, Ein Diktator

Scale 1-3rd

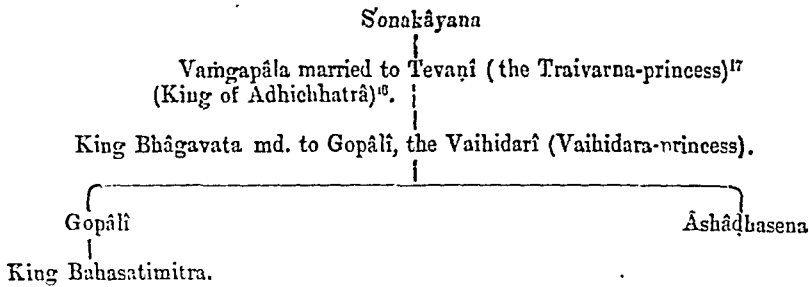
'TEXT.'<sup>12</sup>

- L. 1. अक्षिक्वाया राजो शोनकायनपुत्रस्य वंग<sup>13</sup>पालस्य  
 2. पुत्रस्य राजो<sup>14</sup> तिवशीपुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण  
 3. वैहिदरीपुत्रेण आपाटसेनेन कारितं [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

"Caused to be made by Āshādhasena, son of the Vaihidari (*i.e.* *Vaihidara*—*princess, and*) son of king Bhāgavata, son of the Tevaṇī (*i.e.* *Traivarna*—*princess, and*) son of king Vamgapāla, son of Śonakāyana (Śaunakāyana) of Adhichhatrâ."

On account of the resemblance to the letters of the Śunga times, the two inscriptions may be assigned with confidence to the second or first century B.C. Of special historical value is the pedigree of the early kings of Adhichhatrâ,<sup>15</sup> the capital of the once mighty kingdom of Northern Pāñchāla, here furnished to us:—



Where king Bahasatimitra ruled, and who his father was, is not stated; but we may safely conclude that he was king of Kauśāmbī, as the latter place is close to Prabhāsa, and as many of his coins<sup>18</sup> have been found at Kauśāmbī.

## No. III.

*In the modern Dharmśālā.*

This inscription is incised on a tablet of red sandstone and is now fixed into the wall of the modern Dharmśālā in the village of Pabhosā. It records the consecration

<sup>12</sup> See Facsimile No. II.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly वंग° or वंग°

<sup>14</sup> Possibly राजो.

<sup>15</sup> The modern Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand, see Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. I, pp. 255—265, Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p.p. 28—29. The same form Adhichhatrâ, and not the usual Ahikshetra, Ahikshattra, or Ahichchhattra of the *Mahābhārata* *Harivaṃśa*, and *Pāṇini*, occurs also in some inscriptions of the first century B.C., lately excavated by me at Rāmnagar.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the 'Aḍisaḍpa of Ptolemy, *Geog.* vii, 1, 53.

<sup>17</sup> The epithets Traivarna and Vaihidarī are no doubt derivatives from the names of nations or countries although not found in the Paurāṇik lists. Compare *e.g.* कैकेयी "the queen of the Kekaya-race," कौसल्या "the queen of the Kosal-family." Compare also the epithet Teranika, or Traivarnika occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions, *ante*, vol. I, p. 394 and 397.

See Sir A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Pt. I, p. 73, where the king's name is wrongly read Bahasatimitra. The Lucknow Museum Coin cabinet possesses fifteen coins of Bahasatimitra, nine of which were excavated by me at Kauśāmbī in 1887, and six at Adhichhatrâ (Rāmnagar) in 1891.

of an image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Samvat 1881, by Sâdhu<sup>19</sup> Śrî Hirâlâl of Allahâbâd on the top of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the city of Kauśâmbî. The document is also interesting in another respect, as it clearly shows that the modern villages of Kosâm and Pabhosâ were identified already in A.D. 1821-25 by the people of the country with Kauśâmbî and Prabhâsa.

TEXT.<sup>20</sup>

- L. 1. संवत् १८८१ मिति मार्गशीर्षशुक्लपक्षां शुक्लवास-  
 2. रे काष्ठासंघे माथुरगच्छे पुष्करगणि लोहाचार्यान्वाये  
 3. भट्टारकश्रीजगत्कीर्त्तिस्तुष्टे भट्टारकश्रीललितकी-  
 4. र्त्तिजित्दान्नाये अश्रितकान्वये गौयलगोत्रे प्रयागन-  
 5. गरवास्तव्यसाधुश्रीरायजीमलस्तदनुजफेरस-  
 6. लस्ततुत्रसाधुश्रीमेहरचंदस्तद्भातासुमेरुचंद-  
 7. स्तदनुजसाधुश्रीमाणिक्यचंदस्ततुत्रसाधुश्रीही-  
 8. रालालिन कौशांबीनगरवाह्य प्रभासपर्वतोपरि श्री-  
 9. पद्मप्रभजिनदीक्षाह्वानकल्याणकक्षेत्रे श्रीजिन-  
 10. विंवप्रतिष्ठा कारिता अंगरेजवह्मादुरराज्ये सु[शु]भं [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

“(This) image of the glorious Jina (Pârśvanâtha) has been consecrated under the rule of the noble English, on a site made auspicious by the consecration and invocation of the glorious Jina Padmaprabha, on the upper side of the hill of Prabhâsa, outside the town of Kauśâmbî, by Sâdhu Śrî Hirâlâl, son of Sâdhu Śrî Mânîkya Chand, younger brother of Sumeru Chand, brother of Sâdhu Śrî Mehar (*i.e.*, Mihir) Chand, son of Pheru Mall, younger brother of Sâdhu Śrî Râyajî Mall, inhabitant of the town of Prayâga (Allahâbâd), belonging to the Goyala *gotra*, the Agrotaka<sup>21</sup> family, and being (spiritual) client of *bhaṭṭâraka* the illustrious Lalitakîrttijit, in the line of *bhaṭṭâraka* the illustrious Jagatkîrtti, the descendant of Lohâchârya, in the Pushkara *gana*, the Mathurâ *gachchha*, and the Kâshṭhâsamgha, on Friday, the 6th day of the dark fortnight of the month Mârgaśîrsha, in Samvat 1881. May it be propitious!”

The modern Jaina temple possesses a small white marble image of Neminâtha, dated Samvat 1881, and a large undated copper statue of Pârśvanâtha, the setting up of which in this temple our inscription undoubtedly records.

<sup>19</sup> *i.e.* banker and merchant.

<sup>20</sup> See facsimile No III.

<sup>21</sup> The modern *Ayazwâld Baniyds*, see *ante*, vol. I, p. 94.

INSCRIPTION—IN THE WALL OF THE MODERN DHARMAŚALA

संवत् १८८९ मि ते मा ग शि ष ष्टि क प्र श्रा वृ क्त वा स  
 र्का बां से छे मा भुर ग छे पु क रा णे को ल्हा वा झ् भां ये  
 म द्यार क धी जग की नि स त्पु ट्ते म द्यार क श्री ल जित की  
 नि नि त्पु ट्ते म द्ये म् गे न का न्द ये गो मु ल गो ले र्द य ग न  
 ग र्वा ल व य मा क श्री य व जी म ल स र्त्त न के रु म  
 ल्हा स मु न सा क श्री मे र्त्त र वं र्त्त स द्वा ता क मे रु वं र्त्त  
 स र्त्त मु न सा क श्री मा णि क वं र्त्त स मु न सा क श्री दि  
 र्त्त लो न को शा बी न ग र वा ह्म प्र भा स प र्त्त नो प रि श्री  
 प र्त्त प्र न जित दी हा न्ता न क ल्हा ण क र्त्त न्ने श्री जित  
 वि व प्र नि षा क्ति ता अ ग रे न व हा उ र य जे म् रु म

## XX.—THE PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the Pillar edicts of Aśoka the following materials have been used :—

I. *Dehli-Sivalik*,—(1) Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306ff. (2) A paper-rubbing of the second half of edict vii (the so-called circular edict), kindly supplied by Sir A. Cunningham.

II. *Dehli-Mirat*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimiles, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 122ff., and the paper-impressions, according to which the excellent facsimiles have been prepared.<sup>1</sup>

III. *Allahabad*,—Dr. Fleet's facsimile, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306.

IV. *Radhia (Lauria-Ararāj)*, *Mathia (Lauria-Navandgarh)* and *Rāmpūrvā*,—Mr. Garrick's facsimiles, published with this paper.

None of the older reproductions have been consulted, because they are of no value whatever. They have been made either according to eye-copies or according to rubbings,—not impressions—where the outlines of the letters have been afterwards marked in with pencil. The preservation of the Pillar edicts is in general so excellent that, except in the Dehli-Mirat and Allahabad versions, hardly a vowel-stroke is doubtful. For these two versions, especially for the first, a comparison of the original impressions is highly desirable. Unfortunately the originals of the Allahabad version were not accessible to me, and it is therefore not impossible that on a comparison of the squeezes some small corrections may become necessary. Such corrections will not, however, affect the interpretation in any way. Compared with the readings of other scholars, the present ones show very few differences in the Dehli-Sivalik and Allahabad versions, for which accurate facsimiles have been accessible during the last eight years.

The changes in the Radhia and Mathia texts are more numerous and, thanks to the new materials, decidedly for the better. The fragments of the Rāmpūrvā version have been printed once before with my German papers on the Pillar edicts in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLV, pp. 144ff, and vol. XLVI, pp. 51ff. According to the account<sup>2</sup> of Mr. Garrick, the Rāmpūrvā Pillar lies half buried in the ground. Hence only a portion of the inscription is accessible. As the Rāmpūrvā version agrees exactly with those of Radhia and Mathia, it is of no great importance for the interpretation of these documents. These three eastern versions have either been engraved according to the same MS., or, at least, according to three MSS. written out by the same Karkun. Their verbal discrepancies are so exceedingly slight that they cannot possibly be ascribed to different draughtsmen. The two Dehli versions are also closely allied to each other. This agreement extends in both cases also to the grouping of the words, which the present edition indicates by hyphens put between those written continuously. I believe that it is advisable to attend to this point, because evidently only those words have been placed close together, which may

<sup>1</sup> These impressions, which Dr. Fleet kindly presented to me, have been made over to the Oriental Institute of the Vienna University.

<sup>2</sup> See Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 110f.



be joined according to the construction. There is not a single instance in which words written continuously belong to different sentences. It would seem that the clerks connected those words, which in reading the documents they pronounced together. Hence the breaks are equivalent to signs of interpunction, commas, semi-colons and full stops, and they, as well as the combined groups, must be taken into account in the interpretation. And it follows, *e.g.*, that in the second edict the division of the group *chakhudānēpi* into *cha khu dāne pi* is impossible, and again that the attempt to combine the separated words *isyá kálanena*, in the third edict, cannot be upheld.

As regards the translation and interpretation of the Pillar edicts, the majority of the numerous problems, which Lassen and Burnouf left behind, have been solved by Professor Kern in his *Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten*, and in his *Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien*, or by M. Senart in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, tome ii, and in his articles in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XVII and XVIII, which Mr. Grierson has translated in excellent style. Hence there was not very much remaining for me, especially as M. Senart in his latest publication has adopted my suggestion (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIII, p. 306) that the so-called eighth circular edict on the Dehli-Sivalik pillar is only the end of the seventh.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, I hope that my translation and notes will not be superfluous.

I differ from my predecessors, especially from M. Senart, in several essential points. First, as I hold on principle all conjectural emendations, which alter the texts of several versions, to be inadmissible, I have tried to show that in all cases, where such changes have been proposed in the Pillar edicts, the original readings admit of explanation. Secondly, I have attempted to further substantiate my view that a full explanation of Aśoka's edicts can only be given with the help of the Brahmanical literature and by a careful utilisation of the actualities of Hindu life. I have called attention to this point in the introductory remarks to my German articles on the Rock edicts, and in explaining the latter, I have shown how a certain proportion of the institutions in Aśoka's empire agrees with those prescribed by the Brahmanical *Rājanīti*, as well as, that certain other details become easily intelligible, when one consults other *Śāstras* or pays attention to still existing Indian customs. This principle of interpretation is, it seems to me, particularly important for the fourth and fifth Pillar edicts, and hence the remarks on these two pieces have become rather extensive.

Thirdly, I believe it to be certain that Piyadasi-Aśoka had not yet joined the Buddhists, when the Pillar edicts were completed. His conversion to Buddhism fell, as I shall show in a new discussion of the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth edicts, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. Up to the end of his twenty-seventh year the king continued to preach and otherwise to work for the spread of that general morality which all Indian religions, based on the *Jñānamārga* or Path of Knowledge, prescribe for the people at large and which is common to the Brahmins, Jainas and Buddhists. This conviction, of course, has forced me to demur against a specially Buddhistic interpretation of various words and terms.

Finally, there are some passages, *e.g.*, in the second, third, fourth and seventh edicts where I have tried, by new divisions of the continuously written syllables or new trans

In justice to Professor Kern I must point out that he has recognised this very obvious fact quite independently *Dor Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 384.

literations of the Prakrit words into Sanskrit, to elicit a more satisfactory sense than that obtained through the older interpretations. Most philologists will have felt that the hitherto current explanations of *chakhudâne-pi-me bahuvīdhe dīṃne, kālanena-va-hakam mā palibhasayisānti, nātikā-va-kāni nijhapayisānti*, etc., do not carry conviction, and could only be regarded as make-shifts which might be excused as long as nothing more plausible offered.

In the fifth edict I have left many names of animals unexplained. Every one of them will probably be traceable, if the medical *Samhitās* and *Nighaṇṭus* are thoroughly examined, of which for the moment only a small proportion is accessible to me. A special examination of the older Buddhist and Jaina literature, which I have begun, but been unable to complete, will probably furnish the means for the further explanation of some other words, which have still to be translated conjecturally or stand in need of further elucidation. In his contributions to the *Academy* of 1891, Dr. Morris has shown that something may still be done in this way, and some of my notes will show that the Jaina literature also furnishes contributions for the *Asoka* inscriptions. Eventually, and, I believe, in a not very distant future, every word and form of these precious documents will admit of as certain an interpretation as those of the ordinary classical texts.

## EDICT I.

*Dehli-Sivalik.**Dehli-Mirat.**Allahabad.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lāja-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Devānam piye Piyadasi lāja
bevaṃ-āhā [:] saḍvīsati* [1]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	hevaṃ āhā [:] saḍvīsativāsābhi-
vasa abhisitena-me iyaṃ-dham-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	sitena me iyaṃ dhammalipi likhā-
malipi likhāpitā[:][2] hidatapā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	pitā[:] hidatapālate dusaṃpaṭipād-
late dusaṃpaṭipādāye amnata-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	(a)y(e)[1] amnata agāya dham-
agāyā-dhammakāmātāyā[3] agā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	makāmātāya agāya palikhāya
ya-palikhāyā agāya-susūsāyā aḡe-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	agāya susūsāyā aḡena bhayena
na-bhayenā[4] aḡena-usābenā[:]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	[aḡe]na usāhena[:]. Esa chu kho
Esa-chu-kho-mama anusathiyā[5]	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	mama anusathiyā [2] dhammā-
dhammāpekkhā dhammakāmātā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	pekkhā dhammakāmātā cha suve
chā suve-suve-vaḍhitā vaḍhisati-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	suve vaḍhitā vaḍhisati chevā[:]
chevā-[6] Pulisā-pi-cha-me ukasā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā
chā gevayā-chā majjhimā-chā anu-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	cha majjhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti
vidhīyaṃti [7] saṃpaṭipādāyaṃ-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	saṃpaṭipādāyaṃti cha [3] alāṃ
ti-chā alāṃ-chapalāṃ-samādapay-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	chapalāṃsamādapayitave[:]
itave[:] hemevā-amāta [8] mahā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	va amātamahāmātā pi [:] Esā hi
mātā-pi [:] Esā-pi <sup>b</sup> -vidhi yā-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālānā
iyaṃ-dhammena-pālānā dham-	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	dhammena vidhāne dhammen[a]
mena-vidhāne [9] dhammena-	[1]	vidhāne dha[m]m.....						sukhīyaṇā dhammena guti ti chus
sukhīyaṇā dhammena-gotī-ti [:]	khi[ya]. . . . . [2]							[4][:]

\* The sign, read here *du*, appears exactly in the same shape in the Sāncī inscriptions, e.g., in *Pāḍukulikā*, i.e., *Pāṇḍu kulikā*. With the form *saḍvīsati* compare *dure*, *duvāla*, *kuḍumala*.

<sup>b</sup> Possibly the stone may have *hi* instead of *pi*, which former appears to be the correct reading.

<sup>c</sup> I give the words *ti-chu* on the strength of Dr. Fleet's note, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 310. The vowel sign of *ti* stands irregularly to the left of the consonant, just as in the Kālsī version of the Rock Ed. XIII, 2 L 12, in the last syllables of *anuvīdhīyaṃti* and *anuvīdhīyaṃti*.

## EDICT I.

## Radhia.

Devânām-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
 hevañ-āha[:] saduvisativasābhi-  
 sitena-me iyañ-dharmmalipi [1]  
 likhāpita[:] hidatapālate<sup>7</sup> dusañ-  
 paṭipādaye amñata-agāya-dham-  
 makāmātāy[a] agāya-palikhāya  
 [2] agāya-susūsāya agena-bhaye-  
 na agena-usāhena [.] Esa-chu-  
 kho-mama - anusathiya dhamma-  
 pekha [3] dhammakāmātā-cha  
 suve-suve-vaḍhita<sup>8</sup> vaḍhisati cheva  
 [.] Pulisā-pi-me ukasā-cha geva-  
 yā-cha majhimā-cha anuvidhī-  
 yañti [4] saṃpaṭipādayaṃti-cha  
 alaṃ-chapalaṃ samādapayitave  
 hemeva-amtamahāmātā-pi[.] Esā-  
 hi-vidhi yā-iyam dhammena-pāla-  
 na[5] dhammena-vidhāne dham-  
 mena-sukhīyana dhammena goti-  
 ti [6][.]

## Mathia.

Devânām - piye Piyadasi - lāja  
 hevañ-āha[:] saduvisativasābhisi-  
 lena me iyañ [1] dharmmalipi  
 likhāpita[:] hidatapālate dusañ-  
 paṭipādaye amñata-agāya dham-  
 makāmātāya[2] agāya-palikhāya  
 agāya-susūsāya agena-bhayaena  
 agena-usāhena[.] Esa-chu- kho-  
 mama [3] anusathiya dhammā-  
 pekha dhammakāmātā-cha suve-  
 suve-vaḍhita vaḍhisati-cheva [.]  
 Pulisā-pi-me[4] ukasā-cha geva-  
 yā-cha majhimā-cha anuvidhīyañ-  
 ti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti-cha alaṃ-  
 chapalaṃ-samādapayitave [5] he-  
 meva-amtamahāmātā-pi[.] Esā-  
 hi-vidhi yā iyañ dhammena-pāla-  
 nadhammena-vidhāne dhammena-  
 sukhīyana [6] dhammena-goti-ti  
 [7.]

## Rāmpūrva.

Devânām in-piye Piyadasi-lājaja .  
 hevañ-āha[:] sa[du] . . . . .  
 . . . . . [1] dusañpaṭipādaye  
 amñata-agāya dhammakāmātāya  
 . . . . . [5.]  
 . . . . . [2] Esa-chu-  
 kho-mama anusathiya dhammā-  
 pekha dhamma . . . . .  
 . . . . . [3] gevañ-cha majhi-  
 mā-cha anuvidhīyañti saṃpaṭi-  
 pādayaṃ . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [4] yā iyañ dhammena  
 pālana dhammena vidhāne dham-  
 mena s[u] . . . . .

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to gain except by the greatest love of the sacred law, the greatest circumspection, the greatest obedience, the greatest fear, the greatest energy.<sup>8</sup> But, through my instructions, these have, indeed, increased day by day, and will increase still more (*viz.*) the longing for the sacred law and the love of the sacred law. And my servants, the great ones, the lowly ones<sup>9</sup> and those of middle rank, being able to lead sinners<sup>10</sup> back to their duty, obey and carry out (*my orders*), likewise also the wardens of the marches.<sup>11</sup> Now the order (*for them*) is to protect according to the sacred law,<sup>12</sup> to govern according to the sacred law, to give happiness in accordance with the sacred law, to guard according to the sacred law."

<sup>7</sup> Burnouf's explanation of *hidata* and *pālate*, which are found also below IV, (l. 7 (D. S.), l. 18 (D. S.), VII, 2, l. 10 as inflected forms of the adverbs in *tra*, is no doubt correct. In popular Sanskrit, too, *paratram* is used in the sense of *paraloka* or *pāralanikam*, see *Pāñcātana*, iii, p. 51, l. 17 (Bo. edition).

<sup>8</sup> *Circumspection*, *i.e.*, a careful examination, whether one's actions are lawful or not; *obedience*, *i.e.*, towards Piyadasi's sacred law; *fear*, *i.e.*, of sin.

<sup>9</sup> *Gerayā*, 'the lowly ones' or 'subalterns' is derived from the Sanskrit root *gep* or *glep*, which the *Dhātupāṭha* explains by *daiṇya*. The corresponding Sanskrit word was, no doubt, \**gepya*-\**glepya*, literally 'the poor' or 'wretched.'

<sup>10</sup> *Chapala*, literally 'fickle', means both in Pali and in Sanskrit *durvinīta*, 'ill-behaved', 'a sinner.'

<sup>11</sup> The *amtamahāmātā*, 'the wardens of the marches,' are the *antapālāḥ* of the Sanskrit writers, see, *e.g.*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, p. 16, l. 7 (Bo. S. Ser., 2nd ed.).

<sup>12</sup> It will be best to take *hi* here *aradhāṇe*, *i.e.*, in the sense of 'indeed', 'even', which it has not rarely in Sanskrit prose.

## Ed. V.

3

6

9

12

**Ed VI.**

15

18



## EDICT II.

*Dehli-Sivalik.*

Devānaṃ-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
[10] hevaṃ-āhā[:] dhamme-sādhū[.] Kiyam-chu-dhamme-ti[?] Apāsinave bahu-kayāne [11] dayā-dāne sache-sochaye[.] Chakhudāne-pi-me bahuvidhe-dimne dupada-[12] chatupadesu pakhivālichalesu vividhe-me-anugabe-kaṭe ā-pāna-[13] dākhināye amnāni-pi-cha-me bahūni kayānāni-kaṭāni[.] Etāye-me [14] aṭhāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi-likhāpitā[:] hu-am-anupaṭipajamtu chilam-[15] thitikā-cha-hotū-ti-ti[.] Ye-cha-hevaṃ-sam-paṭipajisati se-sukaṭam-kachhatī-ti[.] [16]

*Dehli-Mirat.*

Devānaṃ-piye Piyadasi-lāja-  
hev...[:] dhamme-sādh[u]<sup>13</sup>[.] Kiyam...[?] Apāsinave bahu-kayāne dayā dāne sache [so]-chaye [.] [Chakhudā]nam-pi-me [4] bahuvidhe-dimne dupadachatupadesu pakhivālichale. [vividhe-me-anu] [5] gabe-kaṭe ā-pānadākhināye amnāni-pi-cha-me bahū[ui] yānāni[6] kaṭāni[.] Etāye-me-aṭhāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi-li[khāpitā]... [7] anupaṭipajamtu chila[mthi]tikā<sup>14</sup>-cha-hotū-[ti][.] Ye-cha-he... [8] sati se-sukaṭam-ka[chha]ti-[ti][.] [9]

*Allahabad.*

Devānaṃ piye Piyadasi lāja  
hevaṃ āhā[:] dhamme sādhu[:] Kiyam chu dhamme ti[?] Apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye[.] Chakhudāne pi me[5] bahuvidhe dimne dupadachatupadesu<sup>15</sup> pakhivālichalesu vividhe me anugabe kaṭe ā pānadākhināye<sup>16</sup> amnāni pi cha me bahuni kayānāni kaṭāni[6] Etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhammalipi likhāpitā[:] hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chilaṭhītikā cha hotū ti[.] Ye cha hevaṃ sam-paṭipajisati se sukaṭam kachhatīti[7]

## EDICT II.

*Radhia.*

Devānaṃ piye Piyadasi lāja  
hevaṃ-āhā[:] dhamme-sādhū[.] Kiyam-chu-dhamme-ti[?] Apāsinave bahu-kayāne daya dāne sache[7] socheye-ti[.] Chakhudāne-pi-me bahuvidhe-dimne dupadachatupadesu pakhivālichalesu vividhe-me-anugabe-kaṭe[8] ā-pānadākhināye amnāni-pi-cha-me bahūni-kayānāni-kaṭāni[.] Etāye-me-aṭhāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi likhāpita[:] hevaṃ[9] anupaṭipajamtu chilamthitikā-cha-hotū-ti[.] Ye-cha-hevaṃ-sam-paṭipajisati se-sukaṭam-kachhatī-ti[.] [10]

*Mathia.*

Devānaṃ-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āhā[:] dhamme-sādhū[.] Kiyam-chu-dhamme-ti[.] Apāsinave bahu-kayāne[8] daya dāne sache socheye-ti[.] Chakhudāne-pi-me bahuvidhe-dimne dupadachatupadesu pakhi-[9] vālichalesu vividhe-me-anugabe-kaṭe ā-pānadākhināye amnāni-pi-cha-me bahūni-kayānāni[10] kaṭāni[.] Etāye-m[e]-aṭhāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi likhāpita[:] hevaṃ-anupaṭipajamtu chilamthitikā-cha-hotū-ti[.] [11] Ye-cha-hevaṃ-sam-paṭipajisati se-sukaṭam-kachhati [12]

*Rāmpūrvā.*

Devānaṃ-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
hevaṃ-āhā[:] dhamme-sādhū[.] Kiyam... [6] bahuvidhe-dimne dupadachatupadesu pakhivālichalesu vivi... [7]... Etāye-me-aṭhāye iyaṃ-dhammalipi-likhāpita[:] hevaṃ a... [8]

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—“(To fulfill) the law is meritorious. But what does (the fulfilment of) the law include? (It includes) sinlessness”, many good works, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity. The gift of spiritual insight<sup>1</sup> I have given (to men) in various ways; on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and aquatic animals I have conferred benefits of many kinds, even the boon of life, and in other ways have I done much good. It is for this purpose that I

<sup>13</sup> The quantity of the second vowel of *sādhū* is not certain.

<sup>14</sup> *Chilam*<sup>o</sup> looks like *child*?; possibly *thitikā* to be read.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly *dupadamchatupadesu*. But the dot after *da* is probably accidental.

<sup>16</sup> *Pānadākhinā* is the Sanskrit *prāṇadākṣhiṇā*, a less commonly used variant for *abhaya-dākṣhiṇā* ‘the boon of safety.’ The smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, however, gives it in this sense.

have caused this religious edict to be written, (*viz.*) that men may thus act accordingly, and that it may endure for a long time. And he who will act thus will perform a deed of merit.

## REMARKS.

*a.* I explain *apâsinave* by *apâsravam*, used in the sense of *apâsravatvam*. It may be noted that the Jainas possess a term *aṇhaya*, which exactly corresponds to *âsinava*, and is derived, like the latter, from *âsnu* (see Weber: *Indische Studien*, vol. XVI, p. 326, note 7). Piyadasi's theory of the *âsinava*, which is more fully developed in the next edict, does not agree with the Buddhist doctrine of the threefold or fourfold *âsava*, but comes closer to that of the Jaina *aṇhaya*, which includes injury to living beings, lying, stealing, unchastity, and attachment to worldly possessions.

*b.* The usual interpretation of *chakhudâne* by *cha khu dâne* cannot stand, because the enclitic words *cha* and *khu* cannot begin a sentence, and because the continuousness of the syllables in the text does not permit their being taken as parts of two sentences. The metaphorical use of *chakhu*, in Sanskrit *chakshus*, 'eye,' for 'spiritual insight or knowledge,' is common with all Hindu sects. Piyadasi alludes here to the *dhammasâvanâni* and *dhammânusathini*, 'sermons on, and instruction in, the sacred law,' of which he speaks more fully below (VII, 2, l. 1); compare also *dhammadâne* (Rock Edicts XI and the note to the latter passage).

## EDICT III.

*Dehli-Sivalik.*

Devânam-piye Piyadasi-lâja-  
hevaṁ-âhâ[:] kayânam-eva-de-  
khati[:] iyaṁ-me[17] kayâne-ka-  
te-ti[:] No-mina-pâpam-dekhati  
[:] iyaṁ-me-pâpe-ka-te-ti iyaṁ-  
vâ-âsinave[18] nâma-ti[:] Dupa-  
tivekhe-chu-kho-esâ[:] Hevaṁ-  
chu-kho-esa-dekhiye[:] imâni[19]  
âsinavagâmiui-nâma atha-cham-  
diye niṭhûliye kodhe mâne isyâ  
[20] kâlana-va-bakaṁ mâ-pali-  
bhasa, isarṁ[:] Esa-bâḍha-de-  
khiye[:] iyaṁ-me[21] hidatikâye  
iyaṁ-mana-me pâlatikâye [21]

*Dehli-Mirat.*

Devânam-piye Piyadasi-lâjâ-  
hevaṁ-âhâ[:] kayânam-eva va-  
d[ekha].(:) . . m.[10] kayâne-  
ka-te-ti[:] No minâ-pâpam-de-  
khati[:] [i]iyaṁ-me-pâpam-ka[te-  
ti iyaṁ v.][11] âsinave-nâ[mâ]-ti  
[:]<sup>17</sup> Dupativekhe-chu-kho-esâ  
[:] Hevaṁ-chu . . [sâ d]ekhiye  
[:]<sup>12</sup> [i]mâni-âsinavag[âmiui]-  
nâma atha<sup>18</sup> chamdiye niṭhû-  
liye-kodhe[13] mâne isyâ kâlana-  
na-v[<sup>19</sup>a] hakaṁ-mâ-palibha[sa]-  
yisa[:] . . bâḍham[14] dekhiye[:]  
iyaṁ . e [hidati]kâye iyaṁ-me-  
pâlatikâye [15]

*Allahabad.*

Devânam piye Piyadasi lājā  
hevaṁ âhâ[:] kayānam-eva de-  
khati(:) iyaṁ me kayāne ka-te ti  
[:] No mina pāpakam dekhati[:]  
iyaṁ me pāpake ka-te ti iyaṁ vâ  
âsinave nāmā ti[8] . . . . .  
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. . . . .

*Radhia.*

Devânam-piye Piyadasi-lâja  
hevaṁ-âha[:] kayânam-eva-de-  
khamti[:] iyaṁ-me-kayâne-ka-te-ti  
[:] No-mina-pâpam-dekhamti[:]  
iyaṁ-me-pâpe-ka-te-ti[11] iyaṁ-  
vâ-âsinave-nâma-ti[:] Dupative-  
khe-chu-kho-esâ[:] Hevaṁ-chu-  
kho-esa-dekhiye[:] imâni-âsinava-

*Mathia.*

Devânam-piye Piyadasi-lâja he-  
vaṁ-âha[:] kayânam-eva-dekh-  
amti[:] iyaṁ-me-kayâne-ka-te-ti[:]  
No-mina-pâpam[13]d [e]khamti  
[:] iyaṁ-me-âpe-ka-te-ti iyaṁ-va-  
âsinave-nâma-ti[:] Dupativekhe-  
chu-kho-esa[:] Hevaṁ-chu-kho-  
esa-dekhiye[:]<sup>14</sup> imâni-âsinave-

*Râmpûroâ.*

Devânam-piye Piyadasi-lâja  
hevaṁ-âha[:] kayānam-e . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
[9] iyaṁ-va-âsinave-nâ-  
mâ-ti[:] Dupativekhe-chu-kho-  
esa[:] He-[v.]. . . . .  
. . . . .

<sup>17</sup> Possibly *nâma-ti* is to be read.

<sup>18</sup> The apparent vowel-stroke to the left of *atha* is probably an accidental scratch.

<sup>19</sup> Possibly *vâ* is to be read.







*Rāmpūrā.*

. . . [10] kodhe mâne isya  
 kâlanena-va-lakam mâ-palibhasa-  
 yi. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [11]

{lajû-  
 kâ] chaghamti-[â]lâ[dhayi-  
 tave] [.2]  
 tu asva[the-ho]

2 κ 2

## EDICT IV-- contd.

## Dehli-Sivalik.

nisijitu [10] asvathe-hoti[:] Vi-  
yata-dhâti chaghati-me-pajam su-  
kham-palihâṭave[11] hevarn-  
mamâ-lajûkâ-kaṭâ jânapadasa-  
hitasukhâye[:] yena-ete-abhitâ  
[12] asvatha-samtarî, avimanâ-  
karmâni-pavatayevû-ti[:] Ete-  
na-me-lajûkânâ[13] abhihâle-  
va-damḍe-vâ atapatiye-kaṭe[:]  
Ichhitaviye-bi-esâ[:] kim-ti[?] I  
viiyohâlasamatâ-cha-siya damḍa-  
samatâ-cha[:] Ava-ite-pi-cha-me-  
âvuti[:15] barmdhanabdhânarn-  
munisânarn tilitadarnḍânarn pa-  
tavadhânarn timni-divasâni-me  
[16] yote-dimne[:] Nâtikâ-va-  
kânî nijhapayisamti jivitâye-tâ-  
narn[17] nâsarnam-vâ-nijhapa-  
yitâ dânam-dâhamti-pâlatikarn  
upavâsam-va-kachhamti[:18]  
Ichhâ-bi-me[:] hevarn-niludhasi-  
pi-kâlasi pâlatarn-âlâdhayevû-ti  
janasa-cha[19] vadhati-viv' lbe-  
dhammachalane samyame dânasavibhâge-ti[20]

## Radhia.

Devânarn-piye Piyadasi-lâja  
hevarn-âha[:] saduvîsativasâbhi-  
sitena-me iyan-dhammalipi-li-  
khâpita[:] Lajûkâ-me-bahâsu-  
pânasatasahasu[14] janasi-âya-  
ta tesarn-ye-abhihâle-va-damḍe-va  
atapatiye-me-kaṭe[:] kim-ti-[:?]  
lajûka-asvatha abhitâ karmâni  
pavatayevû-ti janasa-jânapadasa  
[15] hitasukham-upadahevu  
anugahinevu-cha[:] Sukhiyana-  
dukhîyanarn jânismti dhamma-  
yutena-cha-viyovadisamti janarn-  
jânapadarn[:] kim-ti-[:?] hida-  
tarn-cha[16] pâlatarn-cha âlâdha-  
yevu[:] Lajûkâ-pi-laghamti-pa-  
ṭichalitave-marn[:] pulisâni-pi  
me-ehharmdamnâni patichalisarn-  
ti[:] te-pi-cha-kâni viyovadisarn-  
ti yena-marn[17] lajûka-cha-  
ghamti-âlâdhayitave[:] Athâ-  
hi-pajam-viyatâye-dhâtiye-nisiji-

## Dehli-Mirat.

ti [3] [viya]. . . . .  
[li]ha[ha] tave[:]  
h[e]varn-mamâ[4] lajûkâ[â]  
[ye[:]  
yena-ete-abhitâ[5] asvatha-sarn .  
[pa]vatayevû-ti[:] Etena-me  
[6] [j]ûkânarn . . . . .  
atapatiye-[:kaṭe] .[7]  
Ichhitavi . . . . .  
hâlasamatâ-cha[8]-  
siyâ<sup>23</sup> [8] damḍasa[ma] . . . . .  
[me]-âvuti[:]  
barmdhanaba[dhâ]narn[9] mu-  
nisâna[m] . . . . .  
vadhânarn timni-divasâni-  
[m]e[10] yote dimne[:] . . . . .  
payisarn[t]i jivitâye-tânarn [11]  
nâsarnam-vâ-ni . . . . .  
ti pâlatikarn[12] u[pa]  
vâsarn-vâ-ka . . . . .  
hevarn-niludhasi-pi-[k]âlasi[13]  
[p]âlatarn-âlâdhay . . . . .  
vadhati vividhe-dhammachalane  
samyame dâ[un] . . . . . [15]

## Allahabad.

. . . . .  
hâlasamatâ châ  
siyâ damḍasamatâ cha[:] Ava<sup>24</sup>  
ite pi cha me âvuti[:] barmdhana-  
badhânarn munisânarn tilitadarn-  
dânarn patavadhânarn timni di-  
vasâni yote dimne[:17] . . . . . va  
kânî nijhapayisamti jivitâye tâ-  
narn nâsarnam vâ nijhapayitâ  
dânarn dâhamti pâlatikarn upavâ-  
sam vâ kachhamti[:18] . . . . .  
me[:] hevarn niludhasi pi kâlasi  
pâlatarn âlâdhayevu janasa cha  
vadhati vividhe dhammachalane  
sayame dânasavibhâge .[19]

## Mathia.

Devânarn-piye Piyadasi-lâja  
hevarn-âha[:] saduvîsativa-[:â]-  
bhisitena-me iyan-dhammalipi-  
likhâpita[:] Lajûkâ-me[17] ba-  
hâsu-pânasatasahasu janasi-  
âyata tesarn-ye-abhihâle-va-damḍe-  
va atapatiye-me-kaṭe[:] kim-  
ti-[:?] lajûka-asvatha [18] abhitâ-  
karmâni-pavatayevû-ti janasa-  
jânapadasa-hitasukham-upadahe-  
vû anugahinevu-cha[:] Sukhiya-  
yanadukhiyanarn[19] jânismti  
dhammayutena-cha-viyovadisarn-  
ti janarn-jânapadarn[:] kim-ti-  
[:?] hidatarn-cha pâlatarn-cha  
âlâdhayevû-ti[:] Lajûkâ-pi-la-  
ghamti[20] patichalitave-marn  
[:] pulisâni-pi-me-ehharmdamnâni  
patichalisarnti[:] te-pi-cha-kâni-  
viiyovadisarnti-yena-marn-lajûka  
chaghamti âlâdhayitave[21]  
Athâ-bi-pajam viyatâye-dhâtiye-

## Râmpûrvâ.

Devânarn-piye Piyadasi-lâja  
hevarn-âha[:] saduvî-ati . . . . .  
[12] janasi-âyata tesarn-  
ye-abhihâle-va damḍe-va atapati .  
[18]  
hitasukham-upadahevu anugahi-  
nevu-cha[:] Sukhiyanadu . . . . .  
[14] âlâdhayevû-ti[:]  
Lajûkâ-pi-laghamti patichali-  
tave-marn . . . . .  
[15] chaghamti âlâdhayitave[:]  
Athâ-bi-pajam viyatâye-dhâtiye-

<sup>23</sup> Possibly *châ-siyâ* is to be read.<sup>24</sup> Possibly *ava-ite* is to be read

Ed 1.

9

II.

7

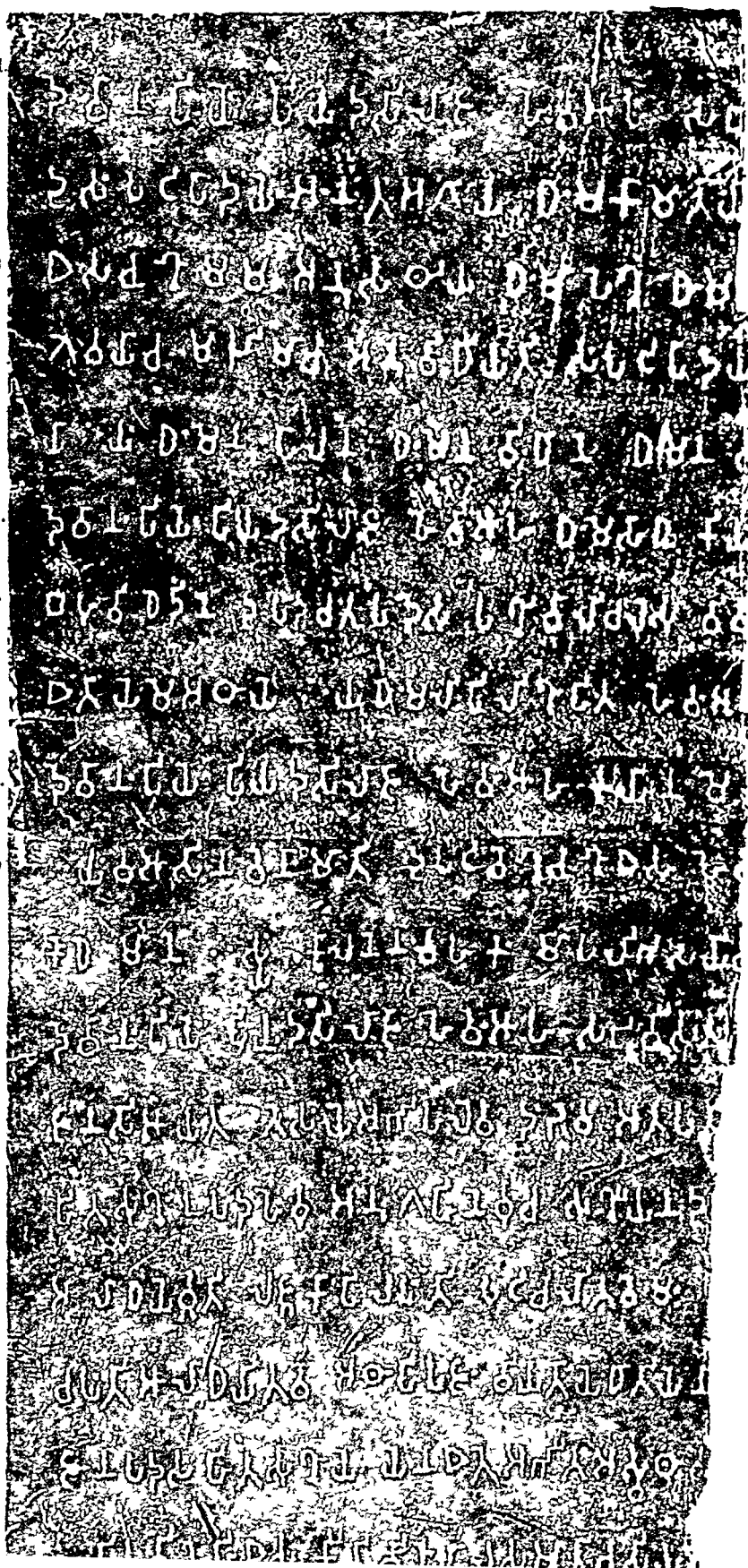
III.

10

IV.

13

16



## EDICT IV—contd.

## Radhia.

tu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-dhâti-  
chaghati-me-pajam-sukham-pali-  
haṭave-ti[;18] hevaṁ-mama-la-  
jûka-kata<sup>25</sup> jânapadasa-hitasu-  
khâye[;] yena-ete-abhîta-asvathâ-  
saṁtām-avimāva-kāmmāni-pava-  
tayevû-ti[.] Etena-me lajûkā-  
nām abhîhāle-va[19] daṁḍe-va-  
atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhitaviye-hi-  
esa[;] kim-ti[?] viyohālasamatā-  
cha-ya daṁḍasamatā-cha[.]  
Āvā ite-pi-cha-me āvuti[;] bān-  
dhanabadhānam[20] munisā-  
nām tīlitadaṁḍānam patavadhā-  
nam tīmni-divasāni-me-yote-  
diṁne[.] Nātikā-va-kāni-nijha-  
payisaṁti jīvitāye-tānam nāsaṁ-  
tām-va[21] nijhapayitave dāna-  
m-dāhamti-pālatikam upavāsā-  
va-kachhamti[.] Ichhā-hi-me[;]  
hevaṁ-niludhasi-pi-kālasī pāla-  
tām-ālādhayevû-ti[22] janasa-cha-  
vaḍhati vividhe-dhammachalane  
sayame dānasāvibhāge-ti[23]

## Mathia.

nisiṇṇitu asvathe-hoti[;] viyata-  
dhâti-chaghati-me-pajam su-  
kham-palihaṭave-ti[;22] hevaṁ-  
mama-lajûka-kata jânapadasa-  
hitasukhâye[;] y[e]na-ete-abhîta-  
asvathâ-āntām avimāna-kām-  
māni-pavatayevû-ti[;23] Etena-  
me-lajûkānam-abhîhāle-va-daṁ-  
ḍe-va atapatiye-kaṭe[.] Ichhitā-  
viye-hi-esa[;] kim-ti[?]-vīyohāla-  
samatā-cha-siya daṁḍasamatā-  
cha[24] Āvā-ite-pi-cha-me-āvu-  
ti[;] bāndhanabadhānam-mu-  
nisāna[īm]tīlitadaṁḍānam patava-  
dhānam tīmni-divasāni-me yote-  
diṁne[.] Nātikā-va-kāni[25] ni-  
jhapayisaṁti jīvitāye-tānam  
nāsaṁtām-va-nijhapayitave dāna-  
m-dāhamti-pālatikam upavāsā-  
va-kachhamti[.] Ichhā hi-me[;]  
hevaṁ[26] niludhasi-pi-kālasī pā-  
latām-ālādhayevû-ti janasa cha  
vaḍhati vividhe-dhammachalane  
sayame dānasāvibhāge-ti[27]

## Rāmpūrvā.

ni . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [16]  
 jânapadasa-hitasukhâye yena-ete-  
abhîta-asvathâ . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [17]  
 Ichhitaviye-hi-esa[;] kī-ti[?] vi-  
yohālasamatā-cha-siya . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [18] tīmni-  
divasāni-me y[o]te-diṁne[.] Nā-  
tikā-va-kāni nijha- . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [19] Ichhā-hi-me-hevaṁ  
niludhasi-pi-kālasī pālatām . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . [20]

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written. My *Lajûkas*<sup>a</sup> are established (*as rulers*) among the people, among many hundred thousand souls; I have made them independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments<sup>b</sup>—Why? In order that the *Lajûkas* may do their work tranquilly and fearlessly, that they may give welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces and may confer benefits (*on them*). They will know what gives happiness and what inflicts pain, and they will exhort the provincials in accordance with the principles of the sacred law,<sup>c</sup>—How?—That they may gain for themselves happiness in this world and in the next. But the *Lajûkas* are eager to serve me<sup>d</sup>. My (*other*) servants also, who know my will, will serve (*me*), and they, too will exhort some (*men*), in order that the *Lajûkas* may strive to gain my favour.<sup>e</sup> For, as (*a man*) feels tranquil after making over his child to a clever nurse,—saying unto himself, 'The clever nurse strives to bring up my child well,'—even so I have acted with my *Lajûkas* for the welfare and happiness of the provincials, intending that, being fearless and feeling tranquil, they may do their work without perplexity. For this reason I have made the *Lajûkas* independent in (*awarding*) both honours and punishments. For the following is desirable:—What? That there may be equity in official business<sup>f</sup> and

<sup>25</sup> It is possible to read *lajûka-kate*. But the ser . . . e-stroke is much shorter than the real ones, and, hence, is probably due to an accidental flaw in the stone.

<sup>26</sup> Though *vīyohāla*, in Sanskrit *vyavahāra*, frequently means 'legal business', 'judicial proceedings,' there is no objection to taking it here in the not less common wider sense 'business,' 'official business,' as the translation of *abhîhāra* by "awarding honours" makes advisable.

equity in the award of punishments.' And even so far goes my order, "I have granted a respite of three days to prisoners on whom judgment has been passed and who have been condemned to death."<sup>27</sup> Their relatives will make some (*of them*) meditate deeply (*and*) in order to save the lives of those (*men*) or in order to make (*the condemned*) who is to be executed, meditate deeply, they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts'. For my wish is that they (*the condemned*) even during their imprisonment<sup>28</sup> may thus gain bliss in the next world; and various religious practices, self-restraint and liberality will grow among the people."

#### REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

a. In note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III, I have pointed out that Professor Jacobi has found the Jaina Prakrit representative of *lajūka* or *rājūka* (Gir-nār) in the *Kalpasūtra*, where *rajjū* means "a writer, a clerk." I have added that *lajūka*, i.e. *lajjūka*, was an old name of the writer caste, which is later called *Divira* (*Dabīr*) or *Kāyastha*, and that Aśoka calls his great administrative officials simply "the writers," because they were chiefly taken from that caste. Though I do not see any reason to change this view, I now leave the word untranslated, because the rendering "writers" might mislead. Regarding my explanation of *āyatā*, which I take to be equivalent to *pratishṭhīlāh*, note 2, on Sep. Ed. I, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

b. Professor Kern has without doubt correctly explained the general meaning of this sentence. Piyadasi declares that he has made his *Lajūkas* independent in the discharge of their duties and has abolished the appeals to higher authorities. This follows from the further statement (see below) that he has confided his subjects to them, just as a man confides his child to an intelligent nurse. I may add that there is a weighty objection to M. Senart's view, according to which Piyadasi says that he will keep legal proceedings against, and punishments of, the *Lajūkas* in his own hands. For, in all Native States of India a high official, who is "placed over many hundred thousand souls," is solely answerable to the king for his actions, and it is a matter of course that the same was the case in ancient India, as indeed in all despotic countries. An order enjoining that such men were to be punished by the king alone would have been quite superfluous. As regards the construction, I explain the sentence in Sanskrit as follows:—*teshām yo' bhihāro vā daṇḍo vā [tatra] mayā [teshām] svatantratā kṛitā*, and I take *ātmapatyam* [*svatantratā*] as a substantive, formed according to the analogy of *ādhipatyam* and so forth. The term *abhihāra* occurs in Pali in the sense of "honour, honorarium," see *Jātakas*, vol. V, p. 58, verse 143, and *ibid.* p. 59, l. 28f. In the former passage the commentary explains *abhihāram* by *pājam*. It is obvious that this meaning fits here excellently.

c. I interpret *dhammayutena* with Professor Kern by *dharmayuktena*, i. e. *dharmayuktyā*. M. Senart's attempt to translate it by 'together with the Faithful,' i.e.

<sup>27</sup> In the interpretation of *ava ito* (Dh. A.) and *āvā ito* (M. R.) I follow Professor Kern and M. Senart, who explain it by *yāvad itaḥ*, and I take *āvutī* with M. Senart as equivalent to *āyuktiḥ*. *Tīlita* or *tilita* has here the same sense as *hrita* Manu, IX, 233.

<sup>28</sup> *Niludhasi pi kālasi*, literally *nirudathe pi kāle*, may be taken in the sense of *nirodhakāle pi*. Similar phrases occur in Pali, e.g., *mīthyācāraṃ* and *anācāraṃ chivṇadiṇasse* for *anācāracharaṇadiṇasse*, *Jāt.* i, p. 310.

the Buddhists, is not tenable. The passage, Pillar Edict VII, 2, 2, which he connects with this, has nothing to do with it. For, *dharmmayutam janam* means there 'the loyal people,' and denotes Piyadasi's subjects, as distinguished from the *amtā*, 'the free borderers.'

(d) M. Senart's conjectural emendation *chaghamti* for *laghamti* is barred by the fact that the four complete versions all offer *laghamti*, and that the supposed *varia lectio* '*chaghamti*' does not exist. *Laghamti* seems to be the representative of Sanskrit *raṅghamte* 'they hasten', i.e. 'are eager.' I fully agree with the same scholar's remark that *paṭichal* must be taken in the sense of Sanskrit *parichar*, because in Pali the preposition *paṭi* is frequently used for *pari*. Its correctness is demonstrated by the fact that in the Jaina *Mahārāshṭrī*, *paḍiyar*, i.e. literally *pratichar*, means 'to serve,' see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahārāshṭrī*, glossary *sub voce* '*paḍiyariya*.'

(e) As there are no other instances in which the neuter terminations are added to feminines in *a*, I cannot explain *chhamdamnāni* with M. Senart as a Dvandva compound, formed of *cḥhanda* and *ājñā*. I take it with Burnouf, as a Tatpurusha compound, equivalent to *chhandam jānanīti chhandajñāh*, 'knowing the will,' and construe it with *pulisāni*, 'the servants.' This explanation seems also advisable, because one naturally expects that *maṃ* must be understood and is the object of *paṭichalisamti*, as of the preceding *paṭichalitave*. The 'servants', whom Piyadasi mentions here, are most probably the *paṭivedakas*, the spies, whom the great Maurya employed according to Rock Edict VI, in order to watch the actions of his great officials, of the Pañchs and other bodies in accordance with the precepts of the Indian *Rājanīti*. The further statement that these servants will exhort *kāni*, "some" (as must be read with M. Senart), in order that the Lajūkas may strive to gain the favour of the king, probably means that these "servants" will exhort remiss Lajūkas, and that they will also, by exhorting or spreading the Dharma among the provincials at large, rouse the zeal of the Lajūkas. *Kāni* thus refers both to the Lajūkas and the provincials. With the phrase *mam-ālādhayitave* compare *lājālādhi*,—Sep. Ed. I, 15 (Dhauḷi). To Professor Kern's excellent explanation of the verb *chagh* by the Hindi *chāh-nā*, I would add that *chāh* occurs in all Indian vernaculars and without doubt belongs to the ancient stock of Aryan speech.

'Regarding this passage I can only agree with one of my predecessors in a single point. I believe that M. Senart is right in deriving *nijhapayisamti* and *nijhapayitā* from the Prakrit causative of *nidhyāi* and not from *nikshapayati*. This derivation is perfectly justified by the word *nijhati*, below, VII, 2, 8, which in its general sense is certainly equivalent to Sanskrit *nīdīdhyāsanā* 'profound meditation.' In all other respects I differ. I am unable to accept the assertion of Professor Lassen, approved of by Professor Kern and M. Senart, that *nātikāvakāni* is a compound, meaning 'neither more nor less.' The six syllables certainly must be separated into the three words *nātikā-va-kāni*, i.e. *jñātaya eva kāmśchit*. That is the only explanation which is grammatically possible, and gives, as will be shown presently, an excellent sense. I am further unable to disregard the well authenticated reading *nijhapayitave*, which R. and M. offer, instead of *nijhapayitā*. *Nijhapayitave* is clearly an infinitive in *tave*, such as occurs frequently in Piyadasi's inscriptions. This form must in my opinion be used in order to explain the more difficult *nijhapayitā*. The latter may be, too, an infinitive, on the supposition that it stands for *nijhapayitāya*. And the contraction of the syllable *dya* does occur in Pali, e. g., in





EDICT V—*contd.*

*Dehli-Sivalik.*

ka-châ sūkali-châ gabbini-va-pā-  
yamīnā-va-avadh[i]y. p. take<sup>32</sup> [8]  
pi-cha-kāni āsammasike[.] Vadhī-  
kukūṭe no-kaṭaviye[.] tuse-sajī-  
ve[9] no-jhāpetaviye[.] dāve-  
anathāye-vā vihisāye-vā no-jhā-  
petaviye[.]10] jīvena-jīve no-pu-  
sitaviye[.] Tīsu-chātummāsīsu  
tisāyaṃ-purīnamāsīyaṃ[11] tīm-  
ni-divasāni chāvūdasāni paṃna-  
dasāni paṭipadāye dhuḃvāye-chā  
[12] anuposathāni-machhe-ava-  
dhiye no-pi-viketaviye[.] Etā-  
ni-yeva-divasāni[13] nāgava-  
nāsi kevaṭabbhogasi yāni-amnāui-  
pi jīvanikāyāni[14] no-hamṭaviy-  
āni[.] Aṭhamāpakhāye chāvū-  
dasāye paṃnadāsāye  
tisāye[15] punāvāsune tīsu-  
chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone-  
no-nīlakhitaviye [16] ajake  
eḃake sūkale e-vā-pi-amne nīla-  
khiyati no-nīlakhitaviye [17]  
Tisāye punāvāsune chātummā-  
siye chātummāsiyapakhāye asvasā  
gonasā[18] lakhaneno-kaṭaviye[.]  
Yāva-saduvīsativasa abhisitena-  
me etāye[19] a[m]talikāye paṃ-  
navīsati bōḃḃhanamokhāni kaṭā-  
ni [20]

*Dehli-Mirat.*

[a] v. dh. y. p. t. k. pi cha-kā-  
ni [1] . . . ke [.] [Vadhi]ku-  
kuṭe no-kaṭ-aviye[.] Tuse-sa[ji-  
ve] [2] . . . [taviye] [;] dāve  
ana[ṭh]āye-vā<sup>23</sup> vikisāye-vā no[3]  
[jhāpetaviye] [;] jīvena jīve no-  
pusitaviye[.] Tīsu chātarmāsi-  
su<sup>24</sup> [4] tisāya[m] purnamā[si]  
yam timoi-divasāni chāvudaśam  
purnadāśam [5] paṭipadā. dhu-  
vāye-cha anuposatham mach-  
he-avadhiye no-pi [6] viket-  
aviye [.] Etāni-yeva-divasāni nā-  
gavanasi kevaṭabhogasi [7] [yā].  
[a]. [ui]-pi-jīvanikāyāni<sup>25</sup> no-[ha]  
chāvudāsi<sup>26</sup> [8]. Aṭham[i]<sup>27</sup> . . ye  
chāvudāsāye purnadāśāye  
tisāye[9] punāvasune tīsu  
chāturmāsīsu sudivasāye g[o]ne  
[10] [no-ni] la[khi]taviye ajake  
eḍake sūkale e-vā-pi[11]am[ue  
nīlakhi]yati [no]-nīlakhitaviye  
[.] Tisāye purnāvasune[12] chā-  
turmāsīye chātu[m]mā[si] sipaklā-  
ye asvasā gonasā lakhane[13] no-  
viye(.) Yāva-saduvīsati[va]sa  
abhisitenā-mē etāye[14] amtalikā-  
ye purnāva[sa]ti tībāmbanamokh-  
āni katāni[15]

*Allahabad.*

sajīve  
no jlhā  
chā[vuda] saṁ pañchada-  
[saṁ]  
[tāni]  
tha  
l[a]kbane no kaṭa[viye][.]  
[Yāva]-sa  
[27]

*Radhia, North Side.*

Devānām-piye Piyadasi-lāja-  
hevaṃ-āha [1] saḍḍhisatvasābhi-  
sitasa-me imāni-pi-jātāni avadhya-  
ni [1] kaṭāni [1] se-yatha suke  
sālika alune chakavāke haṃse  
naṃdimukhe gelāte jatūka [2]  
ambākapilika dudi anāṭhikama-  
chhe vedaveyake gaṃgāpuputaṇe  
saṃkujjāmacchhe kaphāṭaseyake  
[3] paṃnasase simale saṃḍake  
okaṇḍe palasate setakapote gā-

*Mathia.*

Devānām-piye Piyadasi-lāja-  
 hevaṃ-āha [1] saḍḍivāsativasābhi-  
 sitasa-me imāni-pi [1] jātāni ava-  
 dhyāni-katāni [1] ee-yathā<sup>55</sup> [16]  
 suke sālīka aluue chakavāke haṃ-  
 se [2] naṃdīmukhe gelāte jatūka  
 ambākapiḷika duḍi anaṭhikama-  
 chhe vedaveyake [3] gaṃḍāpu-  
 ṭaṭake saṃkujamachhe kaphaṭa-  
 seyake paṃnasase sīmale saṃḍake  
 okapimḍe [4] palasate setaka-

<sup>22</sup> It is, of course, possible to read *avadhāy*. But the right side of the vowel is mutilated, and the real reading was no doubt *avadhiy*, as the sense and the variants of the other versions require.

<sup>23</sup> Possibly *anathāye*

<sup>34</sup> Read *chātummāsieu*.

<sup>21</sup> This might be read<sup>o</sup> *nikāyānī*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw.

\* This looks like *hamtaviyānī*, but the double stroke above *na* is probably due to a flaw in the stone.

<sup>37</sup> The quantity of the third vowel of *athamí* is not certain.

<sup>28</sup> The ā-stroke of *yathā* is not certain.

makapote save chatupade[4] ye-  
paṭipogaṃ-no-eti<sup>39</sup> na-cha-khādi-  
yati [.] Ajakā-nāni eḍakā-cha  
sūkālī-cha gabhinī-va pāyamīnā-  
va[5] avadhya potake-cha-kāni  
āsaṃmāsike [.] Vadhikukūṭe no  
kaṭaviye [;] tuse-sajīve no jhā-  
payitaviye[.] dāve [6] anāthāye-  
va vihisāye-va no jhāpayitaviye  
[;] jīvena jīve no-pusitaviye [.]  
Tisu-chāturmāsīsu tisyam [7]  
puṃnamāsīyam timni divasāni  
chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭi-  
padaṃ dhuvāye-cha anuposathaṃ  
machhe avadhye no pi [8] viketa-  
viye[.] Etāni-yeva-divasāni nā-  
gavanasi kevaṭabhogaṃ yāni-aṃ-  
nāni-pi-jīvanikāyāni[9] no-haṃ-  
taviyāni[.] Aṭhamipakhāye chā-  
vudasāye paṃnaḍasāye  
tisāye puṇāvasune tīsu-chā-  
turmāsīsu[10] sudivasāye gone-  
no-nīlakhitaviye ajake eḍake sū-  
kale e-vā-pi-aṃne nīlakhiyati no-  
nīlakhitaviye[.12] Tisāye puṇā-  
vasune chāturmāsīye chāturmā-  
sipakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane-  
no-kaṭaviye[.12] Yāva-saṇḍuvisa-  
tivasābhisitasā-me etāye aṃtali-  
kāye paṃnavīsati bāmdhana-  
mōkhāni kaṭāni[.13]

pote gāmakapote save-chatupade  
ye-ṭipibhogaṃ-no-eti na-cha khā-  
diyati [5] Ajakā-nāni eḍakā-cha  
sūkālī-cha gabhinī-va pāyamīnā-  
va avadhya potake-cha-kāni [6]  
āsaṃmāsike[.] Vadhikukūṭe no  
kaṭaviye[.] tuse-sajīve-no-jhā-  
payitaviye[.] Dāve-anāthāye-va  
[7] vihisāye-va no-jhāpayitavi-  
ye [;] jīvena-jīve no-pusitaviye[.]  
Tisu-chāturmāsīsu tīsiyam [8]  
puṃnamāsīyam timni—divasāni  
chāvudasaṃ-paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭi-  
padaṃ dhuvāye-cha-anuposathaṃ  
machhe avadhye [9] no-pi-vike-  
taviye [.] Etāni-yeva-divasāni  
nāgavanasi kevaṭabhogaṃ yāni-  
aṃnāni-pi[10] jīvanikāyāni no-  
hantaviyāni[.] Aṭhamipakhāye  
chāvudasāye paṃnaḍasāye  
tisāye puṇāvasune[11] tīsu-chā-  
turmāsīsu sudivasāye gone-  
no-nīlakhitaviye ajake eḍake sū-  
kale e-vā-pi-aṃne[2] nīlakhiyati  
no-nīlakhitaviye[.] Tisāye-pu-  
ṇāvasune chāturmāsīye chāturmā-  
sipakhāye asvasa gonasa[13]  
lakhane-no-kaṭaviye[.] Yāva-sa-  
ṇḍuvisativasābhisitenā-me etāye  
aṃtalikāye paṃnavīsati[14]  
bāmdhanamōkhāni kaṭāni[.15]

### EDICT V.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I forbade the slaughter of the following creatures,<sup>a</sup> viz. parrots, starlings,<sup>b</sup> *alunas*, Brāhmani ducks, swans,<sup>c</sup> *nandīmukhas*,<sup>40</sup> *gelāṭas*, *jatukas*,<sup>41</sup> *ambāka-pīlikās*,<sup>d</sup> terrapins,<sup>e</sup> boneless fish,<sup>f</sup> *vedaveyakas*, *gaṃgāpuputakas*, *sankuja*-fish,<sup>g</sup> tortoises, porcupines,<sup>h</sup> *paṃnasasas*,<sup>i</sup> *śrīmaras*,<sup>j</sup> bulls set free,(?) *okapiṇḍas*,<sup>k</sup> rhinoceros,<sup>l</sup> grey doves,<sup>m</sup> village-pigeons,<sup>42</sup> and all quadrupeds, which are not used<sup>n</sup> nor are eaten. She-goats, ewes and sows, (*i.e.*) those which are with young or in milk, must not be slaughtered, nor their young ones, (*i.e.*) some (*of them*) which are less than six months old<sup>o</sup>. Caponing cocks is forbidden; husks, containing living animals, must not be burned;<sup>p</sup> forests must not be burnt out of mischief or in order to injure (*living beings*);<sup>q</sup> living creatures must not be fed with living creatures". At the (*full moon of each*) of the three seasons and at the full

<sup>39</sup> Read *paṭibhagaṃ*.

<sup>40</sup> According to the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary* the *Nandīmukha* is mentioned as an aquatic bird in the *Bhāva-prakāśa*.

<sup>41</sup> *Jatuka*, no doubt, means 'a bat'. But I must confess that I do not understand, how bats come on this list, as in general they are neither eaten nor used in any way. Possibly the flying foxes which otherwise have the separate name *manthāla* or *vāgāda*, may be meant. These are eaten at least by low-caste people, like the Kāṭhāris. Their flesh is forbidden in some of the law-books, e.g., Gautama, xvii, 34.

<sup>42</sup> *Gāmakapote* is, of course, the blue rock pigeon, found in most villages and towns, especially in the wells.

moon of Taisha fish shall neither be killed nor be sold during three days, (*viz.*) the fourteenth, the fifteenth (*and*) the first (*of the following fortnight*), nor constantly, on each fast day.<sup>a</sup> On the same days no other animals, found in the elephant-preserves and in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.<sup>4</sup> On the eighth of (*each*) fortnight,<sup>5</sup> on the fourteenth, the fifteenth, on the Tishya and Punarvasu days,<sup>6</sup> on the full-moon days of the three seasons, and on festivals<sup>43</sup> bulls shall not be castrated,<sup>7</sup> nor he-goats, rams, and boars; nor shall any other animal be castrated which is (*commonly*) castrated. On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the full-moon days of the seasons, and during the fortnights connected with the full-moons of the seasons,<sup>8</sup> the marking of horses and oxen is forbidden.<sup>9</sup> Up to the twenty-sixth (*anniversary*) of my coronation I have decreed twenty-five (*times*) the liberation of (*all*) prisoners.<sup>5</sup>

## REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) According to the general maxim, prevalent in Sanskrit and the Prakrits, which permits the neuter of the perfect participle past to be used in the sense of the noun of action in *ti, jātam* might be interpreted with M. Senart by *jāti* and be translated by “animals of the following kinds.” But, as the neuter *jātu* means also “creature,” I prefer this simpler interpretation. The eastern versions offer: “Of even the following creatures.”

(b) M. Senart's latest translation gives correctly the modern Indian expression “*maina*.” I prefer to put the English word. All the European dictionaries translate *sārikā* wrongly or omit the translation. Molesworth gives the right meaning in the *Marāṭhī Dictionary*. The scientific name of the bird is *Acridotheres tristis*, Linn., Murray, *Avifauna of British India*, No. 912.

(c) This term probably includes wild geese and large ducks, see Molesworth, *Marāṭhī Dictionary* *sub voce*. The birds, which were pointed out to me as *hamsas* in the palace at Kolhāpur and elsewhere, looked very much like Turkish ducks.

(d) M. Senart connects the first part of *ambākapilikā* or *ambākapilika* with *ambu*, ‘water,’ and translates “water-ants(?)”. As far as I am aware, no such animal is known in natural history. The explanation ‘mother-ant,’ or ‘queen-ant,’ is at least possible. For the queens of the white-ants are eagerly sought after and eaten, because they are considered to act as a strong aphrodisiac. The only time when I obtained a queen-ant, it was at once stolen by my servants. But, as three versions read °*kapilikā*, it may be doubted if the word is the Pali representative of *pipilikā*.

(e) As *duḍḍī* is said to be a small tortoise, it is no doubt the terrapin, which is found in many Indian gardens. Tortoises belong to the five-toed animals that may be eaten, —see remark (h).

(f) M. Senart's conjecture that prawns are meant by the expression ‘boneless fish’ is not improbable.

(g) M. Senart's suggestion that *samkujā* is identical with Sanskrit *sankuchi* ‘a skate,’ seems very probable.

<sup>a</sup> The translation of *sudivasa* by ‘festival’ is merely conjectural, but may be defended by its etymological meaning *subhāna divasa*, which would suit a festival. I think that popular festivals, like the modern *Divālī*, *Dasara*, and the like may be meant.

(h) *Sayaka* and *seyaka* (R. M.), of course, represent Sanskrit *śalyaka*. The *śalyaka* is one of the five-toed animals that may be eaten by Aryans, see—e.g., Āpastamba, *Dh. Śā.* i, 17, 37, Baudhāyana, *Dh. Śā.* i, 12, 5, Gautama, *Dh. Śā.* xvii, 27, Vasishṭha, *Dh. Śā.* xiv, 39. It is associated with the *kaphaṭa*, i.e., according to M. Senart's excellent conjecture, *kamaṭha*, 'the tortoise,' because in the law-books *śalyaka* and *kachohṇapa* are always closely put together among the eatable five-toed animals.

(i) According to the analogy of *puṇamṛiga*, 'an animal living in the leaves of trees,' *paṇnasase* i.e. *parṇaśaśaḥ* may mean 'a hare, i.e. a hare-like animal living in the leaves of trees,' and denote the large white-bellied, red squirrel, which is found in the forests of the Western Ghāṭs. It is quite as large as a hare, and its skinned body looks exactly like that of a hare. I have shot it near Yellapur in Kanara. Its meat tasted very much like that of a hare.

(j) *Simale* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *śrimara*. Vāgbhaṭa, *Aṣṭāṅgahri-daya Śā.* I, 49, names this animal, among the ten *mahāmṛiga* or large wild animals, next to the *chamara* or yak-ox and the rhinoceros. It stands also next to the yak in the enumeration of wild animals, which occurs in the *Jātakamālā* xxvi, 7, see the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*, sub voce *śrimara*). Perhaps it may be the large Bārāsing stag.

(k) M. Senart has called attention to the passage of the *Mahāvagga*, vi, 17, where the *ukkapiṇḍā* are said to eat the provisions of the monks. According to the note to the translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XVII, p. 10, Buddhaghosha explains the term by *bilālamūsikagodhāmungusā*, 'cats, mice, iguanas and mungoses'. He takes it evidently in its etymological sense, *ukke* i.e. *oke piṇḍo yeshām te* 'animals which find their food in the houses,' i.e. 'vermin.' This general explanation does not suit here, because cats, mice and mungoses are not eaten, and because a particular kind of animal must be meant. I would suggest that Piyadasi forbids the slaughter of one of the animals named by Buddhaghosha, viz. of the *godhā*, the large lizard, which, according to the law-books, quoted in note (h) belongs to the eatable five-toed animals.

(l) M. Senart's correction *palapate* for *palasate* is inadmissible, because all the three versions agree, and because the turtle-dove is denoted by the next term. Mr. Trenckner's explanation of the corresponding Pali *parasato* by 'rhinoceros' (*Pāli Miscellany*. I, 50) fits excellently. For the rhinoceros is also one of the five-toed animals which may be eaten,—see the passages from the law-books, quoted in note (h). Moreover, the rules regarding the Śrāddhas show clearly that the meat of the rhinoceros was highly esteemed. According to Manu, iii, 272, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis, rhinoceros meat satisfies the manes "for an endless time."

(m) *Setakapote*, no doubt, denotes the whitish-grey doves, which are found in large numbers in many parts of India, and which are usually included in the general term *hollo* or *hullā*. White pigeons, as indeed all tame pigeons, are only kept by Musalmans, not by Hindus.

(n) M. Senart has stated that *paṭibhoga*, literally 'enjoyment,' does not refer *exclusively* to nourishment. I should say that on account of the following clause "nor are eaten" it must mean "other use than for food" and that Piyadasi means to forbid the slaughter of all animals whose skins, fur, feathers, etc., are not required, as well as of those which are not eaten.

(o) *Ajakánāni* must be separated into *ajakā nāni*. *Nāni* is the neuter plural of the pronoun *na*, which is associated with a feminine in utter disregard of the rules of concord, as happens more frequently in these inscriptions. The proper form of the sentence would be in Sanskrit *ajā eḍikāścha sūkaryaścha tō garbhinyo dhayantyo vā avadhyaḥ*. M. Senart's conjectural emendation *pīyamānā* for *pāyamīnā* is inadmissible, because all the versions agree in giving the latter word and because *pīyamānā* is against the Pali idiom. *Pāyati*, not *pīyati*, means in Pali 'to suckle', see Childers Dictionary, *sub voce pibati*. Nor is it necessary to change the vowel of the affix. The affix *mīna-* occurs more frequently for *māna* in the inscriptions, and it is evidently an interesting relic of ancient times, as the Zend *mana-mna*, the Greek *menos* and the Latin *mini-mina* show. The additional clause may be translated and explained thus:—

*Potakās cha* [*api cha*, D. S., D. M.] *kechit* [*te cha kathambhūtāḥ*] *āshaṃmāsikāḥ* [*avadhyaḥ iti śeṣaḥ*]. The plural *kāni* is joined with the singular *potake*, because the latter is taken in a collective sense. M. Senart's derivation of *āsaṃmāsika* from *āshaṃmāsam* 'up to six months,' may be defended by the analogy of *ākālīka*, the adjective belonging to *ākālam*, 'up to the same hour on the next day'. Piyadasi's prohibition agrees with the sentiments of the Brahmanical teachers, who all forbid to sacrifice animals which have not changed their teeth, and who sometimes forbid their flesh to be eaten, see, e.g., Gautama, *Dh. Śā.*, xviii, 31.

(p) This prohibition probably refers to the practice, which here and there still survives, of burning the last remnants of the husks remaining on the threshing-floor of the village, in order to destroy the vermin.

(q) *Vihisāye*, 'to injure living beings' very probably refers, as M. Senart suggests, to the custom of setting the jungles on fire in order to drive out the game and of thus destroying it.

(r) I here again follow M. Senart, whose explanation appears to me the most natural. The prohibition probably refers to cases where sacred crocodiles or snakes, tame tigers and other carnivorous animals were fed with living fowls, sheep or goats.

(s) *Chātummāsī*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī*, is the full moon of each term or season of four months, which according to one reckoning is considered the last day of that period, and according to another as falling in its beginning. The formation of the Sanskrit *chāturmāsī* is taught in Vārttika 7 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94:—*saṃjñāyām an. "To chaturmāsa," "a period of four months", (is added) the affix a, which causes Vṛddhi of the first syllable, in a (word of) technical import.*" Patañjali adds: "*chaturshu māseshu bhavā chāturmāsī paurṇamāsī*, 'the full-moon day which falls after a period of four months is called *chāturmāsī*,' and the *Kāśikā*, which repeats Patañjali's explanation, says further that the three full-moon days of Āshāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna are meant.<sup>45</sup> More explicit are the statements, which the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* makes on *Dīgha Nikāya*, ii, 1 (p. 139), while explaining the words *Komudiyā chātumāsiniyā* "on the full-moon (night or titthi) of Kārttika (which is) *chātumasini*." It says:—*chātumāsiniyā ti chātumāsīyā sā hi chatuṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ pariyosānabhūtā chātumāsī idha pana chātumāsiniṭi vuchchati*. "*Chātumāsiniyā* is equivalent to *chātumāsīyā*. For that (full-

<sup>44</sup> This must be understood from Vārttika 6: *chaturmāsūn nyo yajñe tatra bhava*. See the *Maḥābhāṣya*, Vol. II, 361 (ed. Kielhorn).

<sup>45</sup> Compare also Haradatta on Āpastamba. *Dharma Sūtra*, I, 10, 1.

moon of *Kārttika*) is the end of four months (and is) hence (called) *chātumāsi*, but here *chātumāsini*.<sup>45</sup> It thus appears that the real meaning of *chātumāsi-chātumāsini* is "that which falls at the end of a period of four months." And this explanation presupposes a division of the year into three periods of four months each, the months ending, according to what is called the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of Northern India, with the full-moon days.

The division of the year into three seasons of four months certainly was in India the most popular in the prehistorical period and in the earlier part of the historical period.<sup>47</sup> Each of them was called a *Chaturmāsam* or *Chāturmāsya*.<sup>48</sup> Both the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Brahmanical *Sūtras*, as well as the canonical books of the Buddhists, frequently refer to the division of the year into three seasons, which is at the bottom of various religious institutions. With the Brahmins it was the cause of the celebration of the *Chāturmāsya*<sup>49</sup> sacrifices which were offered according to some 'at the end,' according to others 'at the beginning' of each season.<sup>50</sup> With the Buddhist monks it was the reason for extending the retreat during the rainy season, the *vassa*, over four months, see *Mahāvagga*, iii, 2, 2 and iii, 14, 11. The same period was kept by the Jaina Nirgranthas and the ancient Brahmanical ascetics. It further was used in official documents, and influenced the manner of dating them in most parts of India. The second Separate Edict prescribes the reading of the document 'on the Tishya day at each *Chātummāsa*.' The large majority of the ancient dated inscriptions, those from Mathurā incised during the rule of the Indo-Scythic kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 371, ff, and vol. II, p. 195 ff.; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* vol. III, plates xiii-xv), two Gupta inscriptions from the same town (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 210), the early dated inscription of the Mathurā Satrap Śoḍāsa, the edicts of the Andhras and Abhiras (Burgess, *Rep. Arch. Surv. IV. I.*, vol. IV, p. 103ff. and vol. V, p. 73ff.), the old Pallava land grant (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 1ff.) and the Sanskrit Kadamba inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 37), invariably mention the season in which the documents were issued. And only three seasons occur, viz. *grīshmaḥ-gimhā*, 'summer,' *varshāḥ-vasā*, 'the rains,' *hemantāḥ-hemantā* 'winter,' the names of which are frequently abbreviated to *gr* or *gri*, *va* and *he*. In the inscriptions from Mathurā and the neighbourhood each season is divided into four months, and we actually find, Mathurā inscriptions, 2nd series (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, No. 4; Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, vol. III, No. 12) *gri*, (i.e. *grīshmamāse*)

<sup>45</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent *chāturmāsin* likewise exists, but has a different meaning, see *Vārttika* 5 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 94.

<sup>47</sup> Other divisions, especially that into six seasons, are no doubt equally ancient, see Prof. Weber, *Die Nachrichten von den vedischen Nakshatra*, ii, p. 327ff. But they do not seem to have been used in popular life to an equal extent.

<sup>48</sup> *Chāturmāsya* is formed according to the analogy of *trailokyam*, *trairāśyam*, *chāturvarṇyam*, *chāturāśramam* and so forth, see *Vārttika* 1 on Pāṇini, v. 1, 124, and the explanation of the passage in the *Kāśikā*. I point this out in order to meet the doubt which M. Senart, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 76, feels regarding my explanation of the compound *anuchāturmāsam* in the second Separate Edict. He thinks that, if *anuchāturmāsam* meant 'at the commencement of every term or season of four months,' it must be *anuchāturmāsam* with a short *a* in the third syllable. In stating this he has overlooked that *chāturmāsya*, in Pali *chātummāsam*, is a perfectly correct synonym of *chaturmāsam*.

<sup>49</sup> The word *chāturmāsya* is according to *Vārttika* 6 on Pāṇini v. 1, 95, derived from *chaturmāsam* by the affix *ya*, causing *Vṛddhi*, and meaning *tatra bhava*, falling into that.

<sup>50</sup> See Mann, iv, 26, and the parallel passages in the synopsis to my translation. Mann says that they are to be offered *ritvante*, and thus reckons the three full-moon days as the last of the season. Similarly he uses IV, 119, *ritvantāsu rātrishu* for *chāturmāsishu*. Baudhāyana has *ritumukhe*, and other passages from the Śrauta Sūtras and Brāhmaṇas are quoted by Professor Weber in his *Nachrichten v.d. Nakshatra*, ii, 329ff. The discrepancy has no doubt been caused by a difference in the reckoning of the commencement of the seasons.

4; Mathurā inscriptions, 1st series, No. 3, and second series, No. 20, *va*, (i.e., *varshamāse*) 4, Cunningham, No. 20, *varshumāse* 4; Mathurā inscription, 1st series, No. 21, *hemantamāse chaturtthe* 4, ibidem No. 8, *hemantamāse* 4, and Cunningham, No. 20, *he* 4. In the inscriptions from Southern India each season is divided into eight fortnights, and the latest, actually mentioned, are the fifth (Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 16 and 17, Kanheri inscriptions Nos. 4 and 16), the sixth (Pallava land grant of Śivaskandavarman) and the eighth (Kadamba inscription of Mṛigeśavarman). The period during which this method of dating was in general use, embraces the first century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D. But, in Mathurā it survived until the fifth century A.D., as No. 39 of the second series was incised during the reign of Kumāragupta and in the Gupta year 113 or A.D. 431—2 Kā[r̥ttikahema]ntamā[s] divase 20, “on the 20th day of the winter month of Kārttika. In Southern India it presumably lasted at least until the same period, to which the Kadamba land grants probably belong.

Finally, it may be noted that the old division into three seasons is the only one used by the common people in the districts known to me. The Gujarāṭi villagers and all persons not affected by the learning of the *Śāstras* speak only of the *uṇhālo* (*uṣṇakāla*) *varsād nā dehādā* or *chomāsūn* and *shīyālo*. The Marāṭhas know only *uṇhālā*, *pāvasālā* (*prāvṛṣh* and *kāla*) and *himvālā* (*himakāla*.) Further north and east I have frequently heard the terms mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,<sup>51</sup> *dhūpkāl*, *barkhakāl* and *sītākāl* or equivalents thereof. With respect to the beginning of each season the authorities differ. The oldest, the *Brāhmaṇas*, as well as some *Śrauta Sūtras*, begin the hot season with the month of Phālguna, other *Śrauta Sūtras* with the month of Chaitra.<sup>52</sup>

The two schemes of the seasons, therefore, are :—

I		II	
Frishmāh	{	Phālguna.	Chaitra.
		Chaitra.	Vaiśākha.
		Vaiśākha.	Jyaishṭha.
		Jyaishṭha.	Āshāḍha.
Varsbāh	{	Āshāḍha.	Śrāvaṇa.
		Śrāvaṇa.	Bhādrapada or Praushṭhapada.
		Bhādrapada or Praushṭhapada.	Āsvina.
		Āsvina or Āsvayuja.	Kārttika.
Hemantāh	{	Kārttika.	Mārgaśīrsha.
		Mārgaśīrsha	Pauṣa.
		Pauṣa or Taiṣa.	Māgha.
		Māgha.	Phālguna.

The statements of the Buddhists show the same discrepancies. Huen Tsiang, *Sī yūki*, vol. I, p. 72 (Beal), alleges that “according to the holy doctrine of Tathāgata the year is divided into three seasons,” the hot, the wet and the cold, the scheme of which agrees with the second given above. But the canonical books of the southern Buddhists show clearly that their authors knew also the scheme according to which the hot season began with Phālguna. For they prescribe for the *vasso*, the retreat during the rainy season, an “earlier” period, beginning with “the day after the full moon in Āshāḍha,”

<sup>51</sup> Gladwin ed., vol. I, p. 266; see Sir A. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 3; Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 1083; and Hillebrandt, *Die Sonnenwend feste*, p. 26f.

<sup>52</sup> See A. Weber: *op cit.*, p. 329f.

and a later one, commencing "a month later than the full-moon of Ashâdha," i.e. with the day after the full-moon of Śrāvaṇa. And it is further stated that the "later" term closed with *Komudī chātumāsini* "the full moon of Kārttika with which the season of four months ends".<sup>53</sup> Both these passages presuppose, just like that from the *Dīgha Nikāya* (above, p. 261), the use of the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning for the months.

In the inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period there is no indication showing when the seasons began. But, if the restoration of the Gupta inscription No. 39 is correct, it follows that in the fifth century A.D. the winter began with Kārttika, and that the scheme of the seasons was the older one, given under No. I.

Under these circumstances it is not possible to decide with certainty which full moons are meant by "the three Chātummāsīs." They may be either those of Phālguna, Āshâdha and Kārttika, or those of Chaitra, Śrāvaṇa and Mārgaśīrsha. It is further not certain if these full-moon days were considered respectively as the last days of winter, summer and the rains, or as falling in the beginning of summer, the rains and winter. But the *consensus* of the three passages from the Buddhist scriptures and of Manu's passages induces me to assume that the former view was that held in Piyadasi's times, as these works were probably composed not very long before and after Piyadasi.

The fourth full moon, which our passage mentions, is that of Taisha or Pausha, December—January. The forms *tisyaṃ* (R) and *tisiyaṃ* (M) are derived from the feminine adjective *tisī*, which has been formed from *tishya* without Vṛiddhi in the first syllable. With the form *tisāyaṃ* (D. S., D. M.), the locative of *tisā*, i.e. *tissā* (*tishyā*), compare the first part of the Vedic *tishyā-pūrṇamāsa* (see Prof. Weber, *op. cit.*, II, p. 326). The word *dhuvāye* which stands before *anuposathaṃ* must no doubt be taken in the sense of the Sanskrit *dhruvāya*, "constantly" (see the Petersburg Dict., *sub voce*) i.e. "in all months". *Anuposathaṃ* consists of *anu* and *posatha*, and it is worthy of note that the form *posatha*, with which Piyadasi denotes the fast days or Parvan days, stands midway between the Pali *uposatha* and the Jaina Prakrit *posaha*.

The total number of days on which Piyadasi prohibited the killing and sale of fish, amounts to fifty-six in the year, viz. :—

(1) Six in each of the months in which a new season began and in Taisha or Pausha, the eighth of each fortnight, the full-moon days with those immediately preceding and following them and the new-moon day, or 24 in all; (2) four in the remaining eight months, the full and new-moon days, and the eighth of each fortnight, or 32 in all.

As regards the reasons which induced Piyadasi to apply his prohibition to the particular days mentioned, the selection of the *Posatha* days as well as of those at the end and beginning of the seasons is easily intelligible. The four days of the changes of the moon, which the Brahmans designate by the astronomical term *Parvan*, were the ancient Sabbath days of the orthodox Hindus. The Brahmanical Sūtras prescribe on the two chief *Parvans*, the full and new-moon days, for every householder, the performance of sacrifices, which are preceded by fasting. Moreover, there are in the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*<sup>54</sup> a number of rules which make the *Parvan* days times of

<sup>53</sup> See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XIII, p. 299 f. and p. 324. The note on the second passage explains the word *Chātumāsini* erroneously. I translate it according to the explanation given in the *Sumaṅgala Vāṭṭasini*, see above, p. 261.

<sup>54</sup> See Manu iii, 45, and iv, 128, as well as iv, 160 and 163, and the passages quoted in the Synopsis to my Translation.



continence, worship, prayer, and abstention from doing injury even to plants.<sup>55</sup> According to the commentaries most of these rules refer to the two chief Parvans alone. But the texts, one and all, state explicitly that the injunction of continence applies also to the eighth days of each fortnight, and it is not improbable that the other rules in reality were meant to apply likewise to these two days. All the four Parvan days were kept as holidays in the Brahmanical schools. The *Dharmasūtras* and metrical *Smṛitis* prescribe that the Veda-study is to be interrupted on these occasions for a whole day and night<sup>56</sup> and a verse is adduced which describes the bad results of a breach of this rule. It would thus appear that the Buddhists and the Jains, in giving their rules for the Uposatha or Posaha days, did not much more than take over and perpetuate the ancient rules of the orthodox Hindus, and it would further appear that, by ordering a partial *amāri*,<sup>57</sup> Piyadasi acted in accordance with the sentiments not only of the heterodox sects, but also of his orthodox subjects. It is equally easy to understand why Piyadasi's rule applies to the end and the beginning of each season. The three *Chāturmāsī* full-moons were also great holidays. The orthodox Brahmans, who kept three sacred fires, performed on these occasions the *Chāturmāsya* sacrifices, those who kept a single fire celebrated corresponding rites, and the Brahmanical schools kept them as holidays<sup>58</sup> on which studying was forbidden. According to the Buddhistic *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, p. 140 (explanation of the words *upariprāsādavaragata*) at least one of these days, the full moon of Kārttika was kept as a popular festival. The *Nakshatra*, i.e. the conjunction, was publicly proclaimed, the houses were gaily decorated, and the citizens gave themselves up to celebrating the *Nakshatra* by amusements of various kinds. From the *Dīpavansa*, XV, 19, it appears that the Buddhists worshipped the sacred relics on that day. Similar popular and sectarian festivals were probably held on the other two days, and it is very likely that the modern Śivite festival on Kārttika sudi 15, the Holi on Phālguna sudi 15, and the practice of making presents to Brahmans on Kārttika and Āshāḍha sudi 15, may go back to the earliest times or be connected with the more ancient popular holidays at the end and the beginning of the three seasons.

More difficult is the answer to the question why Piyadasi included in his prohibition the three days at full moon of Taisa or Pausha. But it may be suggested that the day may have been regarded as the conventional beginning of the Uttarāyaṇa, the sun's progress towards the north. This is still a great festival, now called *Makarasaṁkrānti*, and celebrated not on the actual day of the entrance of the sun into the zodiacal sign, but later in January.

(t) The term *nāgavana*, "elephant-preserve," is found both in Pali and in Sanskrit. It occurs repeatedly in the *Chūlahatthipadopamasutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. Thus we read, p. 178 (ed. Trenckner):—*Seyyuthā pi brāhmaṇa nāgavaniko nāgavanam paviseyya, so passeva nāgavane mahantam hatthipadam dīghato eka āyataṁ tiriyaṇ cha vitthataṁ, etc.* "Just as when, O Brāhmaṇa, the keeper of an elephant-preserve, enters

<sup>55</sup> Vishnu, lxxi, 87, says: "Let him not cut even a blade of grass."

<sup>56</sup> Manu, iv, 113—114, and the parallel passages, quoted in the Synopsis.

<sup>57</sup> Partial and temporary prohibitions to kill were issued occasionally even in much later times. Thus the Satruñjaya inscriptions, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 37, state that the emperor Akbar stopped for a year the killing of aquatic animals at the instance of Jihānshāh Sūrī, and that the same prince forbade the slaughter of all animals during six months in accordance with the prayer of Hiravijaya Sūrī.

<sup>58</sup> Manu, iv, 119, and the parallel passages in the Synopsis.

the elephant-preserve, he may see in the elephant-preserve large footmarks of elephants, both long in length and broad in breadth, etc.” In Sanskrit it occurs in Bāṇa’s *Harsha-charita*.<sup>59</sup> The taming of elephants was in India a royal prerogative and the sale of elephants a royal monopoly, see Medhātithi on Manu, viii, 399. Particular forests, belonging to the Crown, were no doubt reserved in Piyadasi’s days, as at present, for the breeding of elephants, and these are meant here.

The word *kevaṭabhoga* has not been traced in literary works. But its meaning is not doubtful both on account of its co-ordination with *nāgavana* and on account of its etymological meaning, ‘that which is enjoyed or used by fishermen.’ Probably particular lakes or portions of the rivers are meant, which were set apart for the fishermen of the various towns and villages, and were consequently their *bhog*, as the modern phrase is.

(u) M. Senart’s explanation of *aṭhamīpakhāye* by “*pakshasyāśṭamyām* on the eighth of (each) fortnight” is no doubt correct. In the Jaina *Āchārāṅga*, ii, 15, 17, p. 125, Jacobi we have an exactly analogous compound *dasamīpakkheṇa* “on the tenth of the fortnight.” The position of the parts of the compounds is inverted in accordance with a license or slovenliness, frequently observable in all Prakrits, compare, *e. g.* the Deśī *valayabāhu* ‘armlet’ (Hemachandra, *Deśīkośa*, VII, 52) for *bāhuvalaya*. Some formations of this kind like *vārabāṇa*, ‘a protection against arrows, *i. e.* ‘a coat-of-mail,’ have even crept into Sanskrit in addition to those words where the grammar or classical usage sanctions the irregular position of the parts of the compound.

(v) The days of the month were commonly named according to the Nakshatras, with which the moon was supposed to be in conjunction, see my note 11 on the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Ges.* vol. XLI. As no specification is added, Piyadasi’s prohibition probably applies to the Tishya and Punarvasu days of each month. Both are among the *puṇya nakshatra* and Tishya or Pushya is occasionally cited as an example of an auspicious constellation. It is probable that, as the holier one, it has been placed before Punarvasu, which in the list of the Nakshatras stands earlier, being the fifth, while Tishya is the sixth. Brihaspati is the guardian deity of the latter; Aditi of the former.

(w) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nīlakhiyati* by *nīrlakshyate*, and correctly assigned to it the meaning ‘is castrated.’ I may add that the Deśī word<sup>60</sup> *nelachchho* or *nelachchho*, ‘a eunuch,’ furnishes the proof for his assertion.

(x) According to the analogies, found in the *Śrauta Sūtras*, *chātummāsīpaksha*, the fortnight connected with the full moons of the seasons, may mean either the dark fortnight following the *Chaturmāsī pūrṇimā*, as Mr. Senart assumes, or the bright fortnight preceding it. For Kātyāyana uses *māghīpaksha* for the dark half of Māgha, and Lāṭyāyana *phālgunīpaksha* for the bright half of Phālguna.<sup>61</sup> If, however, as I believe, Piyadasi used the *pūrṇimāntī* reckoning, the second explanation is the more natural one.

(y) According to a passage, quoted by Professor Weber (*Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, II, p. 330, Note 2), the Brāhmins considered the new-moon day of Phālguna to be the proper time for marking cows (see also *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, III, 10.)

<sup>59</sup> See also passage quoted in the smaller *Petersburg Dictionary*.

<sup>60</sup> See Hemachandra *Deśīkośa*, iv, 44, and *Pāyālachohī*, verse 235, as well as the note in the glossary to the latter.

<sup>61</sup> See the *Petersburg Dictionaries* under the two words, and the commentaries on the passages quoted there and in Professor Weber’s *Nachrichten von den Nakshatra*, Bd. II, p. 327.

EDICT VI.

*Allahabad.*

**Missing.**

[27] . . . Piyadasi lā-  
.  
. . .  
. . . i pā-  
.[.] Hevaṃ . [28]  
**hiṭasukhe-ti-paṭivekhāmi** atha  
[tiśu].  
āsaṁne[su] hevaṃ apaka-  
.[;] kimam . . .  
da[hā]mi[.] Hovaṇṇmeva sava-  
yeśu paṭivekhāmi[29] Sa-  
vapaśānādā pi-me-pūjitā vīviddhā-  
ya pūjāyā[.] Echeuyamatanañ-  
pachupagamana se me mukhya-  
mute[.]  
lipi likhāpitā-ti[ 30]

*Mathra.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasi-lāja  
 hevaṃ-āha[:] duvādasavasābhi-  
 sitena-me dharmmalipi-likhāpita  
 lokasa [16(1)] hitasukhāye[:]  
 se-taṃ-apahaṭa taṃ-taṃ-dham-  
 mavaḍhi-pāpova[.] Hevaṃ lo-  
 kasa[17(2)] hitasukhe-ti paṭive-  
 kkhāmi atthā-iyam-nātisū hevaṃ-  
 paṭyaśāṃnesu hevaṃ-apakāḥesu  
 [18(3)] kimmam-kāni-sukhaṃ  
 āvahaṃti-ti tathā-cha-vidahāmi  
 [.] Hem-eva savanikāyesu pa-  
 ṭivekkhāmi [19(4)] Savapāsaṃ-  
 ḍā-pi-me-pūjita vividhāya-pūjāya  
 [.] E-chu-iyam atana pacchū-  
 pagamane [20(5)] se-me-mo-  
 khyamate[.] Saḍḍuvisati-vasā-  
 bhisitena-m iyaṃ-dharmmalipi  
 likhāpita f.21(6)

<sup>c</sup> The stroke which makes *pāpova* look like *pipova* is clearly due to an accidental scratch.

## TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—After I had been anointed twelve years,<sup>a</sup> I ordered religious edicts to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, (*in order that the people*), giving up that (*unrighteousness which they practised*), might obtain a growth of the sacred law (*in*) this or that (*respect*).<sup>b</sup> (*Saying unto myself*) “the welfare and happiness of the people (*is concerned*),” I thus direct my attention not only to my relatives, but also to those who are near and far ;—why so ? “In order that I may lead some of them<sup>d</sup> to happiness.” In like manner I direct my attention to all bodies corporate.<sup>c</sup> I have also honoured men of all creeds with various honours.<sup>63</sup> But I consider that to be most essential, what (*I call*) ‘the approach through one’s own free will.’ After I had been anointed twenty-six years, I ordered this religious edict to be written.

## REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION.

(a) *Dhammalipi*, being a generic term, may refer to more than one edict. The edicts referred to are the third and fourth Rock Edicts. The former says, “when I had been anointed twelve years, I issued the following order,” and the latter states with equal clearness at the end, “king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ordered this to be written, when he had been anointed twelve years.” The earlier part of Piyadasi’s spiritual course is fixed by his own statements, as follows :—

- (1) After the conquest of Kalinga in his ninth year he repented of his cruelty, and resolved to make no further conquests by the sword. (Rock Edict XIII).
- (2) In his eleventh year he began to hold an annual progress through his dominions in search of religious truth (Rock Edict VIII).
- (3) In his thirteenth year he solemnly adopted the *Dhamma* or Sacred Law, *i.e.* those principles of morality which he enumerates so frequently (Rock Edict IV), and ordered it to be spread by his officials and his vassals on their annual tours through their districts (Rock Edict III).
- (4) In his fourteenth year he appointed the *Dhammamahâmâtas* or Superintendents of the Sacred Law. All this long precedes his conversion to Buddhism, which happened in or immediately after the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

(b) *Apahatā* (D. S.) or *apahata* is undoubtedly, as M. Senart suggests, equivalent to *apahritya* or *apahritvā*. In my opinion it corresponds to the second form, just as *paṭiladdha*<sup>61</sup> (*Jātaka*, iv, 46, 23) stands for *pratilabdhvā*. With respect to the meaning I differ from M. Senart, as I take *apahṛi* in the sense of ‘to avoid, to give up,’ which it has not rarely in Sanskrit. *Tam*, the object of *apahata*, stands for *tad*, and denotes ‘that which the people used to do, before they were taught better.’ The whole sentence down to *pāpovā* gives briefly the contents of Rock Edict IV, and it would have been clearer if *tū* had been added at the end. I transliterate and explain the passage in Sans-

<sup>63</sup> Compare with this sentence the statements in the twelfth Rock Edict.

<sup>61</sup> The verse runs as follows :—*Samkappam etaṃ paṭiladdha pāpam achchhātāṃ kamma karosi luddam*.

krit as follows:—*Saḥ[loka ityarthah] tad [kriyamāṇam adharmam ityarthah] apahṛitya [parihṛityetyarthah] tāṃ tāṃ dharmavṛiddhiṃ prāpnuyāt.*

(c) The explanation of the statement that the king directs his attention to his relatives is given by the remarks in the fourth Rock Edict and the seventh Pillar Edict, according to which the gifts of his children, brothers and sisters were supervised by the Dhammamahāmātas. By “those who are near,” Piyadasi probably means his Lājukas and other officials, who are supervised and taught their duties by him, see the fourth Pillar Edict and the Separate Edicts. “Those who are far,” *apakaṭṭha*, may be the wardens of the marches or perhaps the free borderers and the subjects of his friend the Yavana king Antiyoka, on whom Piyadasi conferred benefits according to the second Rock Edict, and whom he tried to convert to the Dhamma by ambassadors, as the thirteenth Rock Edict (Part ii) alleges.

(d) M. Senart has recognised that *kimam* is equivalent to the very common phrase *kimti*. As R. M. read plainly *kimmam*, I would suggest that *kimam* too stands for *kimmam*, and is a contraction of *kimva*, i.e. *kimiva*, with the not uncommon nasalisation of the last vowel.

(e) *Nikāya*, ‘body corporate,’ refers probably not only, as M. Senart suggests, to the classes of officials which are called *nikāyā* in the twelfth Rock Edict, but also to the castes and sects called *nikāyā* in the thirteenth Rock Edict.

(f) *Pachchāpagamana*, in Sanscrit *pratyupagamana*, might mean ‘the return to,’ but may also be taken as ‘the approach towards.’ The latter sense suits here best, and what is meant is the voluntary approach which one sect is to make towards the other in accordance with Piyadasi’s recommendation in the twelfth Rock Edict:—“They shall hear each other’s law and love to hear it. For it is the desire of the Beloved of the gods—what?—‘that men of all creeds shall have heard much and possess holy doctrines.’”

*Dehli-Sivalik Pillar*

EDICT VII, 1.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā[:]ye-atikamtaṃ [11]  
amtaṃ lājāne husu[,]hevaṃ ichhisu[:]katham-jane[12]  
dhammavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍheyā[?] No-cha-jane anulupāyā dhammavaḍḍhiyā[13]  
vaḍḍhithā[,] Etam devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ-āhā[:] esa-me[14]  
huthā[,] atikamtaṃ-cha amtaṃ hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne katham-jane[15]  
anulupāyā dhammavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍheyā-ti[:] no-cha-jane anulupāyā[16]  
dhammavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍhithā[:] se-kina-su jane anupaṭipajeyā<sup>65</sup>[.17]  
kina-su jane anulupāyā dhammavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍheyā-ti[:]kina-su-kāni [18]  
abhyumnāmayeham dhammavaḍḍhiyā-ti[?] Etam-devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ [19]  
āhā[:]esa-me huthā[,] dhammasāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhammānusathini[20]  
anus[ā]sāmi<sup>66</sup>[:] etam-jane sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyumnamisati[.21]

<sup>65</sup> The second *pa* of *anupaṭipajeyā* stands above the line.

<sup>66</sup> This might be read *anusāsāmi*, but I believe the blotched line above the *ā*-stroke to be accidental. *Anusāsāmi* is also used by Aśoka elsewhere, e.g. Sep. Ed., II, 6, (8), etc.]

## EDICT VII, 2.

dhammavādhiyā-cha bāḍham vāḍhisati[.] Etāye-me aṭhāye dhammasāvanāni sāvāpitāni  
dhammānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni yathā[ā me pul]isā-pi<sup>67</sup> bahune<sup>68</sup> janasi āyatā ete  
paliyovadisamti-pi pavithalisamti-pi[.] Laj[ā]kā-pi<sup>69</sup> bahukesu pānasatasahasasu āyatā  
tepi-me ānapitā[.] hevaṃ-cha hevaṃ-cha paliyovadātha[1]  
janam dhammayu[ta]m<sup>70</sup>[.] [D]e[v]ānam-piye Piyadasi hevaṃ-āhā[.] etam-eva-me anu-  
vekkhamāne dhammathambhāni-kaṭāni[.] dhammanahāmātā-kaṭā[.] dhamma[s]ā[van]e<sup>71</sup>-  
kaṭe[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā-hevaṃ āhā[.] magesu-pi-me nigohāni lopāpitāni[.]  
chhāyopagāni hosamti pasumunisānam[.] ambāvādikyā lopāpitā[.] adhak[o]s[i]kyāni-  
pi-me-udupānāni[2]  
kbānāpāpitāni[.] nimsidhiyā-cha<sup>72</sup> kālāpitā[.] āpānāni-me bahukāni tata-tata kālāpitāni  
paṭibhogāye pasumunisānam[.] La[huke chu]<sup>73</sup> esa paṭibhoge nāma<sup>74</sup>[.] Vividhāyā-  
hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi-pi lājīhi mamayā-cha sukhayite loke[.] imam-chu dhammā-  
nupaṭipati anupaṭipajantu-ti[.] etadathā-me[3]  
esa-kaṭe[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā[.] dhammamahāmātā-pi-me t[e]-bahuvi-  
dhesu<sup>75</sup> aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭā-se pavajitanam-cheva gihithānam-cha[.] sava-  
[pāsam]desu-pi-cha<sup>76</sup> viyāpaṭā-se[.] Saṃghaṭhasi-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti-ti  
[.] hemeva bābhanesu Ājivikesu-pi-me kaṭe[4]  
ime viyāpaṭā hohamti-ti[.] Nigamṭhesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti[.] nānā-  
pāsamdesu-pi-me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti-ti[.] Paṭivisiṭham paṭivisiṭham tesu-tesu  
to-[t]e [ma]hāmātā[.] Dhammamahāmātā-chu-me etesu-cheva viyā[pā]ṭā savesu-cha  
amnesu pāsamdesu[.] Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā-hevaṃ āhā[.] 5]  
ete-cha amne-cha bahukā mukhā dānavisagasi viyāpaṭā-se mama-cheva devinam-cha[.]  
savasi-cha-me olodhanasi te-bahuvidhena ā[kā]lena<sup>75</sup> tāni tāni uṭṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi-  
[pādayamti] hida-cheva disāsu-cha[.] Dālakānam-pi-cha-me kaṭe amnānam-cha deviku-  
mālānam ime dānavisagesu viyāpaṭā hohamti-ti[6]  
dhammāpadānathāye dhammānupaṭipatiye[.] Esa-hi dhammāpadāne dhammapaṭipati-cha  
yā-iyam dayā dāne sache sochave madave sādha[ve]-cha lokasa hevaṃ vāḍhisati-ti[.]

<sup>67</sup> Faintly visible are, both on Dr. Fleet's facsimile and on Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, the following letters—*ya tha* . . . *ś* and the left-hand curve of *śā*, while the right half of *śā* is quite plain. The restoration is not doubtful, because there is exactly room for three lost consonants and because the phrase *pulisā-pi-me* "my servants" occurs above Pillar Edict, I, l. 7 (D. S.), l. 3 (A), and elsewhere. From Professor Kern's analysis of this edict, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, I infer that he would restore the passage in the same manner.

<sup>68</sup> *Bahune* is possibly a clerical mistake for *bahuke*. But it may be defended by the locative *punāvāsune* above,—v. 16, 18 (D. S.).

<sup>69</sup> The quantity of the second vowel of *lajākā* is not certain.

<sup>70</sup> The last syllable of *dhammayutan* has been placed more than an inch from the rest, because there is a flaw in the stone.

<sup>71</sup> The restoration has been made correctly by M. Senart. The rubbing shows the *d*-stroke distinctly, and the facsimile has the final *e*.

<sup>72</sup> The continuation of the same flaw in the stone, which caused the separation of the syllables *dhammayu* and *tarī* in l. 2, has here made necessary the division *nimsi dhiyā* (not *dhiyā*). Of course, nothing has been lost.

<sup>73</sup> The initial *la* (not *sa*) is perfectly plain, both on the facsimile and on the rubbing. Between *la* and *esa*, three, or possibly four, syllables have been lost. The phrase was, therefore, either *lahuke chu esa* or *lahuke chu kko esa*, compare Rock Edict, XIII, 2, l. 14 (Kālsī), *lahukā vu kko sā piti*, and below, l. 9, *tata chu lahu-se dhammaniyaṃ*.

<sup>74</sup> The *nd* of *ndama* stands above the line, and has been added afterwards as a correction.

<sup>75</sup> Though the *ta* is damaged at the top, it seems probable, both according to the rubbing and the facsimiles, that the reading was *te*. The *se* after *vijāpaṭā* is, of course, not required. Compare also the first clause in l. 5, where another redundant *se* occurs.

<sup>76</sup> The restoration has been given correctly by M. Senart.

Devanam-piye [Piyada]s[i] lājā hevām-āhā[:] yāni-hi-kāni-chi mamiyā sādhaṇāni kaṭāni tam-loke anūpatipamne tam-cha anuvidhiyamti[;]tena vadhitā-cha[7]

vaḍhisamti-cha mātāpitisu sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo mahālakānam anupaṭipatiyā bābhanasamanesu kapaṇavalākesu āva dāsabhaṭakesu sampatipatiyā[.] Devānam-piy[e Pi]yadasī lājā hevām-āhā[:] munisānam-chu yā-iyam dhammavādhi vadhitā durehi-yeva ākālehi dhammaniyamena-cha nijhatiyā-cha[.8]

Tata-chu lahu-se dhammaniyame[, ] nijhatiyā-va bhuye[.] Dhammaniyame-chu-kho esa ye-me iyaṃ-kaṭe imāni-cha imāni<sup>77</sup> jātāni avadhiyāni[, ] amnāni-pi-chu bahu[kāni] dhammaniyamāni yāni-me kaṭāni[.] Nijhatiyā-va-chu bhuye munisānam dhammavādhi vadhitā avihimsāye bhutānam[9]

anālambhāye pānānam [.] Se-etaye aṭhāye iyaṃ kaṭe [ , ] putāpapotike chaṇḍa-masuliyike hotu-ti [ , ] tathā-cha anupaṭipajamtu-ti [ . ] Hevaṃ-hi anupaṭipajamtaṃ hidata[pāla]te āladhe hoti [ . ] Satavisativasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhammalibhi likhāpā-pitā-ti [ . ] Etam devānam-piye āhā : ] iyaṃ [10]

dhammalibhi at<sup>a</sup> athi silāthambhāni-vā silāphalakāni-vā tata kataviyā ena esa chila-ṭhitike siyā [11].

#### TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“Those kings who lived during the past ages conceived this wish, ‘Might mankind in some way grow the growth of the sacred law,’! But mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law.”

Concerning this<sup>b</sup> (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“This (*thought*) came to me, ‘On the one hand kings conceived during the past ages this wish, Might mankind in some way grow a befitting growth of the sacred law!’ On the other hand mankind did not grow a befitting growth of the sacred law. By what means then would mankind (*be moved*) to obey? By what means would mankind grow a befitting growth of the sacred law? By what means may I raise up<sup>c</sup> some among them to (*grow*) the growth of the sacred law?’”

Concerning this (*matter*) king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“This (*thought*) came to me “Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached; instruction in the sacred law I will order to be given. When men hear it, they will obey, they will raise themselves,<sup>d</sup> and mightily they will grow the growth of the sacred law.” For this purpose I have ordered sermons on the sacred law to be preached, and have directed various instructions on the sacred law to be given, so that [*even my servants*] who dwell (*as rulers*) among many men, shall give instruction and expand it. Even the *lajjikas* who dwell (*as rulers*) among many hundred thousands of souls, even they have been ordered by me,<sup>e</sup> “Instruct (*my*) loyal people<sup>f</sup> in this way and in that.”

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“Having regard to this same matter,<sup>78</sup> I have erected pillars of the sacred law, I have appointed superintendents of the sacred law, I have ordered to be preached [*sermons on*] the sacred law.”

<sup>77</sup> Read *imāni cha*; as the sense requires.

<sup>78</sup> *Etam-eva-me anuvekhamāne* (i.e., *anavekshyamānam*) may be explained as a nominative absolute, analogous to *arijitam hi vijinamane*, Rock Edict XIII (l. 36, k.). But it is not impossible that *anuvekhamāne* (i.e. *anuvekshyamāne*) was what Aśoka really wrote.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“I have also planted banian-trees on the high-roads, (*intending that*) they shall give shade to men and beasts. I have planted mango-gardens.<sup>79</sup> I have also ordered wells to be dug at every half *kos*<sup>80</sup> and I have ordered rest-houses<sup>81</sup> to be built; and I have ordered many watering stations<sup>82</sup> to be made here and there for the enjoyment of men and beasts. [*But something small indeed is*] this so-called enjoyment. Both former kings and myself have blessed the world with various blessings. But I have done (*all*) this (*in order*) that men may render their obedience to the sacred law.”

Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“My superintendents of the sacred law are also occupied with the various matters of grace, affecting both ascetics and householders; and they are likewise occupied with men of all creeds. I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the affairs of the Saṃgha<sup>83</sup>; likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Ājīvikas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Nigamthas; I have arranged it that they will be occupied with (*all*) the manifold creeds. Various officials (*have been appointed*) for various (*classes of men and purposes*) in accordance with the several requirements. But my superintendents of the sacred law are occupied both with those (*mentioned*) and with the men of all creeds.”

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

Both these and many other chief officials<sup>84</sup> are occupied with the distribution of gifts both my own and those of the queens; and in my whole harem they [*point out*] various ways the manifold sources of contentment<sup>85</sup> both here (*in Pāṭaliputra*) and in the distance. And I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the distribution of the gifts both of my sons and of the other princes<sup>86</sup> in order (*to promote*) noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and obedience to the sacred law. For, these are noble deeds in accordance with the sacred law and this is action in accordance with the sacred law, whereby compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and holiness will thus<sup>87</sup> grow among men.”

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“Whatever works of holiness I have worked, these men have followed, and these they will imitate in future; and thereby they have grown and will grow in future in obedience towards parents, in obedience towards venerable men, in reverence towards the aged, in proper conduct towards Brahmans and ascetics, towards the poor and the wretched, even towards slaves and servants.”

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—

“But men have grown this growth of the sacred law in two ways, (*viz.*) through restrictive religious rules and through deep meditation”. But, among these two<sup>88</sup> the restrictive religious rules are something small, more (*is worked*) by deep meditation.

<sup>79</sup> Regarding the short *a* of *ambādiḥ* see note 17 on the Queen's Edict, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p 123, where it has been pointed out that the corresponding *ambādiḥ* may stand for *ambādiḥ*. Regarding the long *ā* of *ambā*, see below, note 20

<sup>80</sup> *Mukhā* has either been used in the sense of *mukha*, m, a leader (see the smaller *Pet. Dict*, sub voce), or it stands for *mukhā* and corresponds to *mukhyā* ‘chiefs,’ i.e. ‘officials of high rank.’

<sup>81</sup> Thus i.e. in the manner desired by the king

<sup>82</sup> *Tata* i.e. *tata*, has here, as often in Sanskrit, a distributive sense, and *tata-chu* is equivalent to *tayasta*.



But the restrictive religious rules, indeed, are these, that I have ordered various kinds of creatures to be exempt from slaughter;<sup>53</sup> but there are also numerous other restrictive religious rules which I have imposed. But by deep meditation the growth of the sacred law has been increased more among men, so that they do not injure created beings, so that they do not slaughter living creatures."

For the following purpose these (*orders*) have been issued, (*viz.*) that they may last as long as my sons and great-grandsons reign", as long as moon and sun endure, and that men may act accordingly. If man obeys them in this manner, happiness has been gained both in this world and the next. I have caused this religious edict to be written after I had been anointed twenty-seven years.

Concerning this the Beloved-of the gods speaks (*thus*) :—

"This religious edict must be incised there, where either stone pillars or stone tablets are found, in order that it may endure for a long time."

#### REMARKS ON THE TRANSLATION

(a) As the preceding clause states that the kings "conceived a wish," it is not possible to take *katham* as an interrogative adverb. It must have the sense of an indefinite pronoun, just as *kāni* has more frequently.

(b) Though it is perhaps not absolutely impossible to take *etam* with M. Senart as equivalent to *itra* or *atra*, I prefer to explain it by *etad*, and to assume that we have here the "accusative of relation," which, as Professor Delbrück has shown (*Altindische, Syntax*, p. 165f.), appears not rarely with verbs of speaking, wishing, considering and the like.

(c) *Abhyumnāmayeham* is the future with the meaning of the subjunctive (see Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 266f., and especially the quotation from the *Rāmāyaṇa* under *ḍ*). *E* for *i* appears similarly in *paridahessati*, etc. (see E. Müller: *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 118).

(d) *Abhyumnamisati* may be either the future of the active *abhyunnamati*, or, equivalent to *abhyumnammissati*, the future of the passive of the causative *abhyunnamayati*. The use of the active *unnamati*, *abhyunnamati*, *pronnamati*, and so forth, in the sense of 'to rise up,' is the usual one both in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits.

(e) *Lajūka* means literally 'a writer, clerk,' and denotes here probably a high official, taken from the writer caste (see note 1 to my German translation of Rock Edict III). Regarding the meaning of *āyatā* note 2 to my German translation of the Sep. Ed. I, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLI.

(f) *Paliyovadātha* is one of the few instances of the Vedic subjunctive, preserved in the old Prakrits of India (see Professor Pischel in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIII, p. 424, and Professor E. Müller, *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, p. 108).

(g) *Adhakosikyāni* corresponds to a Sanskrit *ārdhakrośikṛyāni*. The *krośa* or *kos* meant here, must be that equal to 8,000 Hastas, or half a *gavyūti*, which thus corresponds to the so-called *Sullānā kos* of 3 English miles. The ordinary *kos*, equal to one and a half or one and three-quarter miles, cannot be meant, as the wells would come to close to each other.

<sup>53</sup> See above, Pillar Edict V.

(h) *Nimsiḍhiyā* no doubt stands for *nisiḍhiyā*, just like the Pali *mahiṃsa* for *mahisa*, and is an equivalent of *nishidiyā*, 'dwelling,' which occurs in the Nāgārjuni Hill Cave inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 364f., in the compound *vāśaṇishidiyāye*. Both *nimsiḍhiyā* and *nishidiyā* are Pali representatives of the Sanskrit *nishadyā*, "a couch, a market-hall." They have, however, been derived not from the root *nishad*, but from the stem of the present tense *nishīd*. The lingual *ḍha* of *nimsiḍhiyā* is due to the influence of the original *sha* of *nishīdyā*. The Jains use closely allied words *nīśidhi*, *nishīdhi* and *nisiḍhi* for the last resting-place, the ornamental tombs, of their saints, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 99. *Nimsiḍhiyā* denotes here, of course, the public rest-houses or serais, which are found at certain distances on most Indian high-roads and which are frequently built *dharmārtham* by benevolent and rich men. Ushavadāta, the pious son-in-law of the Satrap and king Nahapāna boasts in the Nasik inscriptions, *Rep. Arch. Surv. West Ind.* vol. IV, p. 99, that he erected many such buildings.

(i) *Āpāna* cannot have here its usual meaning "tavern, liquor-shop." As Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 385, assumes, it must denote a watering station. Probably the huts on the roads are meant, where water is distributed to travellers and their beasts gratis or against payment. The usual Sanskrit name is *prapā*.

(j) *Samgha*, of course, denotes the order of Buddhist monks. The Ājīvikas are probably, as Professor Kern assumes, orthodox Vaishṇava ascetics, see my discussion of the question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, p. 362. The Nigamṭhas are the Jaina ascetics or Nirgranthas. I take *paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ*, "according to the several requirements" in the sense of *prativīśesham*, (see the smaller *Petersburg Diet.* sub voce). *Tesu-tesu*, literally "for these and those," probably refers not only to various classes of men, but also to various purposes, for which the unnamed officials were appointed. Compare the end of Rock Edict XII, where the Superintendents of women, the Vachabhūmikas and other bodies of officials are mentioned.

(k) I here follow Professor Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. II, p. 386, who takes *tūḥāyatanāni*, i.e. *tushṭyāyatanāni*, "sources of contentment," in the sense of "opportunities for charity." Such opportunities are to be pointed out to all the inmates of the king's harem. With this interpretation the necessity of the restoration *paṭi* [*pādayamti*] is self-evident.

(l) *Devikumāla* 'prince' means literally 'son of a queen,' i.e. of such a lady who has the title *devī*. As the sons of the king have been mentioned separately, it follows that 'the princes' are the sons of the wives of Piyadasi's predecessors, i.e. his brothers and possibly his paternal uncles. In the parallel passage, Rock Edict V, Piyadasi names 'his brothers, sisters and other relatives.'

(m) M. Senart has no doubt correctly explained *nijhati* as a derivative from the causative of *nidhyāi* and appropriately translated it by "reflexion." It is equivalent to Sanskrit *nididhṛśasā* "reflexion, deep meditation," which is derived by other affixes from the same verb.

(n) In *putāpapotike* the nominative of the plural *putā* takes the place of the stem just as in *aṃlā-vaḍḍikā*, above l. 2. Similarly the nominative singular frequently takes the place of the stem in the inscriptions from Mathurā, *ante*, vol. I, p. 371 ff. Rare instances occur also in Pali. Thus we have, *Jāt.* iv, 184, 18, *sakhābhariyam*, 'the wife of a friend.'



## XXI.—THE MAHĀBAN PRAŚASTĪ OF SAMVAT 1207.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription is identical with that which I have published, *ante*, vol. I, p. 287, under the title *Mathurā Praśasti of the Reign of Vijayapāla*, according to an impression, furnished to me by Dr. A. Führer and described as an 'Inscription on black basalt recovered from Keśava mound at Mathurā, 10th February 1889.'

Shortly after the publication of my article Dr. Führer wrote to me that he did not agree with my restoration of the king's name as Vijayapāla, because he had obtained lately from Mahāban another small inscription of the same period, which showed a different reading. His remarks induced me to look over Sir A. Cunningham's notices of Mahāban in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, where I found the facsimile<sup>1</sup> of a much more complete version of this supposed *Mathurā Praśasti*, and the statement that the document had been obtained at Mahāban in 1882-83; my friend, Professor Kielhorn, likewise pointed it out to me. For some time I thought that Dr. Führer's inscription, in which the central portion has been rubbed out by the stone being used for grinding spices or *ḍāl* and a large piece at the right-hand corner has been broken off, might be a duplicate of Sir A. Cunningham's. But this theory became doubtful, when in answer to my enquiries Dr. Führer stated that Sir A. Cunningham's stone was not traceable at Mahāban. And it became absolutely untenable, when some time ago Dr. J. Burgess found Sir A. Cunningham's impression from which his lithograph was prepared. A comparison with Dr. Führer's impression shows that the latter has, in the portions preserved, all the minor abrasions which are found on Sir A. Cunningham's slab, whereby the identity of the two originals is established. It would now seem that, after Sir A. Cunningham's impression was taken in 1882-83, the stone was taken away from Mahāban, used as a grinding stone by somebody, and finally brought as a find from the Keśava mound to Dr. Führer, who in 1889 received quite a number of fragments<sup>2</sup> from the railway-workmen at Mathurā.

I now re-edit the inscription according to Sir A. Cunningham's impression, which is reproduced in the accompanying plate and permits me to give a much better version.

As regards the contents of the inscription, it is now plain that it refers to the erection of a temple at Mahāban. The paramount king, mentioned in the colophon, is probably, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, p. 42, Ajayapāla, not Vijayapāla. And he may belong to the Yaduvamśī dynasty of Bayānā-Śrīpāthā (see the pedigree *op. cit.*, p. 7). This view, which Sir A. Cunningham has put forward, is confirmed by the fact that Dr. Führer's above mentioned new inscription from

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, pl. x.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the slab for grinding condiments upon is perfectly evident from the impression, where a round piece in the centre is blank, and at the sides the deeper strokes of the letters are visible, while the shallower ones have disappeared. Dr. Führer has also sent me squeezes of several other fragments, which bear in pencil the dates when they came into his hands. One which is unfortunately very small shows the name of *paramēśvara-śrī-Silādityadeva* and may belong to the seventh century.

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graph TD
    A[Śirīharāja.] --> B[Tejarāja.]
    B --> C[Āsika, married to daughter of Harikaṇṭha.]
    C --> D[Jajja, married to Dharmā,  
daughter of Rissika.]
    C --> E[Pajja, married to daughter  
of king of Avanta.]
    D --> F[Four sons.]
    E --> G[One or several sons (verse 17).]

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L. 1. श्री [ग]णपतेर्ये नमः ।  
दिश्यात्स वः कैरवकु — — —  
— यांसि<sup>१</sup> दंतो हिरदाननस्य [i]  
विजित्य विघ्नानिव — — शंके (?)  
मुखे समाधातुमुपाहितो यः [॥१]

L. 2. [शै]रेः कज्जलकांतिरस्वसिलता भुज्यै ि — — —<sup>६</sup> करा-  
त्कालिंदीव समुद्रता सरभसं या स्पर्धुनीस्पर्धया ।  
यत्रा[न्त]र्जलमानुषीव कमला डिण्डीरपिण्डी-

L. 3. पमः  
कम्बुर्विष्वितमम्बरं क[मलिनी]किंजल्कंपुंजायते<sup>७</sup> ॥ [२]  
स वीवतु ज — — — सःकलदैत्यदर्पाईनः  
महानर[क]मई[नः] प्रतुरचौरसंतई-

L. 4. नः [i]  
समस्तभुवनाभरः कमलचक्रभूषाकरः  
धृतामरमहाभरः तृ[ण]वदुद्धृतच्चाधरः ॥ [३]<sup>७</sup>  
इति प्रथममेव ॥  
शाखा[स]न्ततिसन्निरुद्धस-

L. 5. कलप्रीदामदिग्मण्डलः  
स्नाघः पा[त्य]समाश्रयो द्विजकुलैः संसेव्यमानोधिकं ।

7 Read 'दय' ईनी;—भूषाकरी;—'महाभरत';—Restore जनार्दन.

चोणीमण्डलमण्डनं बहुतरप्र[ख्यात]पर्वक्रमः  
श्रीमानस्ति ससु-

L. 6. अतः चितितले राजन्यवंशो महान् ॥ [४]

सौजन्यामृतवारिधिर्गुरुगुणग्रामप्रकामावधिः  
श्रीमान्धर्मनिधिर्नयैकनिपुणसुखाध्वचक्रप्रधिः [1]

L. 7. तत्ताभूत्कलिकालकल्मषमपीप्रचालनैकयमः  
मान्यः क्षत्रियवर्गमौलितिलकः श्रीसिंहराजाद्वयः ॥ [५]<sup>१</sup>  
दानेन लक्ष्मीर्विनयेन विद्या  
भावेन भ-

L. 8. क्तिः क्षमया च शक्तिः [1]  
सत्येन सूक्ति — — तेन मूर्त्ति-  
रलङ्कतालं कतिना च येन [॥६॥]<sup>२</sup>  
तस्याभूत्तनयो नयोन्नतमतिः श्रीतेजराजाद्वयः  
सत्तर्ककारुचिः

L. 9. शुचिर्गुरुगुणग्राहो विवेकाकरः ।  
यद्विषं पुरुषोत्तमोपि विदितो धत्ते न वैकुण्ठता-  
मैश्वर्येष्वभुजङ्गमो न तरलो यो नायकोपि स्फुटं ॥ [७]<sup>३</sup>

L. 10. तस्मात्सुनुरजायतो ज्वलतरप्रख्यातकीर्त्युच्चयः  
श्रीमानासिक इत्युदारमहिमा देवद्विजार्च्यारतः [1]  
विद्वद्वाञ्छितपूर्त्तिकल्पविटपी न्यायैकनिष्ठः परं ॥

L. 11. — — — — — रोमणिर्विमलधीर्धरः सतां संमतः ॥<sup>४</sup> [८]  
शंभुः शैलसुतामिव त्रियमिव श्रीशार्ङ्गपाखिः प्रभुः  
पौलो[मोमिव] इव ह्यहम्बुधिरिव स्रोतस्त्रिनीं जाङ्गवीं ।  
श्रीतांशुः किल

L. 12. रोहिणीमिव मुनिर्मान्यामिवाश्वतीं  
स श्रीमान्हरिकण्ठजामुदवहत्सङ्गतिभ — — तां ॥ [९]<sup>५</sup>  
तस्यां तेन सुतो जज्ञे जज्जः सज्जनभूषणं ।  
रामो दश-

L. 13. रथेनेव कौ[स]ल्यायामुदारधीः ॥ [१०]  
कुम्भैरभः कलयितुमलं वा[रि]धेः कस्य शक्तिः  
को वा गङ्गापुलिनसिकतास्ताः परिच्छेत्तुमीशः [1]  
नक्षत्रा-

<sup>१</sup> According to Cunningham's rubbing one might read श्रीमान्कर्म<sup>०</sup>, but Führer's gives plainly चवर्म्

<sup>२</sup> Restore क्तिः सुकृतेन मूर्त्ति<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>३</sup> The second नयो<sup>०</sup> and the second क of विवेकाकरः stand below the line.

<sup>४</sup> The last Pāda stands in the margin, and there is a mark after परं in order to indicate the lacuna. Restore चोणीपालशिरोनवि<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>५</sup> Read श्रीशार्ङ्गपाखिः.—Restore सङ्गतिभारानतां.



क्षुर्गगानिललोलितध्वजपटं शुभ्राभमभ्रंलिहं ॥ [१८]  
सौवःसैन्ध-

L. 22. वमन्धकान्तकजटाजूटाटवीनाटक-  
कोडादुर्ललितस्थितिस्त्रिरतरं यावत्पवित्रं पयः [1]  
सधोची सुचिरं फणीश्वरफणारत्नांकुराणां क्षि-

L. 23. — — — तदिहास्तु मन्दिरमिदं लक्ष्मीपतेः शाश्वतं ॥ [१९]  
अत्र गोठीलतान्नामानि ॥  
सुत्तिकात्मजधन्मीह रामस्त्रिलहस्य नन्दनः ।  
पेडचित्तक-

L. 24. — — — × × × गो वस्त्रिकात्मजः ॥ [२०]  
मंगपुत्रो नारदश्च जासिको माहवांगजः ।  
ढोलसुतुर्वसंतश्च कलस्यात्मजधन्तुकः ॥ [२१]  
सोभरात्मा महीपालः

L. 25. × × × × — — नः ।  
फुल्लोरी सडसंभूतः देधरो माधवात्मजः ॥ [२२]  
सोढलो रामपालस्य सेल्हणो राजिकोद्भवः ।  
एते गोठीं समागम्य पुत्रपौत्रादि-

L. 26. — [रि]काः ॥ [२३]  
[अथा]तो लिख्यते वृत्तिर्देवदेवस्य चक्रिणः ।  
संप्रदत्ता नरेन्द्रेण पुरवासिजने[न च] ॥ [२४]  
हे गृहे वीथयः पट्ट वाटिका देवहेतवे ।  
गोणी-

L. 27. [प्र]वृत्तिरन्नस्य मानोन्मानरसादिका ॥ [२५]  
यन्ते यन्ते पत्नी [याह्या] चा[तुश] युष्यमालिकात् ।  
मापकाच्च चतुर्थीसो यः क[श्चि]न्मापको भवेत् [२६]  
यः कश्चित् ह-

L. 28. रते वृत्तिं न ददाति च मानवः ।  
स गच्छेन्नर[कं] घोरं यावदाभूतसंभवः ॥ [२७]  
अस्याः [प्र]शस्तेः कर्तारो बुधो पालकुलहरी ।  
[क्ष]तव्यं सर्वविबुधैर्नूनान्यूनं विचार-

L. 29. तः ॥ [२८]  
सवत् १२०७ कार्ति — पीरुमास्यां महाराजाधिराज — —  
जयपालदेवविजयराज्ये उत्कीर्णा सोमलसूत[धारे]ण ॥

८ Restore चितिर्यावत्तावद्दि°.

१० चातुश can, of course, not be correct. Read चतुर्थी श्री.

११ The last word is probably meant for यावदामृतसंभव.



## XXII.—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENGAL.

BY PAUL HORN, PH. D., STRASSBURG.

As in my previous paper on Muhammadan inscriptions from the *ṣuba* of Dihlī, I have reproduced the texts of the inscriptions as they are found on the stone, adding no wanting dots, *tashdīds*, etc., except in the first six inscriptions.

## 1.—BHĀGALPŪR.

The history of Bhāgalpūr during the first four centuries of Muhammadan rule offers nothing very remarkable. The first inscription below of the time of Maḥmūd Shāh ibn Ibrāhīm Shāh of Jaunpūr, is of value, because it shows that Bhāgalpūr in the ninth Hijrat century belonged to the Sharqī kingdom, as did also Bihār (*vide* below). In A. H. 982 it came into the possession of Akbar (*Akbarnāma*, III, 108). Further information regarding the place has been collected by C. J. O'Donnell in W. W. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XIV, p. 82.

The inscriptions Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are of little historical value; they bear the dates of the years 1032 (reign of Jahāngīr), 1130 (reign of Farrukh Siyar) and 1793 A.D. The last falls in the period of English rule.

The first inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on a black basalt slab, fixed on a tomb in a garden belonging to Rānī Bibī in Mānda Roga Maḥalla, Bhāgalpūr; it is no longer *in situ*; the stone measures 36 inches by 18 inches; the size of the inscribed part is 30 by 13 inches.

قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجد في الدنيا بني الله له قصر في الجنة في زمن ملك العادل محمود  
 شاه السلطان بنا كرده اين مسجد خانم معظم خورشيد خان سر نوبت غير محليان في العاشر من جماد الاول سنة  
 خمسين وثمانماية

## TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—says 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God will build for him a castle in Paradise'. During the time of the just king Maḥmūd Shāh the honoured Khān Khurshēd Khān, head of the guardians outside the palace, has built this mosque on the tenth of Jumādī'l awwal, year 850 H. (3rd August 1446).'

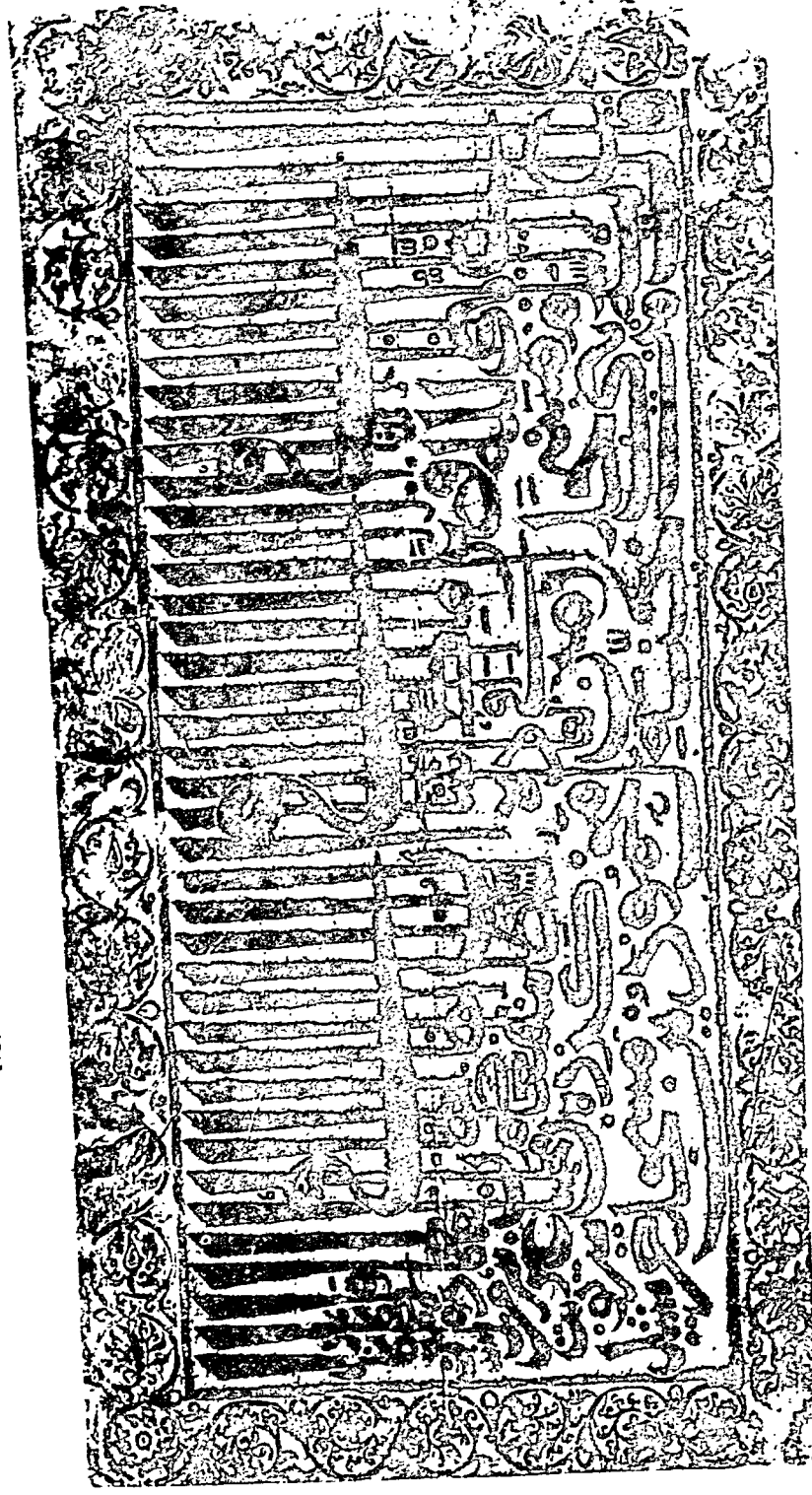
The arrangement of the words on the stone is not quite regular, and the deciphering is therefore more difficult than it seems at first sight. I have found no information relative to Khurshēd Khān, whose title *sar-ī naubat-ī ghair-maḥallīān* I have translated according to Blochmann (*Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 106, vol. XLII., p. 273, note).

2. The second inscription has already been published by Blochmann in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December 1873, p. 200. It is on a *Dargāh* called the Maskan-ī Barārī or Makhdūm Shāh's Dargāh in Champanāgar near Bhāgal-

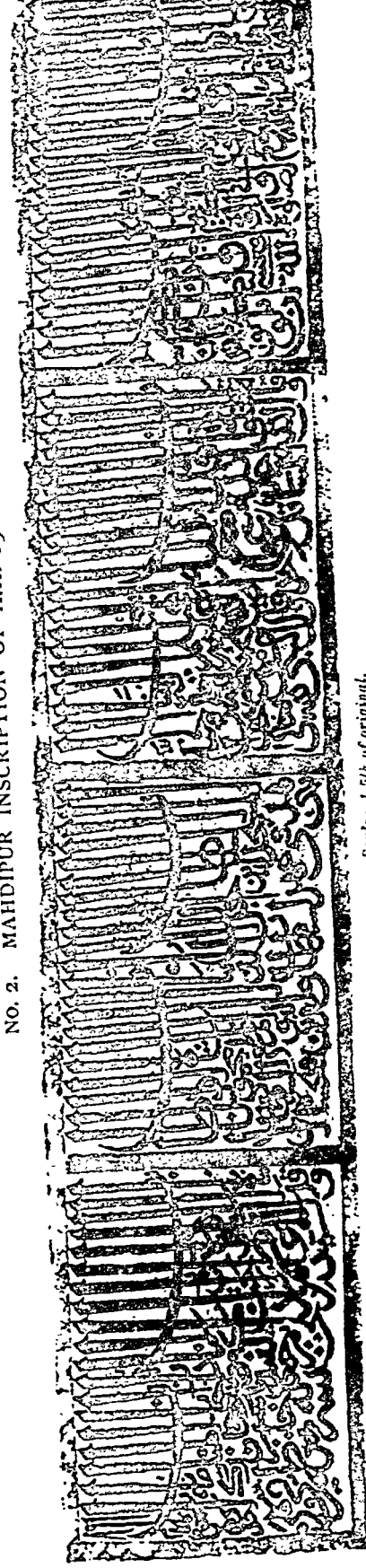
<sup>1</sup> See facsimile No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The same form occurs, e.g., in the inscriptions, *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. XLI, p. 109, *Proceedings* for March 1874, p. 72.

NO. 1. BHAGALPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 850.



NO. 2. MAHDIPUR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 891.



*Scale: 1-5/8 of original.*

*From J. D. Beglar's impressions.*

pûr; the name of the saint buried there is not known. The basalt slab measures 27 by 16 inches, the inscribed part 20 by 13 inches; it contains four lines.—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 ابو بكر صديق | عمر فاروق | عثمان رضي | علي كرم الله  
 رضي الله عليه | رضي الله عليه | الله عليه | وجهه

جوں اضعف عباد اللہ خراجہ احمد سمرقندی حسب الحکم نواب قدسی القاب شاعرزادہ عالمیان شاہ پیریز  
 جہانگیر بخدمت فوجداری سرکار متکیر آمدہ بود بہ بنای عمارت این روزہ منورہ توفیق یافت سنہ ۱۰۳۲ ہزار  
 سی و ۵

TRANSLATION.

‘There is no god but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God.

Abû Bakr, the veracious—may God be pleased with him! ‘Omar, the distinguisher between right and wrong—may God be pleased with him! ‘Osmân—may God be pleased with him! ‘Alî—may God dignify his face!³.

When the humblest of the slaves of God, Khwâja Ahmad of Samarqand, according to the order of the Nawâb, bearing holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, Shâh Parwêz, son of Jahângîr, had entered the service as Faujdâr of Sarkâr Mungir, he found grace to build this splendid tomb in the year 1032 H. [began the 5th November 1622].’

Shâh Parwêz was the second son of the emperor Shâh Jahângîr. He died of *delirium tremens* on the 6th Şafar 1035 (7th November 1625). In the year 1032 H. he gave Bengal⁴ in *jâgîr* to Mahâbat Khân, after having defeated in battle Shâh Jahân (Iqbâl-nâma-î Jahângîrî, p. 239), whereas Bihâr, to which sarkâr Mungir belonged (Âin-î-Akbarî, vol. I, p. 419), remained his own *tiyûl*.

In the *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XV, p. 63, is a long account of the town of Mungir, compiled by Blochmann

3. This inscription was found near Cleveland’s public garden; the rectangular black basalt stone on which it is engraved measures about 36 by 13 inches, the inscription covers 16 by 10 inches.

از بسی افسوس بملک بقا  
 رخت سفر بست زفانی سراى  
 از سر اندرہ بکر سال فرت  
 روح مجسم زجهان رفت رای

Metre,—*Sarî*’:

With much sorrow he tied up the dress of journey from the perishable house towards the country of eternity. From the head of (*the word*) grief say the year of the death, “The soul clothed with a body went from the world, alas!”

The last line gives, according to *abjad* reckoning, 1129. As the poet seems to mean that the head of *andûh*, i.e. the letter *alif*, is to be added to the *târikh*, we get 1129+1=1130 H. [which began the 5th December 1717].

³ The four caliphs.

⁴ In Elliot-Dowson’s *History*, vol. VI, p. 417, l. 4, for Bihâr read Bengal.

The person referred to is not named.

4. The following inscription is from the same place as No. 3; the engraved area on the pillar is 12 by 5 inches.

از ضیاء ملک این تالاب خوش تحفیر یافت	بر لبش این دیر هم از سعی او تعمیر یافت
خواستم تاریخِ هجری ( ؟ ) عسری (sic.) سازم بیان	تا بُرد بر لوحِ سنگ از سالِ تعمیرش نشان
ناکهاں هاتفِ زروری شادمانی لفظِ برد	بعدِ لفظِ دیده اندر مصرعِ هشتم فزود
آنکهاں در کوشِ خاطر زن سروشی بس عجب	دیده کم اندر جهان آدم چنین جای غریب

#### TRANSLATION.

Metre,—*Ramāl* :

By (order of) Ziyā-i-Mulk this fair tank has been dug, on the bank of it this place of worship has also been erected by his exertion. I wanted to render manifest the date of the Christian era, so that there may exist a sign of the year of its erection on the face of the stone. Suddenly an invisible speaker by way of pleasure-increased the word 'Būd' after the word 'Dīdah' in the eighth hemistich; then in the ear of the mind he uttered a mysterious sound, indeed, strange: "Man has scarcely seen in the world such a rare place."

The letters of the *tārīkh* which runs therefore 'Dīdah būd kam' etc., give 1793 A.D.—the last hemistich=1781 + 12 (*būd*)—i.e.—1208.9H.

Ziyā-i-Mulk must have been the title of some English officer whose European name I am not able to make out here.

On a hill to the west of Bhāgalpūr Station is a Muhammadan shrine, the tomb of Shāhjangī (Shāhbāz), to which belongs a tank. That tank which had gone out of use was cleaned and fitted with stone steps by order of Mr. Edward Latore, Magistrate, Zila' Bhāgalpūr, in 1843 A.D., corresponding with 1250 Faṣlī. As a memorial of that fact a Hindūstānī inscription has been engraved in a circle on the side wall of the ghāt, and the names of the personages who furthered the work with money have been inscribed in the margin. The total sum amounts to R2,677, if I have added rightly.<sup>5</sup>

#### II.—HAZRAT PAṆDUAH.

The following inscriptions from Paṇduah belong to the *Adīna* (i.e. Friday) Mosque of which large ruins still remain. These have been described at length by the late J. H. Ravenshaw in his *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff, where also a ground plan of the masjid is given.

The mosque was built by Abu'l Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, son of Shams-addīn Abu'l Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh, king of Bengal, who adorned his capital Paṇduah with that magnificent edifice. Except one, the inscriptions inside and outside the mosque are of no historical value, containing only verses from the *Qorān*. The rubbings transmitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley are very fine and worthy of the beautiful penmanship which can hardly be surpassed in other Indian Muhammadan inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> There is another rubbing of a Hindūstānī inscription of the month of August of 1845 which has been engraved on a large basalt pillar near the public garden on the bank of a tank opposite Cleveland's house, but the inscription seems to be much defaced, so that it is not possible to decipher it from the rubbing. It relates also to a *tāldr* and a *sai dī fuyyār*.

5. On the outer wall of the central nave near the doorway, which is very small in proportion to the size of the edifice, the inscription has been cut, which mentions the builder of the mosque and the year of its erection. The size of the stone is 58 by 11 inches, that of the inscribed part is 57 by 9 inches; it runs—

امريئذ العمارة هذا المسجد الجامع في إيا [م] الدولة السلطان الأعظم اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السلاطين  
العرب والعجم الرائق بتأييد الرحمن ابرالمجاهد سندر شاه سلطان بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته الى  
يوم الموعود كتبه في التاريخ رجب سنة ست [ ر ] سبعين وسبعماية

TRANSLATION.

‘The edifice of this Jâmi’ Masjid was ordered to be built during the days of the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal, the most perfect of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abu’l Mujâhid Sikandar Shâh, the king, son of Ilyâs Shâh, the king—May his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise! He wrote it during Rajab of the year 776 (began the 6th December 1374).’

There are some mistakes in Blochmann’s readings of this inscription (*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 257, and repeated in Ravenshaw’s *Gaur*, p. 62). Regarding the accuracy of my conjecture that the eighth word is to be read *ayyâm*, there can hardly be any doubt. The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if, with Blochmann, we read *rajab sitt*; besides, the succession of the words should be *sitt rajab*. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions, but the construction *rajab sitt* instead of *sâdis* would be too faulty even for them. I therefore prefer to supply a *va* (and) before *sab’in* or to read the *va* standing before *sab’miat* twice, a case that occurs not at all unfrequently.

We do not know the year in which the Âdîna mosque was finished; the *Riyâs* mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 H. It is very probable that the building required a space of ten years, e.g. the Jâmi’ Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years, and ten are therefore not too much to allow for the erection of that ‘gigantic barn,’ as General Cunningham calls the Âdîna mosque (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 90).<sup>6</sup>

6. Over the doorway of the king’s platform (Ravenshaw calls it *Bâashâh ka takht*) we find the words of the *Kalima*. The size of the inscription is 8 by 7 inches.

Over the central prayer niche (*mihrâb*) are inscribed on two stones the verses of *Qorân*, Sûr. xxxiii, 56, and Sûr. xxii, 76, the latter being quoted with the omission of some words in Major W. Francklin’s *Journal of a Route from Râjmahâl to Gaur*, A. D. 1810, see Ravenshaw, p. 64.

Round the three other prayer niches are also engraved passages from the *Qorân*, on the northern, the combined verses Sûr. ii, 63, iii, 31, ii, 121 and Sûr. ix, 20, 21.

<sup>6</sup> I see, however, that nothing can be too faulty for the Indian Muhammadan inscriptions, for I have found once again at least the above construction, with the number *sitt* (inscr. of the *rauza* of Muhammad Sharif of Balkh in Dihli,—*Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.*, for 1875, p. 212.

<sup>7</sup> The exordial phrase is— قال الله تعالى عن قائل رجل من متكلم ‘(God has said, who is raised above another speaker and more glorious than another orator)’.

Round the middle prayer niche runs Sûr. xlviii, 27 28, 29 (size: 153 inches by 12 inches, the measure of the whole stone is 160 by 15 inches); round the southern (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate xlv) Sûr. ii, 256, 257 has been inscribed. The intervals between the single letters and words are always copiously ornamented with flower arabesques.

The inscription over the prayer niche in the transept (Ravenshaw, photograph plate xli) has been mentioned by Blochmann in the *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, vol. XLII, p. 256. A facsimile is given in Ravenshaw's work, plate xlv; it contains *Qorân*, Sûr. ix 18, 19. The top line is in Kufik, a character of writing the artist was evidently not very conversant with, and contains the *Fâtiḥa*.

A stone (20 by 14 inches) once fixed in the wall of the nave, now lost, bore round a square which contains arabesques and the name of Muḥammad twice, besides the *Kalima*, the text of Sûra cxii.

### III.—GAUR.

For the city of Gaur, the reader may be referred to Ravenshaw's work already cited, the photographs of which give a picture of the former grandeur and magnificence of the town. It also gives a historical sketch of Gaur from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of its independence (pp. 95ff). Some of the following inscriptions have been already published either in this work or by Blochmann.

7. Over the entrance to the court of the Qadam-Rasûl mosque (Ravenshaw, photograph, plate 13, and facsimile, plate 48, No. 6) is an inscription, 2' 1" by 1' 2" in two lines—

قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا فى الجنة بنى هذا المسجد  
فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان بن السلطان شمس الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر  
يرسف شاه السلطان ابن باركشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد خان اعظم و خاقان اعظم  
مرجاد خان اتابك ذات اعلى بتاريخ ٨ هـ رهم ماه مبارك رمضان سنة خمس و ثمانين و ثمانماية

### TRANSLATION.

'The Prophet (on whom be peace!) has said: 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of a king, who was the son of a king,<sup>8</sup> Shamsaddunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the king, son of Bârbak Shâh, the king, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, the king. This mosque was built by the great Khân, the exalted Khâqân Marjâd Khân, the *atabeg* of the high person. On the 13th day of the blessed month Ramazân 885 (17th November 1480).'

In Ravenshaw's book the mistakes of Mr. Blochmann are reproduced. Blochmann has also published three other inscriptions of Yûsuf Shâh, of the years 882 (*Journal As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 275), 884 (*ib.* p. 276), and 885 (*ib.* vol. XLIV, p. 293); they are from Panḍuah or the neighbourhood of Dhâka. The information about Yûsuf Shâh which the histories furnish is very meagre.

<sup>8</sup> هـ رهم ٨٠٠.

<sup>9</sup> This reiteration occurs also on coins.

8. Over the central door of the small golden mosque in Gaur (Ravenshaw, plate xxii) is an inscription. One corner of the stone which contained the date has been broken away in three lines (dimensions 9 feet by 1' 8")—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم الآخر اقام الصلوة  
واتى الزكوة ولم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني  
مسجداً لله بني الله له بيتاً في الجنة مثله و عمارة هذا المسجد الجامع  
فى عهد سلطان السلاطين سيد السادات منبع السعادات ارحم المسلمين والمسلمات معلى كلمات الحق  
والحسنات المود بتأييد الديان المجاهد فى سبيل الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجة والبرهان غوث الاسلام والمسلمين  
علاء الدنيا والدين

ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بني هذا المسجد الجامع خالصاً مخلصاً  
متركلاً على الله الولي محمد بن علي المتخاطب بخطاب مجلس المجالس مجلس منصور نصره الله تعالى  
فى الدنيا والاخرة وتاريخه الميمون فى الرابع عشر من شهر الله المبارك رجب رجب قدرة سذ ٥ ... ..

TRANSLATION.

'In the name, etc. God Almighty has said: "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qorân*, Sûr. ix, 18). And the Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) has said "He who builds," etc.

The erection of this Jâmi' masjid took place in the time of the king of kings, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the fountain of auspiciousness, the most merciful of the faithful men and women, who exalts the words of truth and good deeds, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, who strives on the road of the merciful, the viceregent of God, with proof and testimony, the defender of Islâm and the Muslims, 'Alâ addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh, the king, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This Jâmi' masjid was built, from pure and sincere motives, and from trust in God, by the Walî Muḥammad, son of 'Alî, who has the title of *majlis al majâlis majlis-i manṣûr*—may God render him victorious in this world and the next! Its auspicious date is the 14th of God's blessed month of Rajab—may its value increase! of the year . . . . .

Husain Shâh reigned from 899 till 929 A. H., we possess many inscriptions of his reign. I have noted 29. This one has been published in Ravenshaw's work, p. 38.

9. From Shâh N'imat Allâh's *âsitâna* near the Jâmi' masjid in the Fîrôzpûr suburb of Gaur. Two lines (dimensions 3 feet by 1' 4")—

بنى هذا الباب الحصن فى عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه  
السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسينى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة ثمان عشر و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION.

'This gate of the fort was built in the time of the exalted and liberal king, 'Alâ-addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf,

the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918 (*began the 19th March 1512*).<sup>10</sup>

10. At the same place two other inscriptions have been found containing only passages from the *Qorán*. Both are richly ornamented with varied patterns of flowers and arabesques. The first measures 6' 5" by 9 in.; on four lines, *Qorán*, *Sur. vi, 59; viii, 19; xxxv, 2; xlviii, 1, 2, 3, etc.*, and in three circles the words *Yá rahmán, yá Alláh, yá rahím* are inscribed; the second measures 2' 4" by 8 in., and contains *Qorán, Súr. lxii, 9, 10, 11*.

11. Over the centre arch of the Qadam-Rasúl masjid outside, in three lines (dimensions 2' 3" by 1' 6")—

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها بنى هذه المصفاة المطهرة التي فيها حجر<sup>11</sup> نبيه اثر قدم رسول  
صلى الله عليه وسلم السلطان

المعظم المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان  
بن سبد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلي امره و شانه في سنة سبع و ثلثين و تسعمائة

#### TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said: "He who brings a good work shall have ten like it" (*Qorán, Súr. vi, 161*). This pure dais on which is a stone with the foot-print of the Prophet—may God's blessing be upon him!—was erected by the great, generous king, the king, the son of a king, Násiraddunyá waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Nuşrat Shâh, the king, son of Husain Shâh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, the descendant of Husain—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his dignity! In the year 937 (*began the 25th August 1530*).'

Mr. Blochmann has remarked that these inscriptions rectify the *Rigâz* and Stewart, who give as the date of the completion of the *Qadam-Rasûl* mosque A.H. 939.

12. From Shâh Ni'mat Allâh's *âsitâna*, not *in situ*, in one line (dimensions 2' 1" by 7 in.)—

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله بانى هذا الباب خانجهان في التاريخ غرة من ذوالحجة سنة سبعين و تسعمائة

#### TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "surely the mosques belong to God" (*Qorán, Súr. lxxii, 18*). The builder of this gateway is Khânjahân. In the beginning of Zu'l Hijja, 970' (*22nd July 1563*).<sup>12</sup>

The inscription falls in the reign of Ghiyâs addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Jalâl Shâh of Bengal, 14 years before the conquest of Bengal by Akbar. Khânjahân was in 982 governor of Orisâ (*Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 161 var.); he was therefore the successor of Lôdî Khân, *amîr al umarâ* of Sulaimân, king of Bengal, who was put to death by his sovereign the year before (*Badaunî*, vol. II, p. 174). In the Moghul empire the title of Khânjahân was the next to that of Khânkhânân (*Ma'âsir*, I, 649).

<sup>10</sup> This was published in *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 295, and repeated in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 88, No. 13.

<sup>11</sup> There is no reason for Blochmann's *sic*, who has read faultily.

<sup>12</sup> Pub shed in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*, p. 36. The number *tis'* is not legible on my rubbing.



13. From the Jāmi' masjid in the Fīrōzpūr suburb, evidently a fragmentary inscription (size 1' 4" by 2 in.), which contains *Qorān*, Sūr. lxii, 5 (it begins in the middle of the verse with the words [*kamis*] *lī'l himāri*).

IV.—MAHDĪPŪR (VILLAGE).<sup>13</sup>

14. The following inscription is now fixed in the modern mosque at Mahdīpūr, it is arranged in four squares and measures 4' 4" by 10 in.—

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و اليوم الاخر اقام الصلوة راتى الزكرة ولم يخش الا الله  
فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين  
وقال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى  
مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له بيتا فى الجنة  
بنى هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر فتحشاه السلطان ابن  
محمده شاه السلطان  
وقد بنا السيد الاعظم سيد دستر بن سيد راحت بالحسنة ثمر جعله سر كنبد مولانا برخورداد ابن خانمعلم  
باسر حكان فى شهر المبارك رمضان سنة احدى و سبعين و ثمانمائة

TRANSLATION.

'God Almighty has said "He only shall repair," etc. (*Qorān* Sūr ix, 18).

God Almighty has also said "verily, the mosques," etc. (*Qorān*, Sūr. lxxii, 18). The Prophet—on whom may rest God's blessing! has said "He who builds a mosque" etc.

This mosque was built in the time of the king, son of a king, Jalāl addunyā wad-dīn Abu'l Muzaffar Path Shāh, the king, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the king. Its builder was the exalted Sayyid, Sayyid Dastūr, son of Sayyid Rāḥat—through good deeds he has collected fruits for himself—at the head of the vault of Maulānā Barkhur-dār, son of the exalted Khān Taj Khān. In the blessed month of Ramazān of the year 891' (*began the 31st August 1486*).

The letters being very closely written it is not easy to decipher the names. This is the sixth inscription of Fath Shāh, who reigned from 886 till 893; the others fall in the years 886 from Bandar near Dhākā, (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 282), 887 from Dhāmraī, north of Dhākā, (*ib.*, vol. XLI, p. 109); 888 from Bikrampūr, Dhākā District (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 284), 889 from Sunārgaon, (*ib.*, vol. XLII, p. 285), and 892 from Sātganw, (*ib.*, vol. XXXIX, p. 293).

15. The following inscription of the same king has lost the date; it is from the Challa masjid (size 5' 7" by 4 in.), one line

جلال الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر فتحشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امره  
وشانه بسعي خان الاعظم و خاقان المعظم الراقى بالملك المنان خانمعلم دولتخان وزير لشكر تقبل الله منه  
فى سنة اربع ... ..

<sup>13</sup> See facsimile No 2.

## TRANSLATION.

'Jalâl addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fath Shâh, the king, son of Mahmûd Shâh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and his rule! Through the exertion of the exalted Khân and the high Khâqân, who trusts upon the beneficent Lord, the exalted Khân Daulat Khân, the wazîr of the army—may God accept from him (*his prayers*)!'<sup>11</sup> In the year . . . . .'

16. From the modern mosque, as No. 14. One line (size 1' 5" by 7 in.), a fragment—

الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد ملك يزيد معظم طهرحان بن ملك ...  
... سر نوب ... در شهر ربيع الآخر [؟] فى التاريخ سنة ...

## TRANSLATION.

[ʿAlâ-]addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Husain Shâh. This mosque was built by Malik Yazîd Mu'azzam Zafar Khân, son of Malîk . . . . . head of the guardians . . . . . in the month of Rabi' al âkhir, in the year . . . . .'

As the upper part of the left side is broken away, it is not possible to read correctly the name of the builder. Nothing is known about the original place of the stone which bears the inscription.

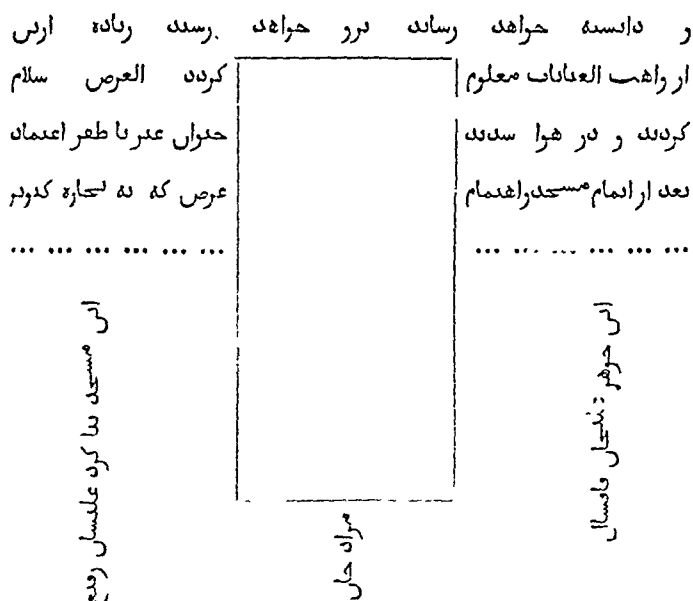
## V.—KHANDKARTOLA (SHÊRPÛR).

17. In the jungal in the midst of the deserted village of Khandkartola, about two miles south of the Shêrpûr municipality, are the ruins of the Khema masjid. Two slabs of equal size (4' 7" by 2' 4" by 3") bear the inscriptions, the middle portions of the stone being carved in a vase pattern in one and in a square in the other. The right slab is cracked in two or three places; the cracks seem to be very old. As Mr. H. Lee has remarked on the inscription form, these slabs were Hindu gods originally, but the gods have been turned round and the inscriptions cut on their backs. The holes were probably made to destroy the sanctity of the gods. About 500 yards distant are the remains of the Bâdishâhî masjid; both are in bad repair and will soon go to ruins.

The inscription on the left side runs—

ما مطهر العجايب  
مانده روز در سینه ۲۴ ماه در الحکم سنة ۹۸۹  
ما سعادت نواب مرزا مراد خان مسجد اعظم کرد در روز  
سنة ۲۴ بهر حال قرار مسجد معابد معبر عند الصلوة در کنویر  
سنروام از هوا فروز آمدند و سلام کردند و بعد از مبارکبادی عرض  
کردند که از مکه مبارکه نام رس و ملاه دارم برای ما و اصحاب ما در  
مسجد اسانه حکم خواهند فرمود معبر کعبه حرا نه اما مسجد  
فروز معابد از مردم زمانه هر جا رسد کعبه هر که دند

<sup>11</sup> In the Qorân, *qabala* occurs in the same manner without the addition of an object.



TRANSLATION.

'O (*Thou*) who manifestest spiritual wonders! On Monday, the 24th of month Zu'l Hijja A. 989, (*19th January 1582*), the Nawâb Mirzâ Murâd Khân with sacred observances made the beginning of this mosque. The second day—, on Tuesday the 26th (*sic.*), the *faqîr* 'Abdassamad comes for the sake of the mosque. Two milk-white pigeons came down from the air and saluted him, and after the benediction<sup>15</sup> they said 'we are from the blessed Makka; will you command for us and our friends a place of rest in this mosque?' The *faqîr* said, 'Why not? But the mosque . . . . lest oppression . . . should come from the men of the world.' They said 'every one who purposely—brings it on him it will come. More than that will be known from the bestower of bounties.' They saluted and disappeared in the air . . . . After the completion of the mosque the petition which the pigeons . . . .

This mosque has been built by the noble exalted Murâd Khân, son of Jauhar 'Alî Khân Qâqshâl.'

Murâd Qâqshâl in 988 became commander of 1,000 and received the title of Khân (*Akbarnâma*, vol. III, pp. 304, 305). In 991 he fought against Ma'sûm Khân Kâbulî (p. 417).

It is well known that the mosque at Makka abounds in flocks of wild pigeons which are considered as inviolable and are called *kabûtar* (*hamâm*)-i *haram*, 'pigeons of the sacred boundary.' Such were those Makka pigeons which begged an asylum in Murâd Khân's mosque. Besides the impossibility of uniting the numbers 24 and 26 to each other without altering, a chronological difficulty seems to occur in this inscription. The 24th Zu'l Hijja A.H. 989 namely was not Monday but a Friday, and the 26th of the same month was not Tuesday, but a Sunday. I cannot make out these contradictions. In A.H. 988 the 24th Zu'l Hijja fell on a Monday, but the number 989 is quite clear on the rubbing.

<sup>15</sup> This form is not so rare as Rückert indicates, *Grammatik, Poetik and Rhetorik der Perser*, 2nd edition, by Pertsch, p. 249, note 1. Confer also 'bimubârabkâd ishtighâldâst',—*Ma'âsir al Umurâ*, vol. I, p. 121.

The inscription on the right side seems to be of no historical value, and as I could not decipher the whole from the rubbing, I have omitted it.

18. From the Bâdishâhî masjid, 18 lines (size 2' 3" by 1' 5").—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	و	...	...	...	بالخير
قال صدر جهان بن میان	جنر بن	یازید بن	دارد		
بنی مسجدا فی بلد شیرپور	بمناح	الترکل	علی الله	الغفور	
بحین شاه جهان جهانگیر مشهور	سنه الف	رائنی	و اربعون	بالشکور	
قال الله تعالى و من یتوکل علی الله	بنی مسجد	فی درر	شاه جهان		
مهر حسبه ان الله بالغ امره	و سره	(sic)	بنکاله	معظم	خان
قد جعل الله لكل شی قدرا					
قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی	سنه الف	و اثنی	و اربعون		
مسجدا فی الدنيا بنی له الله تعالى سبعین					
تصرا فی الآخرة سنه الف و اثنی و اربعین	الله	کافی	فی	کل	مسلمین

#### TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! . . . . .

Şadr Jahân, son of Miyân Jayû, son of Yâzîd, son of Dâûd, says—

The mosque in the town of Shêrpûr has been built through the benefit of confidence in the forgiving God in the time of Shâhjahân, the famous conqueror of the world, in the year 1042 (*began the 19th July 1632*). God Almighty has said "And whosoever relies on God," *etc.* (*Qorân*, Sûr. lxxv, 3, 4). The Prophet (on whom may rest God's blessing!) has said "He who builds a mosque in the world," *etc.* A. 1042.

This mosque has been built in the age of Shâhjahân in the *Şâba* of Bengal by Mu'azzam Khân in the year 1042. Allâh is a sufficiency for all the faithful.'

Şadr Jahân's poetry is not of the best. He was not Chief Şadr (*Şadr-ı Jahân*) as Şadr Jahân was who filled that office under Akbar and under Jahângîr and whose name coincided with the title of his dignity. If we may be allowed to judge of his poetical abilities from the verses of the above inscription—which to be sure are not worse than thousands of others—it is to be hoped that he imitated the example of his name-sake above mentioned who also composed poems at first, but later gave up poetry (*ma'âsir al Umarâ*, vol. III, pp. 350, 351).

Mu'azzam Khân or, as his name properly was, 'Azam Khân Mîr Muḥammad Bâqir Irâdat Khân became Governor of Bengal after Qâsim Khân in 1041. In the *Riyâz* (pp. 207, 208) it is related that he could not keep the province in order as it ought to be. The inhabitants of Assam (*Âshâm*), neighbours of Bengal, plundered the frontiers unpunished (cf. also *Munt. allubâb*, vol. II, p. 132); they defeated 'Abd al Islâm with a great army of infantry and thousands of horse and made him prisoner with a large booty. After that, A.H. 1044, 'Azam Khân was dismissed and his post bestowed upon Islâm Khân, who undertook successful campaigns against the Râja of Assam. 'Azam Khân was appointed Governor of Allâhâbâd. Shêrpûr which is mentioned in the last inscription

is the so-called Shêrpûr Mûrcha (in Elliot-Dowson: Shêrpûr Mîraja). The *Ain-i Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 405, identifies it with Mihmânshâhi, stating its revenues at 2,207,715 *dāms*. Its fort Salîmnagar was built by Râja Mân Singh, Governor of Bengal, in the 40th year of Akbar's reign *Akbarnāma*, vol. III, p. 697; it was so named in honour of Prince Salîm, afterwards the emperor Jahângîr. Shêrpûr was always an important place and a base of operations for the imperial troops.

# VI.—BIHÂR.

The following six Bihâr inscriptions belong to four different portions of the history of that province. If we follow Blochmann's division (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 245), the two first inscriptions fall into the 'Initial period,' or the reigns of the Governors of Lak'hnautî appointed by the Dihlî sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad Bakhtyâr Khiljî, viz., from A. H. 600 to 739, when Fakhr addîn Abu'l Muzaffar Mubârak Shâh, armour-bearer to Bahrâm Khân, the Dihlî Governor of Sunârgâon, on his master's death, proclaimed himself ruler and established an independent dynasty in Bengal. But Bihâr was detached from Bengal and remained to the Dihlî empire till the foundation of the Jaunpûr kingdom, A. H. 796. This is the second period of the history of Bihâr. The third under the Sharqî rulers lasted till 881, when Jaunpûr again became subject to Dihlî. To this fourth period belongs one inscription (No. 22) while Nos. 21 and 24 are of the second, and No. 23 of the third period. Inscription Nos. 19, 20, 21, and 23 have been published by Blochmann.

19. On a fine slab of basalt leaning against the wall of the Choṭâ Dargâh, measuring 3 feet by 8 in.; it contains two lines—

بنی هـد المسجد فی بـردہ السـلطان الاعظم سـمس الدنـا والدنـى ابـى المـطـر مـررر شـاہ السـلطان رانام امارہ  
خادان الرمال المخابب لجامکان  
ادام الله ظلالهما العدد الرابع بالله ولکرمة الرالحى احقر الخلاف بـرام بن حاحي ناب الله علـه رغبـہ  
لوالده فی العرو من رحب سنہ خمس و عسـرہ سـعـمـادہ

## TRANSLATION.

'This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultân Shams addunyâ waddîn Abu'l Muzaffar Fîrôz Shâh, the king, and during the governorship of the Kbâqân of the age, known as Hâtîm Khân—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of creatures, Bahrâm, son of Hâjî—may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents!—In the beginning of the month of Rajab of the year 715' (1st October 1315).

Hâtîm Khân was a son of Fîrôz Shâh, as we see from the inscription published by Blochmann (*ut sup.*). He must have been governor of Bihâr during the years 709—715.

20. Over the gateway of the *Sukûnat* or residency of the Imperial governor in Bihâr, was a beautiful inscription<sup>15</sup> (now in the Bayley Sarai) of three lines, measuring 4 feet by 1' 10"—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
شد بتعدد عماره اس دروازه عالى عالم ارای راین طاف ربیع ملک سای  
ورانام خلافت حلفه جهاننا اسمان بارکہ خدایکان سلاطین

<sup>15</sup> See facsimile No. 3.

کدهان فرمان فرمای عالمان ذی الامس والامال الاهل الامان وارث ملک سلیمان ابراهیم محمد بن  
المعشاه السلطان حلد حلافه وسلطانہ فی الغره من السہر المبارک رمضان سنہ [ابن] و دلتس وسدعمائہ

## TRANSLATION.

'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico were renewed in the reign of the Khalifa, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind, who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Salomon, Abu'l Mujâhid Muḥammad, son of Tughluq Shâh, the king—May his kingdom and rule be perpetuated! In the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazân, 732' (27th May, 1332).

Muḥammad Shâh's inscriptions, which have been published up till now, are of the years 726 (*Proc. of the As. Soc. Beng.* for 1873, p. 199), 732 (*Proceedings* for 1874, p. 72), and 737 (*Journal of the As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 299),—the last also being from Bihâr.

21. On the Dargâh of Ibrâhîm Abû Bakr Malik Bayyû's shrine, which lies on a hill to the north-west of the town, dimensions 5' 1" by 1' 2" two lines—

بعد دولت شاه جهان کبر	۱۷ کی بادا در بہار ملک نورور
شہنشاہ جهان مہرور سلطان	کی برشاہان کیبی دشت فیروز
ملک سہرت ملک بیبر براہیم	کی بد دردس جر ابراہیم دس نور
ہماہ ذی الحجہ یکشنبہ از دہر	بدسب حون سبرده ار مہر درن سور
بہجرت ہفصد و پنچہ سہ تاریخ	مسافر شد ملک در جت ابن روز
خداوند فضل خوش بر وی	کبی اسان حساب اخرین روز

## TRANSLATION.

Metre : *Hazaj*—

'In the time of the reign of the world-conquering Shâh (may the power of the new-year's day be in Bihâr!), the king of the world, Fîrôz, the king who was victorious over the kings of the universe. The king of virtue Malik Bayyû Ibrâhîm, who in the faith was as zealous as Abraham, in the month of Zi'l Hijja, on a Sunday, of the time when thirteen sun-burnt (days were passed) (?), in the year 753 A. H. (20th January 1353), travelled on that day to Paradise. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!'

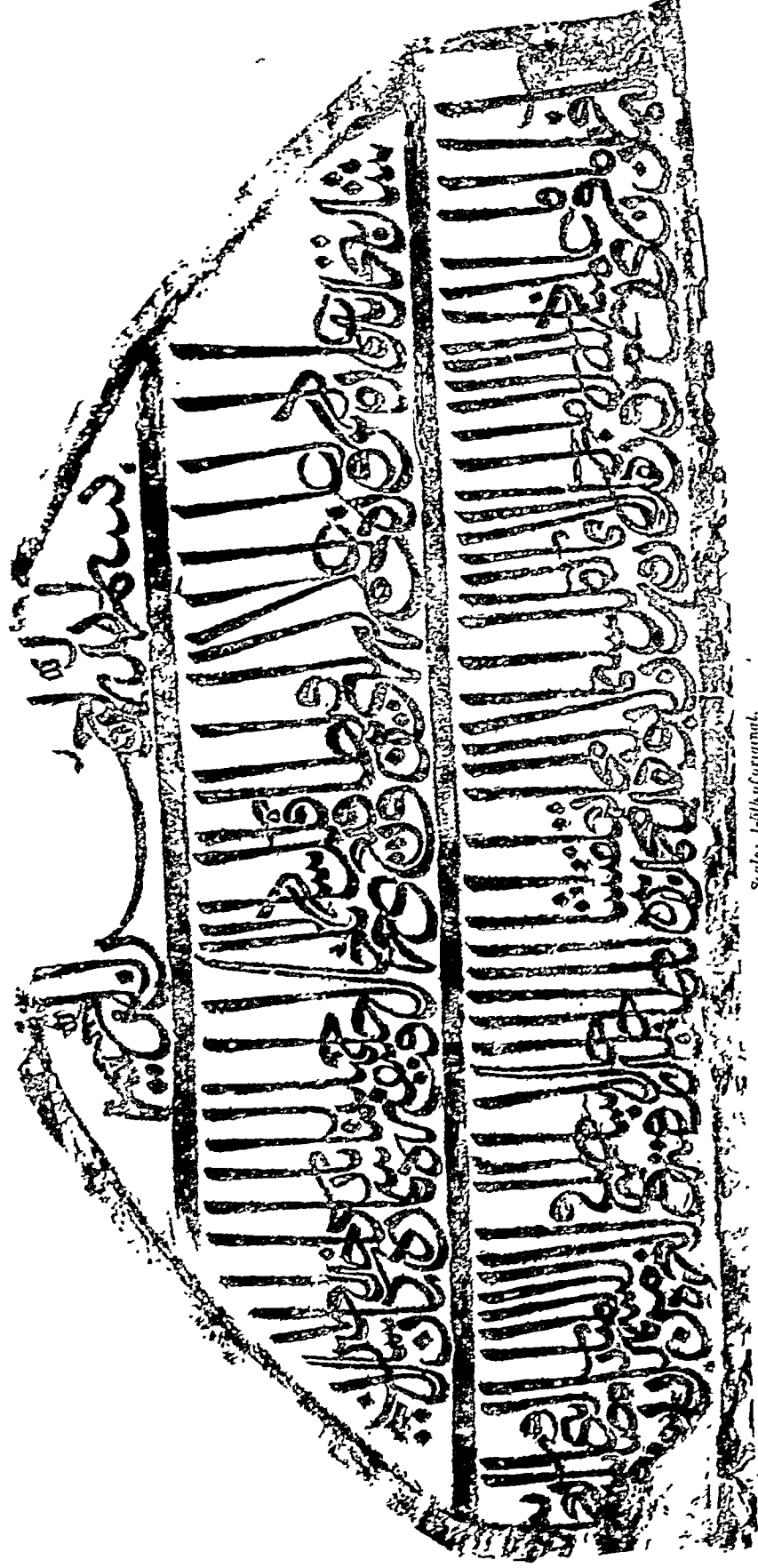
Respecting Malik Bayyû, who is, *par excellence*, the saint of Bihâr, see *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII, p. 300.

22. From the Bayley Sarâi at Bihâr. Two lines (size 1' 5" by 8 in.)—

بتاریخ نازدہم ماہ رجب رجب فدرہ سنہ سنون تسعمائۃ ناران شہد پسر حاجی اسحاق مرسل چل [?]  
درین مقام جمعہ اربع و حوض بناء البقا . . . . . برسد بروح جمعہ فاصحہ کلن اذا لنا [س] [?]

<sup>17</sup> This archaic spelling, instead of *kāh*, occurs several times in the inscriptions.

NO. 3. BIHAR INSCRIPTION OF A.H. 732.



Scale. 1-5th of original.

TRANSLATION.

‘On the date of the 11th of month Rajab—may its honour increase!—of the year 960 (*the 23rd January 1553*) Nārân Shalîd, son of Hâjî Ishâq . . .

On this place . . . . .<sup>18</sup>

23. From a mosque which stood opposite to the Choṭâ Takya on the other bank of the Adyânadî, in Bihâr. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found. The inscription is in two parts, each measuring 3' 5" by 1' 2" and bearing two lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. قال عليه السلام من بنى	مسجدا لله بنا الله له دينا في الحنة
شد بدو نیت. الهی راز طفیل مصطفی	مسجد حمعه دعهد شاه دین برور بنا
شاه محمود ابن ابراهیم شاه عادل انك	كشور ار شاهان ستاند باج بخشد بر كدا
نانی اس مسجد ان مسند شریعت حسب كور	ذات ناكش قرآلعن نبی ومرضاضا
سرور و صدر جهان ان سند احمیل كه شد	ملك و ملك ردين و دولت را در ار السجا
كرده فرمایش بناء خیر ملك الشرف كان	مقطع دارد عین خطه نصیر ابن بها
ان بنا شد استوار ار طاب كسری در بهار	كعبه در عظمت ربوعت دنت معمور علا
عمره ماه رجب بد هیصد رجهل و هعب سال	كادرن مسجد امامت شد بتایید خدا

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Ramal*—

‘In the name, *etc.* He upon whom be peace (*the Prophet*) says “He who builds *etc.*”

By divine grace and for the sake of Muṣṭafâ (*Muḥammad*), the Jum'a mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king Shâh Maḥmûd, son of Ibrâhîm, the just king who takes realms from kings, (*and*) gives beggars crowns. The builder of this mosque is the throne of law, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazâ ('*Alî*'), the chief and the lord of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and empire, take refuge. The *muqti*<sup>19</sup>, the David<sup>19</sup> in this district, Naṣîr, son of Bahâ, ordered this building (*to be erected*), the best in the Eastern kingdom (*Jaunpûr*). This building in Bihâr is stronger than the portico of Kistrâ; it is a Ka'ba in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity. It was in the beginning of Rajab, of the year 847<sup>20</sup> (*25th October 1443*), when, with the assistance of God, the (*first*) *iqâma* took place in this mosque.

The metrical Bihâr inscriptions are all remarkable for their very bad poetry. This is the fourth known inscription of Maḥmûd Shâh of Jaunpûr, the others being dated in the years A. H. 847 (from Bihâr), 850 (above No. 1), and 859 (also from Bihâr, published by Blochmann).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> I have not succeeded in making out the meaning of the second line.

<sup>19</sup> In this inscription the letters *re* and *dâl* often cannot be separated. Blochmann has read *dâvar*.

<sup>20</sup> The form *hişad*, instead of *hashtşad*, is not at all, seldom in Indian inscriptions.

<sup>21</sup> The Maḥmûd Shâh inscription on a stone in the Hindu temple at Bediban is very dubious, see General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XVI, p. 25, Plate iv.



24. Also from the Bayley Sarâî. Two lines (size 3 feet by 1' 3"); the right side is partly broken—

..... روم خاندان سلطان  
 افشار اهل سيف و کارها اعدار [?] کردار  
 دندراتاريج هجرت هفصد و ناسب و هفت باز از ماه محرم في شجر شمار

#### TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Bamal*—

' . . . . . ' . . In the time of the Khânzâda . . . . .

Who is the glory of the men of the world and an esteemed satirist (?) . . . . .

The account of the Hijra-date is 767 (*began the 18th September 1365*); backwards from the month of Muḥarram reckon . . . . .<sup>23</sup>

#### VII.—MUNÊR.

Munêr, Mâner or Munair, is a very old place on the right bank of the Son at its confluence with the Ganges. Elliot-Dowson erroneously confounds it sometimes with Mungir. Firishta ascribes its foundation to the mythical times of Firôz Râî, son of Kêshû Râj, a contemporary of the hero Rustam (*lithogr. ed.*, vol. I, p. 18, *muqaddima*). General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. VIII, pp. 22, 23, offers a theory of his own about the establishment of Munêr immediately after the Muhammadan conquest. He supposes that the Son through some unknown cause at that time had abandoned its original bed and taken its present course, thus forming new waste lands which had no name before, not having been in existence. The town was almost half a *krôh* distant from the river. Bâbar in his *Memoirs* (p. 478) describes its situation in the following words: 'Down the stream from the place where I was I saw a large number of trees; they said to me that it was Munêr.'

In the *Âin* (vol. I, p. 419) Munêr is registered with 89,039 *bighas*, 15 *biswas*, 7,049,179 *dâms*, (*say*) 325,380 *dâms*. Bâbar and Sikandar Shâh Lôdî are related to have made pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Yahyâ, father of Shaikh Sharaf addîn (*Târikh-i Dâûdî* in Elliot-Dowson's *History*, vol. IV, p. 462, Bâbar's *Memoirs*, p. 478), from whom the *pargana* occasionally is named *Munêr-i Shaikh Yahyâ*. Shaikh Sharaf addîn was also a renowned saint; in his honour his disciple Ibrâhîm Qiwâm Farûqî has called his dictionary *Sharafnâma* (*Journal of As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 7). Munêr now belongs to the district of Patna, subdivision Danâpûr.<sup>23</sup>

25. Two lines (dimensions 1' 9" by 8 in.)—

بحمد الله در عهد شه انجب شه محمود سلطان مہذب  
 بہین مسجد کہ بُد بانی اول جلیل الحق زقطاب مقرب  
 جو حمد خطیرار . . . . . عمارت کرد بار از سر مرتب  
 زہجرت ہفصد و ہشت و نود بود بعصمت دار بنیادش تو ای رب

<sup>22</sup> The first and the third hemistich have been almost ruined; besides the letters of the inscription are very rude, so that I could decipher it only fragmentarily.

<sup>23</sup> No information is given about the places where the following three Munêr inscriptions have been found.

TRANSLATION.

Metre: *Hazaj*---

'By God's grace (*it was*) in the time of the most noble king Maḥmūd, the sincere monarch, when this fine mosque, whose first builder was Jalīl al Haqq, one of the confidential chiefs, was rebuilt and newly adorned by Hammād Khâtīr . . . . .

It was in 798 A. H. (*began the 16th October 1395*). Preserve its foundation in security. O God.'

This and the Maḥmūd Shāh inscription of A. H. 799 (*Journ. of As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XLII, p. 304), are valuable, because they show that Nuṣrat Khān, the opposing king, who was advanced as a claimant to the throne by Sa'adat Khān A.H. 797, was not acknowledged in Bihār. It is not easy to form a correct picture of the complicated conditions then existing in the empire. Khwāja-i Jahān (*Malik ashsharq Khwāja-i Sarāī*), the founder of the Jaunpūr kingdom, had got into his possession the provinces of Qanauj, Karaḥ, Audh, Sandēlā, Dalamaṭ, Bahraich, Bihār, and Jaunpūr; the emperor Maḥmūd was confined for some years only to old Dillī, the fortress of Sirī, and the Jāhānpānāh, while the districts of the Doāb, of Sambhal, Pānīpat, Jhajhar and Rohtak were occupied by Nuṣrat Khān, *viz.*, Sulṭān Naṣīraddīn, who had his residence at Firōz-ābād. Other provinces perpetually changed their masters, ambitious *amīrs* and *maliks*, who combatted each other angrily. The harvest was fully ripe for the bloody reaper Tīmūr.

26. Three lines (size 5' 9" by 1' 4")—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

رسیتی الذین اتقوا ربهم الی الجنة زمرا حتی اذا جاءها وفتحت ابوابها وقال لهم خزنتها سلام علیکم طوبی

و ادخلوها خالدین

كُنْتُ فِي فِكْرِ سَنَ هَذَا الْبَابِ	كَانَ قَلْبِي بِحَوْلِهِ سَاكِنًا
قَالَ عَقْلِي عَلَي طَرِيقِ الْأَمْرِ	قُلْ مَنْ دَخَلَهُ كَانَ أَمِنًا
چون در روضه مقدس شاه	روى رفعت نهاد [بر اتمام]
سال انجامش از خرد جستم	خردم بهر این خجسته مقام
بدعا لب كشوده و كفتا	در دولت كشاد [ده باد درام]

TRANSLATION.

'There is no God, *etc.* But those who fear their Lord, *etc.* (*Qorān*, Sūr. xxxix, 73).

Metre: *Ramal*—

I was thinking to make out the chronogram of this gate, my heart was quiet by His (*God's*) power. My mind said by way of command "say, who entered it was safe."

Metre: *Khafif*—

When the gātē of the holy sepulchre of the king raised its face towards completion, I asked the mind the year of its finishing. For this auspicious place the mind opened the lip of blessing, and said, "may the door of power remain open for ever."

Both *tārīkhs* give the year 1022 (*began the 21st February 1613*).

27. Three lines (10' 9" by 1' 3").—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى على محمد وعلى ال محمد وبارك  
 سلم اسهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله قال الله تعالى ان  
 ازل بيت رضع للناس لذى بيكة مباركا وهدى للعالمين فيه ايات بينات مقام ابراهيم ومن دخله كان  
 يمنا والله على الناس حجة البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا ومن كفر فان الله غنى عن العالمين  
 جو اين عالى سراى كعبه تمثال جهان ارا بفيض صانع قادر تمانى اقتضا كرده  
 دل عاصى همى جست از خرد سال بنای او خرد كفتا جو ابراهيم بيت الله بنا كرده

#### TRANSLATION.

'In the name, *etc.* There is no God, *etc.* O God, have mercy on Muhammad and on the descendants of Muhammad. I testify that there is no God, but God who is alone and has no partner. I testify also that Muhammad is His slave and His Apostle. God Almighty has said, "Verily, the first house, *etc.*" (*Qorán*, Sûr. iii, 90-91).

(Metre: *Hazaj*)—

When this high, Ka'ba-like, world-adorning edifice, through the benevolence of the powerful Creator, was completely erected, the heart of 'Âsî was consulting the mind for the year of its erection. The mind said, "just as Abraham has built the house of God."

According to the *abjad* reckoning the *tārīkh* gives 1028 A.H. (*began the 19th, December 1618*).

The *tārīkh* betrays the name of the builder, *viz.* Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang, son of Ghiyâs Beg of Tahrân. This combination relies upon the very similar *tārīkh* in the '*Haft Qulzum*' (Rückert-Pertsch, p. 223): *banâ-yî Ka'ba-ya sâni nihâd Ibrâhîm*, 'the erection of the second Ka'ba has been made by Ibrâhîm,' where Ibrâhîm Khân Fath Jang is expressly named as builder. He became governor of Bihâr A.H. 1024, and afterwards of Bengal A.H. 1028, and stayed there till 1032, when he was killed in the battle with Prince Shâhjahân. The *tārīkh* of the *Haft Qulzum* gives the date 1010, but as Ibrâhîm Khân had already died in 1032, this date cannot be correct. Perhaps the *izâfat* after *banâ* should not be reckoned, so that the year would be 1030

## XXIII.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF KARNADEVA.

THE [CHEDI] YEAR 793.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN

This inscription was first brought to public notice, about eighty-five years ago, by Captain Wilford, who, in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX, page 108, gave the following account of it :—

“A few years ago (in 1801) this grant was found, at the bottom of an old well filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraven upon two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the Imperial seal. It is of the same size nearly, and in the same shape, with that found at Mongir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The Imperial seal is about 3 inches broad : on it, in *bas-relievo*, is Pârvatî with four arms, sitting, with her legs crossed : two elephants are represented, one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull, Nandi, in a reclining posture, and before him is a basket. Between Pârvatî, and the bull, is written *Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva*.<sup>1</sup> The grant is dated the second year of his new Era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192 . . . . . The ancestors of Śrî-Karṇṇa-deva, mentioned in the grant, were, first, his father Gāṅgeya-deva, with the title of *Vijaya-karṇṇaka* : he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of Kokalla-deva, whose father was Lakshmaṇa-râja-deva.”

The plates, thus described by Captain Wilford, were lost for a long time ; but they were rediscovered about 1862, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, Sir A. Cunningham received an impression of the inscription, together with a transcript which had been prepared by one of the students of the College.<sup>2</sup> Both were made over to Dr. F. E. Hall, who now at my request has placed them at my disposal,<sup>3</sup> and has thus enabled me to publish the text of this inscription the original of which has again been lost sight of. Fortunately the impression, which has thus come into my hands, has been prepared with great care, so that the loss of the original plates will be less felt than would have been the case otherwise.

The inscription is on two plates which appear to measure about 1'4" broad by 11½" high each, and each of which is inscribed on one side only. Each plate contains a round hole, about ⅝" in diameter, for a ring to which was affixed the seal, described by Wilford. The plates probably are thick and substantial, for, to judge from the impression, the letters must have been deeply engraved. The first plate contains twenty-eight lines of very close writing, the second only twenty lines. The writing is well preserved almost throughout, so that, with the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas*, the actual reading of the text is hardly at all doubtful. The size of the letters is between ⅝" and ⅔". The characters are Nāgarî of the period to which the inscription belongs, the 11th century A.D. The language is Samskrîta, excepting a verse in line 13, which is in

<sup>1</sup> I give the names which occur in this extract as we should spell them now.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 82. In justice to myself I must say here that the transcript, mentioned above, has not been of any use to me.

<sup>3</sup> I have to thank my friend Professor Lauman for having personally communicated to Dr. Hall my request, which has been granted most readily.

**Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit.** Excepting the introductory *om om namaḥ Śivāya* and the words *kim=vāpareṇa* in line 13, lines 1-32, which mainly contain the genealogy of the grantor, are in verse; the rest of the inscription, being the formal part of the grant, is in prose, but includes six of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, in lines 44-48.—As regards orthography, *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal everywhere, except in the word *śrī* which ordinarily is spelt correctly; *ksh* is employed instead of *khy* in *sauksha*, line 7, and *kshātam*, line 27, and *ky* instead of *ksh* in *kaukyeyako*, line 26; *j* and *y* are confounded, e.g., in *parjjanaishīt* (for *paryyaṇaishīt*), line 10, *durjjasaḥ* (for *duryyaśaḥ*), line 27, and *anuya* (for *anuja*), in lines 16 and 22; and the dental nasal is employed instead of the lingual in *ānṛinya*, line 8, and *kārunya*, line 20, and instead of *anuscāra* in *vansa*, in lines 6 and 45. In addition to these, the inscription contains many other errors, due to the carelessness of the writer or engraver. Thus, the signs of *anuscāra* and *visarga* and whole *aksharas* (or even groups of *aksharas*) are often omitted, short vowels are used instead of long ones, and medial *e* and *o* are employed instead of *ai* and *au*. Such and other mistakes, too numerous to enumerate here, occur especially frequently in the bottom lines of the first plate; and they have sometimes rendered it impossible for me to restore the correct wording of the original text. Nevertheless, there is no doubt whatever as to what historical facts are intended to be recorded in the poetical part of the inscription; and I am particularly glad to be able to state that the date of this document is so clearly written and engraved as to remove any doubts which may have been entertained in this regard.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the devout worshipper of Maheśvara (Śiva), the lord over Trikaṅga, the illustrious Karnaḍadeva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva (lines 33-34). The epithets which are here officially applied to Karnaḍadeva are the same which are used with reference to Narasiṃhadeva in the Lāl-Pahāḍ rock inscription <sup>4</sup> of the Chedi year 909, to his younger brother Jayasiṃhadeva in the Rewah copper-plate grant <sup>5</sup> of the *Mahārāṇoka* Kīrtivarman of the Chedi year 926, and to Jayasiṃhadeva's son Vijayasiṃhadeva in the Kumbhī copper-plate grant <sup>6</sup> of the Chedi year 932, and which apparently were applied also to Karnaḍadeva's immediate successor Yaśaḥkarnaḍadeva in the Jabalpur copper-plate grant <sup>7</sup> [of the Chedi year 874]. As regards the meaning of these epithets, I have already had occasion to state <sup>8</sup> that I agree with Sir A. Cunningham in considering the term Trikaṅga to denote, or to be an older name of, the province of Teliṅga; but that I am unable to explain the exact significance of the phrase 'who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva,' which we thus find employed with reference to five different kings. In accordance with ordinary usage, that phrase ought to mean that Vāmadeva was one of the ancestors of the princes who are said to have meditated on his feet; but none of the inscriptions of the Chedi

See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 212. The inscriptions of Narasiṃhadeva, Jayasiṃhadeva and Vijayasiṃhadeva add *nijabhujopārjīt-śvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrāyādhipati*, after *Trikaṅgādhipati*.

<sup>4</sup> See *ib.*, vol. XVII, page 226.

<sup>5</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 119.

<sup>6</sup> See above, page 5; *ib.*, page 7, line 16, the translation should have been: 'And this . . . who [meditates on] the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadeva . . . .'

<sup>7</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 225.

rulers of Tripurī or Ratnapur mention a prince Vāmadeva in the genealogical lists which they contain.

To proceed first with the prose part of the inscription, the king Karṇadeva from his camp of victory,<sup>9</sup> located at a place the name of which looks like Svasāga in the rubbing, (in lines 34-41) informs his queen, his son<sup>10</sup> (or sons), his chief officials (among whom may be specially pointed out the *mahāpramātāra*<sup>11</sup>) and others, that, having bathed in the river Venī, worshipped the god Trilochana (Śiva), and performed the proper rites at the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gāṅgeyadeva, on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, he has granted the village of Susi<sup>12</sup> (or Susi) to the learned Viśvarūpa,—a son of Nārāyaṇa, grandson of Vāmāna, and great-grandson of Maha,—a student of the Vājasaneyā *śākhā*, who belonged to the Kauśika *gotra*, and whose three *pravaras* were Audala, Devarāta and Vaiśvāmītra, and who or whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesāla. Karṇadeva further (in lines 41-43) directs the inhabitants of Susi to make over to the donee all taxes and whatever else may be due to him by this donation; and he also, in six of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in lines 44-48), appeals to future rulers to keep the grant intact, and warns them not to resume it. The date of the deed with which the inscription ends is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793.

As regards the localities mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the only thing certain is, that the river Venī, near which Karṇadeva was encamped when making the grant, and on the banks of which Svasāga (?) should be looked for, is the Wen-Gangā of the Central Provinces, which rises about 40 miles south of Jabalpur and flows in a southern direction, about 30 miles east of Nāgpur.<sup>13</sup> The villages of Susi and Vesāla<sup>14</sup> I am unable to identify.

The date,—Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Phālguna of the year 793—must of course be referred to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, and I feel confident that its European equivalent is Monday, the 18th January<sup>15</sup> A.D. 1042, as I have given it in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, p. 216, and *ante*, vol. I, p. 33. Since I wrote my paper on the epoch of the Chedi era four years ago, I have ascertained from the best materials the exact reading of eleven out of the twelve Chedi dates which contain sufficient *data* for verification; and there can be no doubt that all these dates, without exception, work out satisfactorily, as dates in current years with the 26th August (= Āsvina-śudi 1<sup>16</sup>) A.D. 249, or as dates in expired years with the 5th September (also = Āsvina-śudi 1) A.D. 248 as the initial day of the era, and with the *pūrṇimānta*

<sup>9</sup> The Sanskrit for 'camp of victory' is *vijaya-kaṭaka*, for which Captain Wilford put *vijaya-kaṇṭaka*, and which he took to be a title of the king Gāṅgeyadeva. Wilford's *vijaya-kaṇṭaka* has found its way even into the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

<sup>10</sup> Compare the Kumbhī copper-plate, where, instead of *mahādevīm mahārājaputram*, we have *mahārājīśrī(?) mahā-kumārīśrī-Ajayaśimhadeva*.

<sup>11</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 73, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 254.

<sup>12</sup> The original also gives the name of the district in which this village was situated, but I am not able to make out its proper reading.

<sup>13</sup> See Plate i in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XVII.

<sup>14</sup> I hardly think that Vesāla could be the ancient Vaisālī, the position of which is shown by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography of India*, vol. I, page 443, and Plate xi.

<sup>15</sup> On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 17h. 9m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>16</sup> Writing at Nāgpur (which once must have belonged to the Chedi kings), on the 30th October 1799, Colebrooke, whose words may certainly be relied upon, says: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āsvina; but, opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke*, page 163.

scheme of the lunar months. The complete agreement of all the twelve dates proves that the date given in the last line of this inscription,—*saṃvat 793 Phālgunā-vadi 9 Some*,—is correct; but it also shows that the statement in line 40, according to which Karnaḍeva performed the funeral rites in honour of his father on Saturday, the second lunar day of the dark half of Phālguna, is incorrect. For the second *tithi* of the same lunar fortnight in which the inscription is dated commenced on Sunday, the 10th January A.D. 1042, 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 5 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 11th January, and cannot therefore in any way be connected with a Saturday.<sup>17</sup> I suspect that the day on which the funeral ceremonies were really performed was Saturday, the 12th December A.D. 1041, when the second *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended about 11 hours after mean sunrise, and that the writer of the grant, who cannot be absolved of carelessness in other respects, wrongly put down in line 40 the month in which he was writing the grant. However this may be, there can be no doubt that Monday, the 18th January A.D. 1042, is really the date of this inscription, and that this is as trustworthy a date for the reign of the king Karnaḍeva as we could wish to have.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, I have still to give an account of the thirty-one verses with which the inscription opens. As is the case with most copper-plate inscriptions, these introductory verses contain little more than the genealogy of the grantor, but they furnish some names which have not become known yet from other inscriptions of the same dynasty.

After the words '*om om*, adoration to Śiva,' the inscription opens with a verse in honour of the god Śiva, who is identified here with the supreme Brahma.<sup>18</sup> It then records, in verses 2-4, the origin of the powerful prince Kārtavīrya, the vanquisher of the demon Rāvaṇa;<sup>19</sup> and further relates, in verses 5 and 6, that, sprung from Kārtavīrya's family, there were the famous Haihaya princes, the clan of whom was rendered illustrious by the valorous and pious prince Kokkalla.<sup>20</sup>

According to verse 7, the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and to the king Śaṃkaragaṇa. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhari inscription we know that Kokkalla, having conquered the whole earth, 'set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,'—in the south the well-known Kṛishṇarāja, and in the north Bhojadeva; and, in commenting on that passage,<sup>21</sup> I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II., who married a daughter of Kokkalla, the king of Chedi, and who reigned from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 911, and the latter Bhojadeva of Kanauj, for whom we have the dates A.D. 862, 876, and 882. Now Kṛishṇa II. also bore the name Kṛishṇa-vallabha,<sup>22</sup> and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and

<sup>17</sup> On Saturday, the 9th January 1142, the full moon *tithi* ended 3h. 7m. after mean sunrise.

<sup>18</sup> The same verse occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the *Mahārājaka* Salakhapavarmadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228. Compare also the first verse of the Tewar inscription of Jayasimhadeva, above, page 19.

<sup>19</sup> See verse 9 of the Bilhari inscription, *ante*, vol. I, page 263.

<sup>20</sup> This name is spelt both *Kokkalla* and *Kokalla*.

<sup>21</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 253.

<sup>22</sup> See Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, page 36. Since the above was written, Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar has published an inscription in which Kṛishṇarāja's father Amoghavarsha is named Śrī-vallabha; and it is just possible that he may be the Vallabharāja of this copper-plate inscription.

Vallabharāja of the present inscription are the Bhojadeva and Kṛishṇarāja of the Bilhari inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakūṭa, and by the fact, to be mentioned below, that Kōkkalla's wife was a Chandella princess; for, as Chitrakūṭa is a well-known locality of Bandelkhand<sup>23</sup> which was ruled over by the Chandellas, Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva, the successor of Rāhila and predecessor of Yaśovarman. It is true, we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva, but, since he apparently had dealings with Kshitipāladeva of Kanauj<sup>24</sup> for whom we have the date A.D. 917, and as his grandson Dhaṅgadeva<sup>25</sup> was on the throne in A.D. 954, he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900, and must certainly have been a contemporary of Kṛishṇa-vallabha. Lastly, the Śamkaragaṇa of our inscription I believe to be Kokkalla's own son (also called Raṇavigraha), whose daughter Lakshmi was married<sup>26</sup> by Kṛishṇa-vallabha's son Jagattuṅga. One of the Ratnapur inscriptions tells us<sup>27</sup> that the Chedi ruler Kokkalla had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was ruler of Tripurī, while the others became lords of *maṇḍalas*; and it does not seem at all improbable that Kokkalla already during his life-time may have assigned part of his dominions to Śamkaragaṇa, one of his younger sons, to be governed by him independently.—With all these coincidences, I can only endorse the conclusion, arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham,<sup>28</sup> that the reign of Kokkalla, who, as we shall see below, was Kokkalla I., 'may be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D.'

Our inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady, named Naṭṭā or Naṭṭadevī, who was born in the Chandella family (verse 8), and who bore to him a son, named Prasiddhadhavalā (verse 10); and that this prince had two sons, who reigned one after another, Bālaharsha (verse 13), and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva (verse 15).

According to the Bilhari inscription,<sup>29</sup> Kokkalla was succeeded by his son Mugdhatuṅga, and his son again was Keyūravarsha-Yuvarājadeva, who married Nohalā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman.

Comparing these two accounts with each other, it is clear that Prasiddhadhavalā and Mugdhatuṅga are names of one and the same prince, and that the Yuvarājadeva of the copper-plate is the Keyūravarsha-Yuvarājadeva of the Bilhari inscription, which omits to mention his elder brother Bālaharsha. In the copper-plate grant all these princes are eulogized in general terms which mean very little. In the Bilhari inscription the only thing definite recorded of them is, that Mugdhatuṅga (Prasiddhadhavalā) conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and took Pāli from the lord of Kosala. Of Keyūravarsha-Yuvarājadeva it is intimated in the same inscription that he was engaged in many successful wars with different nations; but, on the other hand, an inscription of the Chandella Yaśovarman, who probably was a contemporary of Yuvarājadeva, informs us<sup>30</sup> that that Chandella king defeated the Chedi king, and 'brought distress on the shameful Chedis.'

<sup>23</sup> See Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 10.

<sup>24</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 171.

<sup>25</sup> See *ib.*, page 124.

<sup>26</sup> See Fleet, *Dynasties*, page 36.

<sup>27</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 33.

<sup>28</sup> *Archæol. Survey of India*, vol. IX, page 103.

<sup>29</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pages 264—266.

<sup>30</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 132.



The next three princes mentioned in the copper-plate, again without any remark of the slightest value, are Yuvarājadeva's son Lakshmanarājadeva (verse 17), and his two sons Śaṅkaragaṇadeva (verse 19) and his younger brother Yuvarājadeva II. (verse 21), who are all described as ruling sovereigns. The Kāritālāi inscription<sup>31</sup> has preserved the name of Lakshmanarāja's wife, Rāhādā; and the Bilhari inscription records<sup>32</sup> that Lakshmanarāja defeated the lord of Kosala, and undertook, difficult to be obstructed in his progress, an expedition to 'the very pleasant western region,' in the course of which he bathed in the sea and worshipped the god Someśvara in Gujarāt. Almost the same story is told of Yuvarājadeva II. in the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimhadeva.<sup>33</sup> As regards the times of these kings, it may be mentioned that Lakshmanarāja's daughter Bonthādevī was the mother of Tailapa<sup>34</sup> who restored the Western Chālukya dynasty and ascended the throne in A.D. 973-74, and that, according to the Udaypur *prasaśti*,<sup>35</sup> Yuvarāja was defeated and his capital Tripurī conquered by Vākpati-Muñja of Mālava, for whom we have the dates A.D. 974, 979, and 993.<sup>36</sup>

According to the copper-plate grant, Yuvarājadeva II. was succeeded by his son Kokkalladeva II. (verse 23), he by his son Gāṅgeyadeva (verse 25), and he again by his son Karṇa (verse 28) who issued the grant; and this agrees with the information furnished by other Chedi inscriptions. Of Kokkalladeva II. we know nothing beyond his name. Gāṅgeyadeva, according to the Jabalpur copper-plate of Yaśaḥkarnadeva,<sup>37</sup> also bore the name Vikramāditya; and the same inscription records that, 'fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig-tree of Prayāga, he found salvation there together with his hundred wives.'<sup>38</sup> Other Chedi inscriptions also eulogize both his valour and piety, and even in a Chandella inscription<sup>39</sup> he is styled the conqueror of the universe. Gāṅgeya is mentioned as the ruler of Dāhāla (or Chedi) by Alberūnī,<sup>40</sup> in A.D. 1030. We also possess a short inscription of his reign which, according to Sir A. Cunningham,<sup>41</sup> is dated in the (Chedi) year 789 = A.D. 1037-38; and we know him to have been a contemporary of the Chandella Vijayapāla,<sup>39</sup> who had ceased to rule<sup>42</sup> before A.D. 1051. In all probability Gāṅgeyadeva's reign ended about A.D. 1040, not more than a year or two before the date of Karṇa's copper-plate.

Of Karṇadeva, 'the lord of the Kalachuris,' the Jabalpur copper-plate,<sup>43</sup> besides eulogizing his valour, records that he founded the town of Karṇāvati, and that at Kāśī or Benares he built a splendid temple, called Karṇa's *Meru*. The Bhera-Ghāt inscription of Alhanadevi<sup>44</sup> represents him as having subdued or held in check the Pāṇdyas, Muralas, Kuṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kalīṅgas, Kīras and Hūnas; and similarly the Karanbel inscription of Jayasimhadeva<sup>45</sup> makes him be waited upon by the Choḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gūrjara and Kīra princes. As we possess an inscription of his son which is dated

<sup>31</sup> See above p. 175.

<sup>32</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 268.

<sup>33</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 216.

<sup>34</sup> See Fleet's *Dynasties*, page 41.

<sup>35</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 237, verse 15.

<sup>36</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, page 403.

<sup>37</sup> See above, page 6.

<sup>38</sup> I believe, Captain Wilford got the 'loathsome dungeon, in which he lets Gāṅgeyadeva die, out of the words [*Svasā*]-*ga-samādvṛṣita* (cf l. 33 of the copper-plate).

<sup>39</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, page 219, and page 222, l. 14. -

<sup>40</sup> See Sachau's Translation of Alberūnī's *India*, vol. I, page 202.

<sup>41</sup> See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXI, page 113.

<sup>42</sup> The copper-plate of Vijayapāla's successor Devavarmanadeva is dated in Vikrama 1107; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 364, No. 178.

<sup>43</sup> See above, page 6.

<sup>44</sup> See above, page 15.

<sup>45</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 216.

eighty-one years later than his own copper-plate,<sup>46</sup> it is clear that Karṇa's reign was a long one; and it is certain that he was engaged in many wars and that his power, for a time, was severely felt by his neighbours. According to the Nāgpur *prāsasti*<sup>47</sup> Udayāditya of Mālava, whom we know to have ruled in A.D. 1080, freed the land from the dominion of Karṇa, who, joined by the Karṇāṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean; and the great achievement which the Chandella inscriptions<sup>48</sup> report of Kirtivarman, and which has even been recorded in a well-known Sanskrit play, is, that that prince defeated Karṇa, the favourite of Fortune, and by doing so restored the independence of the Chandella kingdom. The grammarian Hemachandra<sup>49</sup> eulogizes Bhimadeva I. of Anhilvād (A.D. 1021-63) for having conquered Karṇa in battle; and, similarly, the poet Bilhana,<sup>50</sup> who elsewhere describes Karṇa as the god of death to the lord of the Kālānjara mountain, meaning to the Chandella king, records his defeat by the Western Chālukya Someśvara I. (about A.D. 1042-68).

Here I might well close my account of Karṇadeva's copper-plate grant; but, having given the genealogy of the rulers of Chedi so far, I may perhaps be permitted to give also the names of the remaining known members of the same dynasty, together with the few facts recorded of them in their inscriptions.

Karṇa married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī<sup>51</sup> and was succeeded by the son whom she bore to him, Yaśaḥkarṇadeva, whose Jabalpur copper-plate grant must have been issued in A. D. 1122, shortly before the close of his reign. Yaśaḥkarṇadeva's name also occurs<sup>52</sup> in a copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj of the Vikrama year 1177 = A.D. 1120, by which the latter sanctions the transfer of some land which had been originally granted by the former, and which apparently proves that during the reign of Yaśaḥkarṇa part of the Chedi dominions had passed into the possession of the kings of Kanauj. A successful expedition against Tripurī by Lakshmadeva of Mālava, the son and successor of Udayāditya, which probably took place during Yaśaḥkarṇa's reign, is mentioned in the Nāgpur *prāsasti*.<sup>53</sup> The only exploit which Yaśaḥkarṇa's own inscription has to record of him, is, that he 'extirpated with ease' the ruler of Andhra near the river Godāvarī;<sup>54</sup> and the same feat is probably alluded to in the Bhera-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadevī, where that inscription speaks of the devastation by Yaśaḥkarṇa of Champāraṇya.<sup>55</sup>

Yaśaḥkarṇadeva was succeeded by his son Gayākarṇadeva, of whose reign we possess an inscription<sup>56</sup> dated in the Chedi year 902 = A.D. 1151, when his son Narasiṃha had already been appointed *Yutarāja*. Gayākarṇa (or Gayakarṇa) married<sup>57</sup> Alhaṇadevī,

<sup>46</sup> See above, page 2.

<sup>47</sup> See above, page 192.

<sup>48</sup> See *ante*, vol. I, pages 220 and 326. The Deogaḍh rock inscription of Kirtivarman is dated in Vikrama 1154-A.D. 1098; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, page 36, No. 61.

<sup>49</sup> See Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönchs Hemachandra*, page 69.

<sup>50</sup> See *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, I, 102-103, and XVIII, 93.

<sup>51</sup> See above, page 2.

<sup>52</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 124.

<sup>53</sup> See above, page 193, verse 39.

<sup>54</sup> See above, page 7, verse 23.

<sup>55</sup> See above, page 15, verse 14. If the above is correct, Champāraṇya ought to denote a tract of country near the Godāvarī river.

<sup>56</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 210.

<sup>57</sup> See above, page 9, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 215, and vol. XVI, page 34.

a daughter of the king Vijayasimha,—a son of Vairisimha, who was a son of Hamsapála of the Gubilā family of Mewād,—and his wife Śyāmaladevī, a daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava. And Alhanadevī bore to him two sons, Narasimhadeva and Jayasimhadevā, who succeeded their father one after the other. Of Narasimhadeva's reign we possess three inscriptions,<sup>58</sup> dated in the Chedi years 907 and 909 = A.D. 1155 and 1158, and in the Vikrama year 1216 = A.D. 1159; and of Jayasimhadeva's reign three inscriptions<sup>59</sup> have been edited, two of which are dated in the Chedi years 926 and 928 = A.D. 1175 and 1177. Jayasimhadeva married<sup>60</sup> Gosaladevī, and was succeeded by their son Vijayasimhadeva, of whose reign we have two copper-plate inscriptions,<sup>61</sup> of the Chedi year 932 = A.D. 1180, and the Vikrama year 1253 = A.D. 1196, the first of which gives us the name of Vijayasimha's son, the prince Ajayasimhadeva. Of all these princes the inscriptions mention not a single fact which would be worth noticing here.

According to the preceding account the list of succession of the Kalachuri rulers of Chedi or Dāhāla, beginning with Kokkalladeva I., would be as follows:—

1. Kokkalladeva I.; contemporary of Bhojadeva of Kanauj (A.D. 862, 876, 882), of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II. (Kṛishṇa-vallabha, about A.D. 875-911) who married a daughter of his; of the Chandella Harshadeva; and of (his own son) Śamkaragaṇa. He married the Chandella princess Naṭṭā.
2. His son Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavalā.
3. His son Bālaharsha.
4. His younger brother Keyūravārsha-Yuvarājadeva I.; married Nohalā, a daughter of the Chaulukya Avānivarman.
5. His son Lakshmanarājadeva; married Rāhaḍā. His daughter Bonthadevī was the mother of the Western Chālukya Tailapa (A.D. 973-74).
6. His son Śamkaraganadeva.
7. His younger brother Yuvarājadeva II.; contemporary of Vākpati-Muñja of Mālava (A.D. 974, 979, 993).
8. His son Kokkalladeva II.
9. His son Gāṅgeyadeva-Vikramāditya. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1037-38(?). Contemporary of Alberūnī (A.D. 1030), and of the Chandella Vijayapāla.
10. His son Karṇadeva. His copper-plate grant is dated in A.D. 1042. Contemporary of Bhīmadeva I. of Aṇhilvāḍ (A.D. 1021-63), of the Western Chālukya Someśvara I. (A.D. 1042-68), of Udayāditya of Mālava (A.D. 1080), and of the Chandella Kīrtivarman (A.D. 1098). He married the Hūṇa princess Āvalladevī.
11. His son Yaśaḥkarṇadeva. A copper-plate grant of his is dated in A.D. 1122.
12. His son Gayākarṇadeva. An inscription of his is dated in A.D. 1151. He married Alhanadevī, a daughter of Vijayasimha of Mewād and grand-daughter of Udayāditya of Mālava.
13. His son Narasimhadeva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1155, 1158 and 1159.

<sup>58</sup> See above, page 10, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, pages 212 and 214.

<sup>59</sup> See above, page 18, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 226, and vol. XVIII, page 216

<sup>60</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, page 219.

<sup>61</sup> See *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, vol. XXXI, page 120, and *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 228, and vol. XIX, page 171, No. 104

14. His younger brother Jayasimhadēva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1175 and 1177. His wife's name was Gosaladevi.  
 15. His son Vijayasimhadēva. Inscriptions of his are dated in A.D. 1180 and 1196; one of them mentions his son, the prince Ajayasimhadēva.

These fifteen princes, who may be taken to have ruled from about A.D. 875 to about A.D. 1200, represent twelve successive generations, which gives to each generation an average of about twenty-seven years.

TEXT.<sup>62</sup>

## First Plate.

- L. 1. ओ<sup>63</sup> [॥<sup>x</sup>] ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥  
 निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारण(णं) ।  
 भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ग(ङ्ग)ह्मणे नमः ॥<sup>64</sup>—[1].  
 यद्देवस्थितमव्य[यं]<sup>65</sup> प-  
 2. रमपि जो(ज्यो)तिसि(ञ्चि)दंसु(शु)प्रभं ।<sup>66</sup>  
 सूर्याख्यस्य च [भा]स्वरप्रभृतयो<sup>67</sup> यस्य स्फुरन्त्यूर्ध्वयः [॥<sup>x</sup>]  
 सर्वज्ञान[म<sup>x</sup>]यो व(व)भूव भगवांस्तस्मान्मनुस्मानसो  
 यस्मात्सृष्टिरभूदि[यं] [गु]-  
 3. एवतो स्त्रीपुत्रिमित्ता ततः ।(॥)<sup>68</sup> —[2].  
 देवः श्रीकार्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषण(णं) भूतधात्रा  
 हेलोत्क्षिप्ताद्रिवि(वि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुतास्त्रे(त्रे)षसन्तोषितेस(श)म. [॥<sup>x</sup>]  
 दीर्घण्डा-  
 4. काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहापूररेवाप्रवाह-  
 व्याघौतव्यक्षपूजागुरुजनितरूपं रावणं यो ववम्ब<sup>69</sup> ।(॥)<sup>70</sup> —[3].  
 यस्य भ्रूम[ङ्ग<sup>x</sup>]भीता ददति नृपतयः क्षि[ष्ट]-  
 5. मावे प्रतिप<sup>71</sup>  
 आ के(कै)लास(सा)क्षहेलं हरवृषभसमुत्खातसृं(शृं)गाग्रभित्तेः ।  
 आ चः<sup>72</sup> प्राचः समुद्रात्पुरसरिदतुलस्थूलमुक्तावलीका-  
 दाम्भोर्ध्वेक्षिणाच्च [स्फु]-  
 6. रदतुलमणैः सेतुसीमन्तभाजः ।(॥) —[4].  
 तद्वन्सप्रभवा<sup>73</sup> नरेन्द्रपतयः ख्याता[ः<sup>x</sup>] क्षिती हैहया-  
 स्तेषामनृ(न्व)यभूषण(णं) रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः ।  
 धर्मध्यानध-

<sup>62</sup> From an impression, received in 1862 by Sir A. Cunningham from Mr. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares College, and now given to me by Dr. F. E. Hall.

<sup>63</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>64</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh). The verse also occurs at the commencement of the Rewah copper-plate grant of the Mahārāṇaka Śaṅkhaṇavarmadeva; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, page 223

<sup>65</sup> This is what is offered by the rubbing, but, as I do not quite understand the first two lines of the verse, I am

not sure that the reading is correct. Perhaps the right reading may be यद्देवस्थितं.

<sup>66</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>67</sup> The *akṣhara* in brackets looks in the impression like ङो.

<sup>68</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>69</sup> Read ववम्ब.—Compare *ante*, vol. I, page 263, verse 9.

<sup>70</sup> Metre of verses 3 and 4: Śragdharā.

<sup>71</sup> Read दक्षति नृपतयः क्षिप्तमारे प्रतिष्ठाम् (?)

<sup>72</sup> Read च.

<sup>73</sup> Read तद्वन्सं.

- L. 7. नानू(नु)संधितसुखः सखत्त[तां]<sup>74</sup> सौत्त(ख्य)क्ष-  
 वेयास(न्म)र्वगुणाङ्कितप्रभुतया श्रीमानभूकोक्लः<sup>75</sup> ॥॥<sup>76</sup> —[5].  
 सम्यक्सा(क्सा)स्त्रविचारणा प्रतिदि[नं] धर्माय योगाय च  
 इष्टा-
8. पूर्त्तपरोपकारकृतये यस्यार्थसक्तो(क्ता) मतिः ॥॥<sup>77</sup>  
 आनृत्या(ण्या)धिगमाय दाननिरतिः सद्स(श)पुष्टेस्तथा  
 ज्ञानाभ्यासवसान्मुक्षपदवीमते<sup>78</sup> च यः प्राप्तवान् ॥॥ —[6].  
 भोजे व-
9. [लभ]राजे<sup>79</sup> श्रीहर्ष(र्षे) चित्रकूटभु(भू)पाले ।  
 स(श)ङ्करणे च रा[ज<sup>x</sup>]नि यस्यासीदभयदः पाणिः ॥॥<sup>80</sup> —[7].  
 सचिमिवेन्द्र[:<sup>x</sup>]<sup>81</sup> कमलामुपेन्द्रो नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः ।  
 चन्द्रेल्लवसप्रभवा<sup>82</sup>
10. सुसिला नद्याख्यदेवी स तु पर्जनैषित्<sup>83</sup> ॥<sup>84</sup> —[8].  
 उद्दामदर्पद्विषतो जयन्तं क(कं)दर्पमापि(पी)नघनस्तनीनाम् ।  
 अजीजनत् स्थितये जनस्य तस्यां महास(श)क्तिध[रं] कु-
11. मारम् ॥॥ —[9]  
 नाम्ना प्रसिद्धो भुध(व)नत्रयेपि प्रसिद्धपूर्वो(र्वो) धवलः स राजा ।  
 वोढु<sup>85</sup> धुरं यो गुरुहारहा योऽन्यानृपेन्द्रान्[हा]र चकार ॥ —[10].  
 एकैक(कं) ददता भुजङ्गमनि-
12. सं(शं) स्व(स्वं) जीवित(तं) रक्षता  
 भक्षार्थ(र्थे) गरुडाय नागपतिना न्यक्कार उन्मीलितः ।  
 चारित्राय ददो(दौ) जलं सुरपतिर्गच्छन्[ह<sup>x</sup>]ल्यामृतौ  
 वन्द्यासा(या) भुवनत्रयेष्यमभू[दौ]-
13. चित्त(त्य)वृत्तेः पदं ॥<sup>86</sup> —[11].  
 किम्वापरिण<sup>87</sup> ,  
 होहिन्ति एष्य व(वं)से पुरिसा एहद्वयगारवमहग्घा [॥<sup>x</sup>]  
 इअ हाविज्जण जेणं पालीण परिग(ग)हो गहिअो ॥<sup>88</sup> —[12].  
 तत्सु(त्सू)नुः ख्यात-

<sup>74</sup> Read शयन्ततां.

<sup>75</sup> Read श्रीमानभूको. —The word कोक्लः offends against the metre; but the first line of verse 23 shows that the spelling with double l is correct.

<sup>76</sup> Metre of verses 5 and 6: Śārdūlavikrāṇḍita. The hiatus between lines 1 and 2 of verse 6 offends against the metre.

<sup>77</sup> Read °वशान्मुक्षपदवी°.

<sup>78</sup> Originally हराजे was engraved at the commencement of line 9; but afterwards a letter seems to have been inserted between the *akṣaras* ह and रा.

<sup>79</sup> Metre: Āryā.

<sup>80</sup> Read शचीमिवेन्द्रः.

<sup>81</sup> Read °वंशप्रभवां सुशीलां.

<sup>82</sup> Read °द्वीवं स तु पर्वरैषीत्.

<sup>83</sup> Metre of verses 8-10: Upajāti.

<sup>84</sup> I give this line exactly as it is in the impression. वीदु probably should be वीदु, and the fourth Pāda may be योऽन्यानृपेन्द्राङ्करदीचकार; but the proper reading of the whole line I am unable to restore.

<sup>85</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrāṇḍita.

<sup>86</sup> Read किं वापरिण.

<sup>87</sup> Metre: Āryā. 'In this family there will be men highly precious on account of their great dignity; thus considering, he took possession of the regions.' Professor Pischel informs me that पाली is given as a synonym of दिग् in Hemachandra's *Deśināmamālā*, VI, 37.

[illegible]

[illegible]

- L. 14. कर्मां दिगिभकरनिभाजानुवा(वा)हुर्महात्मा  
भूमेभ(भं)र्त्ता व(व)भूव चतरिपुनृपतिर्वा(व्वा)लहर्षः सु[ज<sup>x</sup>]न्मा ।  
यं सहत्तानुरागानुलतलतय(यु)गाचारमासृ(त्रि)त्य जात-  
स्य-
15. क्तान्योन्योपमर्द्दं स्थिरवसतिरपास्तारिवर्गत्रि(स्त्रि)वर्गः ।(॥)<sup>83</sup> —[13].  
धन्योत्र दास(श)रथिरेव रिपुर्द्दसा(शा)स्यो यस्याभवत्किमपरं समरोत्सवाय ।  
भूमङ्ग[भ<sup>x</sup>]ग्नसकलद्विपतो
16. धिगम्मानात्मानमाह्वरसादिति यः सुसोच<sup>83</sup> ॥<sup>89</sup> —[14].  
सत्यव्रतैकनिरतस्य युधिष्ठिरस्य तस्यानुय(ज): प्रथितवा(वा)हुव(व)लो व(व)भूव ।  
दुर्योधनारिव(व)लवि(वी)रवधैकध-
17. न्वी पार्थोपरः कलियुगे युवराजदेवः ।(॥) —[15].  
भु(भू)भारक्षमदृक्त्त(क्त्तु)तिप्र[ण<sup>x</sup>]यिनीमालम्ब(म्ब)मानस्तन(तुं)  
कुर्वाणः समरेपि नाग(क)पथगावागच्छतो विहि[ष<sup>x</sup>]: ॥(॥)  
विख्या-
18. तां भुवि भूरिभार्गगमनामुच्चैर्द्दधद्वाहिनीं  
यः साक्षात्परमेस्त्र(श्च)र[ः<sup>x</sup>] समभवत्सम्यक्त्रि(क्त्रि)वाराधनात् ॥<sup>91</sup> —[16].  
तस्माद्भूक्षक्ष्णराजदेवः पुण्यौ(खै)र्जनाना(नां)
19. जनितव्यवस्थः ।  
आ(अ)वाप्य यं धर्ममिव क्षितिसं(शं) चिराय लेभे जनता सुखानि ॥<sup>92</sup> —[17].  
यः सत्यस्य निधिः सि(त्रि)यां च ऋणिः साम्ना च धाम्ना [च<sup>x</sup>] यो  
यो दाता च दयालु-
20. रेव च पदं कीर्त्तिसु(श्च) नीतिसु(श्च) यः ।  
तस्यासीत्परमेष्ठ दूषणकण[ः<sup>x</sup>] कारुण्य(ण्य)पुण्यात्मनः  
पात्रापात्रविवेचनं न यद्भूत्सव्वस्वदानेवपि ॥<sup>93</sup> —[18].  
त्रीस(श)ङ्करगणदेव-
21. स्ततोभवत्सकलभुवनतलतिलकः ।  
सा(शा)सति वसधां यस्मिन्पलायित(तं) क्वापि कलिनापि ॥<sup>94</sup> —[19].  
असौ निस्तुंसता<sup>95</sup> यत्र वक्रत्वं पलितागमे [ः<sup>x</sup>]  
रथचक्रेषु चारि-<sup>96</sup>
22. त्वं वायो[यौ] स्वच्छन्दचारिता [॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>97</sup> —[20].  
तस्यानुयो(जो)भु(भू)युवराजदेवः पतिः क्षितेः क्ष[त्र]कुलप्रसु(सु)तिः ।  
यस्यासिधाराजलघौतसु(म्न)र्त्तिसु(श्चि)रं स्थिरासि(सी)च(च)पलापि लक्ष्मि<sup>98</sup>[॥<sup>x</sup>]<sup>99</sup> —[21].  
अयि-

<sup>83</sup> Metre : Sragdharā.<sup>89</sup> Read शुशोच.<sup>90</sup> Metre of verses 14 and 15 : Vasantatilakā.<sup>91</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>92</sup> Metre : Upajāti.<sup>93</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>94</sup> Metre : Āryā.<sup>95</sup> Read निस्त्रिंशता.<sup>96</sup> *Ariva*, derived from either *arin* 'a wheel,' or *ari* 'an enemy.'<sup>97</sup> Metre : Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>98</sup> Read लक्ष्मी.<sup>99</sup> Metre : Upajāti.



- L. 23. सा[र्था]वधिस्त्यागः सेसं सूरजयावधिः<sup>100</sup> ,  
यस(श)सा(सां) धर्मरासे(शे)स्त्र(श्च) नावधिर्यस्य भूपतेः ।(॥)<sup>1</sup>—[22].  
स्त्रीसास्त्रतोयायत<sup>2</sup> यातकीर्तुः काकलदेवो वस्त्रधिकनाथः ।  
ज(य)न्मण्ड-
24. लाग्रो रिपुमण्डलानि पुरो दधातीति यथार्थस(श)ब्द(ब्द): ।(॥)<sup>3</sup> —[23].  
नम<sup>4</sup> कामुकवत् कृत नियमित तूष्णीरवत्पृष्ठतः ।  
काष्ठासु क्षणमात्र[ह]स्त्रविहितः [भ्रा]न्तरादादण्डवत् [।<sup>x</sup>]
25. कृत्वा सा[त्र]परिच्छेदेन रहित सम्यक्[रे] स्थापित  
सत्त्वणामखिल कुल नरपति[यिथेभ] येनासिवत् ।(॥)<sup>5</sup>—[24].  
काकलनृपादवास्तसकल[का]णी[व]पद<sup>6</sup>  
ची-
26. रक्षालितहारगो(गौ)रगुणभूर्गागवदेवामत् ।  
यस्याजायत केवलं रणमुखे कौक्वे(चे)यकोयेसरः ।<sup>9</sup>  
स्तत्रेव प्रतिविवि[ध] पुनरभूदालाव[रं] स[न्मुखं?] [।<sup>x</sup>]<sup>0</sup>—[25].
27. अगुनेज्जोलोलिति<sup>10</sup> ज्ञातं यदिह दुर्जसः ।  
लक्ष्म्या तदधुना धौ[तं] दिव्यमादाय तद्वपुः ॥<sup>11</sup> —[26].  
ख्यात[ः<sup>x</sup>] सत्यतया स धर्मतनयः<sup>12</sup> त्यागेन वि(वै)रोच-
28. निः  
सोयेनेद्रसुर<sup>13</sup> न चैतदसवत्स[ल्यं] गता[चे]तसि ।  
एकस्मिंस्त्रितयं कलो<sup>14</sup> समनिक गांगीयदेवे नृपे  
[दृ]क्षा रिखित[मि]व तेर-<sup>15</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Read शीर्थे सूरजयावधि.

<sup>1</sup> Metro: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>2</sup> Read श्रीमांस्त्रतोयायत नावकीर्तुः कौकलदेवो वसुधेिकनाथः.

<sup>3</sup> Metro: Upajāti.

<sup>4</sup> I am not, perhaps, able to restore the exact reading of this verse, but would suggest the following :—

नमं कामुकवत्कृतं नियमितं तूष्णीरवत्पृष्ठतः  
काष्ठासु क्षणमात्रदृष्टविहितमानं च दीर्घवत् ।  
कृत्वा साधु परिच्छेदेन रहितं सम्यक्करे स्थापितं  
शत्रूणामखिलं कुलं नरपतिश्रेष्ठेन येनासिवत् ॥

<sup>5</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>6</sup> For the commencement of this line I would suggest कौकलान्नृपादपास्तसकलचीणीविपद<sup>0</sup>; the end of the line I am unable to restore.

<sup>7</sup> Read गांगीयदेवोभवत्.

<sup>8</sup> Read सूरस्त्रदेव प्रतिविम्बितं पुनरभूद<sup>0</sup>; for the end of the verse I cannot suggest a suitable reading.

<sup>9</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>10</sup> Read अश्रुधितोयलोलिति ज्ञातं यदिह दुर्जयः ।

<sup>11</sup> Metro: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>12</sup> Read तनयस्यागेन.

<sup>13</sup> I would suggest here शीर्थेनेद्रसुतो न चैतदभवत्सत्यं मतं श्रीदमिः, but am not sure about the last word of the line.

<sup>14</sup> Read कलौ समधिकं.

<sup>15</sup> I would suggest reading this line दृष्टा निश्चितमेव तैरवितथ पूर्वं यद्योक्ता नृपाः. I take the meaning of the verse to be that, while formerly people did not believe in the truthfulness of Yudhishtira, etc., they now no longer entertain any such doubts, since they have seen that, even in this Kali age, Gāṅgeyadeva possesses all the virtues ascribed to those ancient kings, in a higher degree even than they did.

## Second Plate.

- I. 29. वितथं पूव्वे वेथोक्ता भूपाः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[27].  
तस्यात्मजः कर्ण इवावतीर्णः कर्णः पृथिव्या(व्यां) प्रथे(थि)तपृ(प्र)भावः ।  
यस्याभिसे(धि)कस(अ)वणा[हि]ष-
30. द्विर्नष्टं प्रहृष्टं द्विजमित्तवर्गैः ॥<sup>17</sup>—[28].  
यत्कीर्तिलतया दूरं प्रसरन्त्या दिने दिने ॥(1)  
ब्र(क्षि)ह्माण्डमण्डपाभोगः स्वल्पतामुपनीयते ॥<sup>18</sup>—[29].  
स्वयं समु-
31. तृजन्नर्थानर्थिसार्थेष्वचिन्तितान् ।  
कोपे(प्ये)ष भूषण(णं) भूमेर्जङ्गमः कल्म(ल्य)पादपः ॥ —[30].  
स(श)क्तितमै(यै)कने(नि)लयस्य गुणाकरस्य धर्मात्मनः
32. स्तुतिपदं किमिहास्ति कि(किं)चित्  
आसा(शा)स्यते परमिदं कृतिभिः सदे(दै)व राजन्वती वसुमती भवते(तै)व भूयात् ॥<sup>19</sup>—[31]  
तवे(दे)वं गुणगणालंकृत-
33. स(श)रीरः [स्वसा]ग<sup>20</sup>समावासितस्त्रीमद्विजयकय<sup>21</sup>त्परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व-  
(श्व)रश्चोवाम[दे]वपादानुध्यान(त)परमभट्टा-
34. रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रतृ(त्रि)कलिंग्या(गा)धिपतिस्त्रीमत्कर्ण  
देव[ः]कुस(श)ली महादेवीं महाराजपु[त्रं]<sup>22</sup> महामं-
35. त्रि[णो] महासात्या<sup>23</sup>महासन्धिविग्रहिका महाधर्माधिकारिका महाक्षपटलिका महाकर-  
णिका स(म)हाप्रतीहारो महासामन्तो
36. महाप्रमातारो महास्व(श्व)साधनिको महा[भा<sup>x</sup>]ण्डागारिको महाध्यक्ष<sup>24</sup>एतानन्यांसु(श्च)  
कीर्त्तिताकीर्त्तितासु<sup>25</sup> यथाहं मानयति वो(वो)धयति समाज्ञापयति विदित-
37. म[स्तु] भवता(तां) यथा [हपाया]<sup>26</sup>कासि[भूम्य]<sup>26</sup>न्त[र्गो]त[सु]सिग्रामः सात्र(न्)सधूकः  
सगर्तस्थलजलोपरः सर्व्वीकरख[नि<sup>x</sup>]प्रभृतिसमुत्त-
38. त्सिमेतसु(श्च)तुराघ(घा)टसीमापर्यन्तः ।<sup>27</sup>वेसालग्रामविनिर्गताय कोसिकगोत्राय<sup>28</sup>।<sup>29</sup>ओद  
लदेवरात्रविस्वामित्रत्रि<sup>20</sup>
39. प्रवराय वाजसनेयसा(शा)स्त्राय ।<sup>27</sup>महप्रनम्ने वा[म]ननम्ने नारायणपुत्राय पण्डितस्त्रीविस्व-  
(श्व)रूपाय ।<sup>27</sup>इहैव पितुः स्त्री-

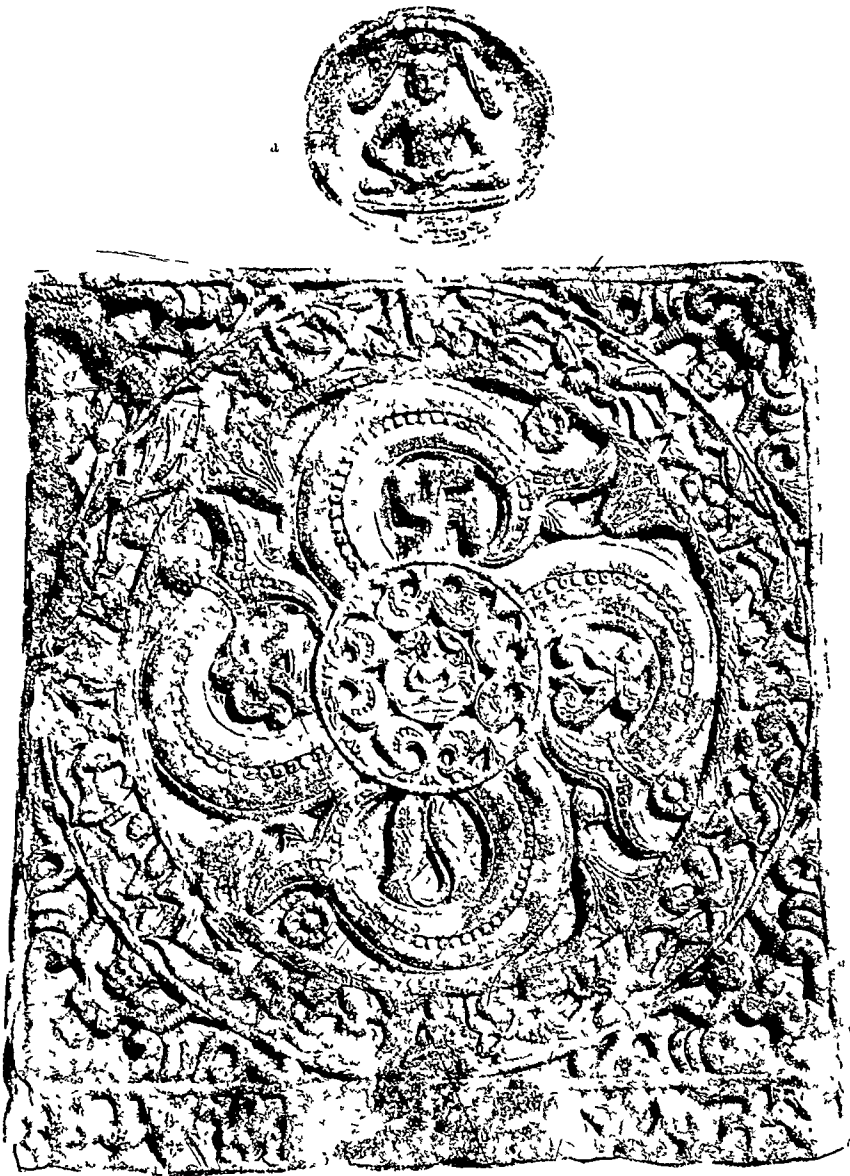
<sup>16</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>17</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>18</sup> Metre of verses 29 and 30: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>19</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>20</sup> Of the word preceding समावासित only the third *akshara* (ण) is quite clear; the first *akshara* might perhaps be read स, and the second या.<sup>21</sup> Read "द्विजयकटकावरम".<sup>22</sup> The *akshara* in brackets may have been altered to वान्.<sup>23</sup> What was meant to be engraved here and in the following, was perhaps महासात्य । महासन्धिविग्रहिक । etc. Com-pare, e.g., the Mungir copper-plate grant of Devapāladeva, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXI, page 256, line 31.<sup>24</sup> I suspect that one or more *aksharas* are omitted in this word.<sup>25</sup> Read "कीर्त्तितांश्च".<sup>26</sup> The *aksharas* in these two brackets are very indistinct and doubtful, and I cannot suggest the exact name of the district in which the village of Susi was situated.<sup>27</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>28</sup> Read कौशिक.<sup>29</sup> Read ओदलदेवरात्रवैश्वामित्र.

- L. 40. मन्नाङ्गेयदेवस्य संवत्सर<sup>30</sup>स्त्राङ्गे फाल्गुनव(ब)हुलपक्षद्वितीयायां स(श)नैसु(श्च)रवासरे वेण्यां  
 स्नात्वा भगवंतं देवं देवं<sup>31</sup>त्रिलोचन-  
 41. मस(श)नस(सं)भारप्रकल्पितपंचोपच(चा)र[प्र<sup>x</sup>]पंचेन परया भक्त्या समभ्यर्च्यग्रासमस(श्च)-  
 हु(ङ्)या स्ना(श्चा)ङ्गं विधायोभयभोगेन<sup>32</sup>सासत्वेन<sup>33</sup>यप्रदत्तः । अतः श्रीमत्क-  
 42. ण्णदेवपादा[ः<sup>x</sup>] सुसोग्रामनिवासिनः समस्तजनपदान्ममादिस(शं)ति विदितमस्तु भवता-  
 (तां) यथा ग्रामोयं<sup>34</sup>स्त्राभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा  
 43. भागभोगकर्तृहरिण्यदण्डादायकासीत्यन्ति<sup>35</sup>प्रभृतिसमस्तराजप्रत्यादाय(या)अस्थोपनव्या<sup>36</sup>इति  
 तदपचिकीर्षया मध्ये वातेनापि न  
 44. गन्तव्यमिति ॥ अभ्यर्थना ॥<sup>37</sup>  
 सर्वानेताभा(न्भा)विनो राजपुत्राभू(न्भू)यो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।  
 सामान्योय(यं) धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणा(णां) काले का-  
 45. ले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।(॥)<sup>38</sup>—[32].  
 व(ब)हुभिव(वे)सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।  
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।(॥)<sup>39</sup>—[33].  
 अस्मिन्वन्ने<sup>40</sup>हि[ग्नो?]  
 46. पि यस्मा(श्चा)न्यो नृपतिर्भवत् ।  
 तस्यापि हस्तलग्नोहं सा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ —[34].  
 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेदानानि धर्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि ।  
 47. नृमाख्यवान्तप्रतिमानि<sup>41</sup>तानि को न(ना)म साधुः पुनराददीत ॥<sup>42</sup>—[35].  
 अस्व(श्च)मेव(ध)सहस्रेण राजसु(स्त्र)यसहतेन<sup>43</sup>च [।<sup>x</sup>]  
 गवां का(को)टिप्रदानेन भूमिह-  
 48. र्त्ता न सु(श)ध्यति ।(॥)<sup>44</sup>—[36].  
 सुवर्णमेक(कं) गामे[कां] भूमिरप्येकमङ्गुल(लं) ।  
 हरत्र[रक]माप्नोति यावदाहुतसप्तवं<sup>45</sup>॥—[37].  
 संवत् ७८३ फाल्गुनवदि ८ सोमे [॥<sup>x</sup>]

<sup>30</sup> Read संवत्सरयाङ्गे.<sup>31</sup> Read देवदेवं.<sup>32</sup> This is what was originally engraved; but some of the *aksharas*, especially स and य, seem to have been altered, and I believe the intended reading to be °दोदकसर्गेण.<sup>33</sup> Read ग्रासनत्वेन संप्रदत्तः.<sup>34</sup> Read °यमस्याभिः.<sup>35</sup> I would suggest reading °दायाकरीत्यन्ति.<sup>36</sup> Read °नेतव्या.<sup>37</sup> Compare the Kumbhī copper-plate, *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XXXI, page 120,—अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति यथा.<sup>38</sup> Metre: Śālinī.<sup>39</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>40</sup> Read अस्मिन्वन्ने द्वितीयो (?).<sup>41</sup> Read निर्मात्य.<sup>42</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.<sup>43</sup> Read °यशतेन.<sup>44</sup> Metre of verses 36 and 37: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)<sup>45</sup> Read °हृतसंप्रवम्.

MATHURA SCULPTURES.

Plate I



AN AYAGAPATA (b) AND CENTRAL FIGURE OF ANOTHER (a)

## XXIV.—SPECIMENS OF JAINA SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the several articles on Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankâlî Tilâ at Mathurâ (*ante*, vol. I, pp. 371ff., 393ff.; vol. II, pp. 193ff.) it has been stated repeatedly that large numbers of statues, relievos, and other sculptures have been found. As the inscriptions incontestably prove the great age of the temples which are buried under the mound, and as hitherto very little has become known regarding the earlier Indian art except what the Buddhist Stûpas furnish, it seemed to me desirable that some specimens of the sculptures found should be published at once without waiting for the comprehensive work which Dr. Führer eventually intends to give us. On my application Dr. Führer in 1890 kindly forwarded to me ten photographs, taken from the most remarkable and best preserved pieces, a selection from which is given in the four accompanying plates.

The first plate gives under figure *B* a specimen of the most common form of an *Āyāgapaṭa*, and under figure *A* the central portion of another sculpture of the same class. The addition of *A* was made advisable by the mutilation of the central figure of *B*. The slab, from which *A* has been taken, is apparently in a state of perfect preservation, and it, moreover, bears an easily legible inscription (No. xxx of the second Series of Mathurâ inscriptions, published, *ante*, vol. II, pp. 195ff.), in which it is clearly stated that the object dedicated is an *Āyāgapaṭa*. But the photograph is pitted all over with small white spots,<sup>1</sup> which in parts make it difficult to recognise the details.

The slab, represented under *B*, is oblong and measures 3 feet by 2' 8". At the lower end a space (some inches in breadth) has been cut off, the middle of which was intended for a dedicatory inscription, faint traces of which are still visible. On both sides there are sacred symbols, among which a *Svastika* and one or two *Trisûlas* are recognisable. The remaining nearly square portion of the slab is divided by four concentric circles into (1) a central disc, (2) three bands of unequal breadth, and (3) four triangles at the corners, each with a circular basis. The central disc is occupied by a cross-legged seated Jina, with the hands in his lap. The posture is the usual one, in which all seated Jinās are represented even in the present day. Above his head there is a canopy, from which on either side very thick garlands hang down. Their shape is very peculiar and differs somewhat from that used on Buddhist sculptures (see, *e.g.*, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plates xxiv, 2; xxvi, 1—2). It is found on all the Jaina sculptures from Mathurâ (see, *e.g.*, Dr. Bhagvânâl's ancient slab,<sup>2</sup> where these sausage-like garlands are visible at the top of the Stûpa), and it may possibly be a characteristic mark of the early Jaina customs. On the side of the Jina appear three or four marks which at first sight look like representations of leaves. On examining the photograph with a magnifying glass, it seems to me that they are intended for snakeheads with expanded hoods. If my interpretation is correct, the Jina is Pârśva, whose mark is Śesha. In an article in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, p. 327, I have

<sup>1</sup> This is due to the nature of the slab, which is of speckled sandstone.—*A. F.*

<sup>2</sup> *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 142

pointed out that on another slab Śesha's hoods appear behind the head of a Jina. Here the addition of the canopy prevented their being placed in the proper position.

The first circular band is rather narrow and bears representations of four highly ornamental *Trisūlas*, which, no doubt, with the ancient Jainas, just as with the Bauddhas, were considered as emblems of "the three Jewels" which with the Jainas are right faith, right cognition, and right conduct.

They differ somewhat from those found on the Buddhist buildings (see, *e.g.*, Cunningham's *Bharhut Stūpa*, plates vi and vii), as the lotuu, which the Bauddhas usually<sup>3</sup> place below them, is missing and the central point is longer and feathery at the top, being formed by the ends of two semicircles, held together by a band. The latter peculiarity re-appears in a *Trisūla* on a pillar in the Indrasabhā at Elura, (Burgess, *Arch. Reports West. Ind.*, vol. V, plate xxxviii, 3). The *Trisūla* was, no doubt, in ancient India a symbol, used by all sects for various purposes and with various interpretations. It was also commonly used for personal ornaments and appears in earrings (Cunningham's *Bharhut*, plate xlix), in necklaces (*op. cit.*, plate I), and in women's girdles (Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. III, plate xi, A). In such ornaments it has frequently the very same shape as on our slab.

The second much broader band of the slab is occupied by four curvilinear ornaments, ending each on the left side in two horns and enclosing in the centre a sacred symbol. Just below the spot where the two horns separate are four bands or garlands, to which rosettes or small lotuses are tied, and from the interstices between the horns issue the stalks of half-opened larger lotuses, which rest with their open faces on the second circle. A comparison of the four large ornaments with the *Trisūlas* in the first circular band leaves no doubt that they represent halves of these sacred symbols. The smaller emblems enclosed by the larger ones are,—(1) at the top, a *Svastika*, which is commonly used as a lucky or sacred mark by all Indian sects, (2) below, two fish, which are likewise considered very generally as marks of good omen, and are found as such over the doors of the great Jaina caves at Junāgaḍh, called Bāwā Pyārā's Maṭh (Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Rep. West. Ind.*, vol. II, plate xviii, 3), and on Brahmanical temples, *e.g.*, on those of the ruined city of Ghumlî<sup>4</sup> (Burgess, *op. cit.*, plate xliii), (3) on the left, another variety of the *Trisūla*, common on Buddhist monuments, and (4) on the right, a mark which looks like a monogram, formed of the syllables *na* and *vo*, and is not uncommon on Buddhist sculptures, and is also used for ornaments (Fergusson, *op. cit.*, plate iii, fig. 4).

The third circular band, which is again very narrow, shows,—(1) below a seated Jina; (2) above a Stūpa, resting with its base on the fourth or outermost circle, and hence looking as if it were turned topsy-turvy; (3) on the right and on the left two sacred trees, rising out of a square enclosure. The interstices between these four emblems are filled up by pairs of half recumbent male and female figures, probably worshipping deities (*Vidyādharas*). Each compartment contains two pairs, one facing one way, and the other turning in the opposite direction.

<sup>3</sup> An exception is found in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, plate xxxii, Fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Compare also Dr. Bhagvānlāl, *Actes du sixième Congrès int. des Or.* tome III, part 2, p. 137. The *Vishnu Smṛiti* XLIII, 33 (Jelly's edition) enumerates the fish among the Māṅgalas, to which Brahmans must pay reverence. In his notes to the passage Nandapandita most absurdly adds that the rule refers to 'boiled or fried' (*pakva*) fish. On Buddhist sculptures the two fish appear as parts of personal ornaments; (see Fergusson *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate iii, fig. 4).

With respect to the Stûpa, which we shall meet again more than once on the other plates, I repeat that it is a form of the funeral monuments, once used and worshipped by all Indian sects that followed the *Jñāna* and *Bhakti Mārgas*, and I refer for some of the reasons for this theory to my article *Vienna Or. Jour.*, vol. IV, pp. 328f. I may add, however, that Brahmanical Chaityas are occasionally mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Thus we read *Mah. I*, 109, 13—14.

भोक्षेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वतः परिरक्षितः ।

बभूव रमणीयञ्च चैत्ययूपशतान्तः ॥

स देशः . . . . .

“That country, O king, protected on all sides by Bhishma in accordance with the sacred law, became lovely, being adorned with hundreds of *Chaityas* and sacrificial posts.”

The juxtaposition of the Chaityas and Yûpas shows that Brahmanical sacred buildings, probably Stûpas, are meant.

The worship of sacred trees by the Jainas has been discussed by Dr. Bhagvānlāl (*op. cit.*, p. 142), and he has given the names of the Bodhi-trees of three Tīrthamkaras.<sup>5</sup> The worship of trees in India is older than Jainism and Buddhism. Quite irrespective of its traces, found in the Vedic ritual, all the Brahmanical Sûtras bear witness to its existence, as they mention Chaitya trees, which Brahmins and all Āryans must treat with reverence, and it is common to all the sects following the *Bhakti Mārga*, which assign a sacred tree to each deity. Like a great many other practices, it has been taken over by the Jainas and Bauddhas from the Brahmins, when their prophets became deities, a new meaning being given to the ancient rite.

The four triangles in the corners are each occupied by a female figure holding up her arms and supporting the part of the outer fourth circle just above it. On both sides of the heads of these figures there are small projections, which look like rudimentary horns, but appear to be the ears with ornaments hanging down from them. The lower extremities of the four figures have been turned into spirally rolled snake-tails with split or fin-like ends, which fill the right and left corners of the triangles. Figures, supporting sculptures or statues, are so common in ancient Indian art, that it is unnecessary to cite particular examples.

Among the other *Āyāgapataṣas*, of which Dr. Führer has forwarded photographs, there are two more with Jinas in the central medallion or disc, *viz.*, that a portion of which has been given in fig. A of plate i, and another bearing the inscription No. xxxi of my second Series.<sup>6</sup> A third, which bears the archaic inscription No. viii of the same Series, has in the centre a wheel with sixteen spokes, apparently a *Dharmachakra*, regarding the worship of which more will be said in connection with plate iv, and a fourth, which was dedicated by the wife of a dancer (see *Iuser. No. v* of the second Series) offers the representation of a Stûpa, in front of which two naked women dance on the lower

<sup>5</sup> The fact that each Tīrthamkara has his *Chaityavṛkṣa* is also stated by Hemachandra, *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, verse 62 (Böhtlingk and Rieu). The commentary to the passage is, however, mutilated or corrupt. A complete list of the sacred trees is given in the *Ratnasāra*, vol. II, p. 708f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, pp. 195f.

rail, exactly in the same indecent posture as those on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Mathurā slab. The latter seems therefore to belong likewise to the class of the *Āyāgapāṭas*.<sup>7</sup>

From all these specimens it appears that an *Āyāgapāṭa* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or of some other object of worship, and the term may be appropriately rendered by "tablet of homage or of worship," since such slabs were put up in temples, as the numerous inscriptions on them say, "for the worship of the Arhats." The *Āyāgapāṭas* seem to be a distinctive feature of the ancient Jaina art, as neither the Buddhists<sup>8</sup> nor the orthodox sects mention them. The Bauddhas have, however, the term *udhapāṭa*, i.e., *ūrdhvapāṭa*, (see, e.g., Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 90f). Even among the Jainas they probably went out of fashion at an early period, as the inscriptions on them invariably show archaic characters, and are in no case known to me dated. In the more modern Jaina temples we find instead of them slabs, called *pañchaparameshthipāṭa* (Satruñjaya inscriptions, Nos. 58, 66, *ante*, pp. 34f.), *chaturvimsatitīrthaṃkarapāṭa* (*ibidem*, Nos. 57, 67), and so forth.

The sculptures of the second plate are the most interesting of the whole collection. Figure *A* bears an inscription, legible even on the photo-lithograph, which I read originally as *bhagavā Nemiso*, the "divine lord Nemi," as I believed that the sculpture represented some scene from the life of Neminātha. But a careful investigation of various lives of Neminātha, in which Professors Jacobi and Leumann have kindly assisted me, failed to bring to light any legend that could be turned to use. Finally, Professor Jacobi suggested to me that it might be possible to read *bhagavā Nemeso* "divine Nemesa," to refer these words to the figure with a goat's head just above them, and to identify the goat-headed Nemesa with Indra's divine commander of the foot troops Harinegamesi, who is represented in mediæval pictures as a man with the head of an antelope.<sup>9</sup> The reading *Nemeso* is no doubt as good as *Nemiso*. The vowel-stroke of the second consonant lies in the proper position of an *e*, though the *i* frequently looks exactly alike on these inscriptions. More difficult was the identification of the two names; but, on looking through the *Nemināthacharita* I found a passage, where *Naigameshin* appears instead of the longer word.

It stands in the beginning of the seventh Sarga, where it is narrated how Kṛishṇa tried to obtain for Satyabhāmā a son equal to Pradyumna in luck and good qualities. The text<sup>10</sup> runs as follows:—

प्रद्युम्नस्य महाकृद्वया ताम्यन्ती श्लाघयापि च ।

भामा कोपयहे गत्वा शिष्ये जर्जरमञ्चके ॥ ८ ॥

तत्रायातञ्च कंसारिव्याजहार ससंभ्रमम् ।

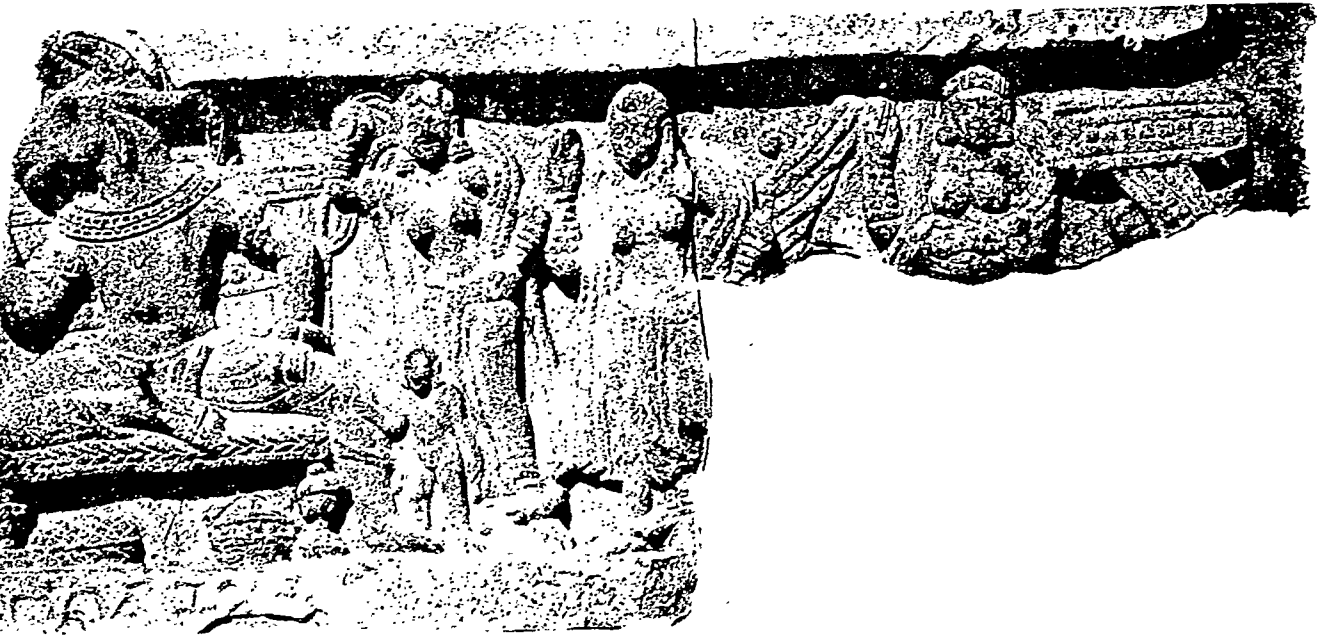
<sup>7</sup> Possibly the word *āyaga*, which occurs in l. 4 of the inscription, may be meant for *āyāga*. Regarding the performances of dancing girls at Jaina festivals, see below the remarks on plate iii.

<sup>8</sup> A Buddhist *āyāgapāṭa* was excavated by me in January 1892 at the ancient site of Adhichhatrā (Rāmnagar in Rohilkhand) from the ruins of a Buddhist Vihāra. The slab shows a full-blown lotus in the middle surrounded by four highly ornamented Trisūlas. An inscription in archaic characters records its dedication and object.—A.F.

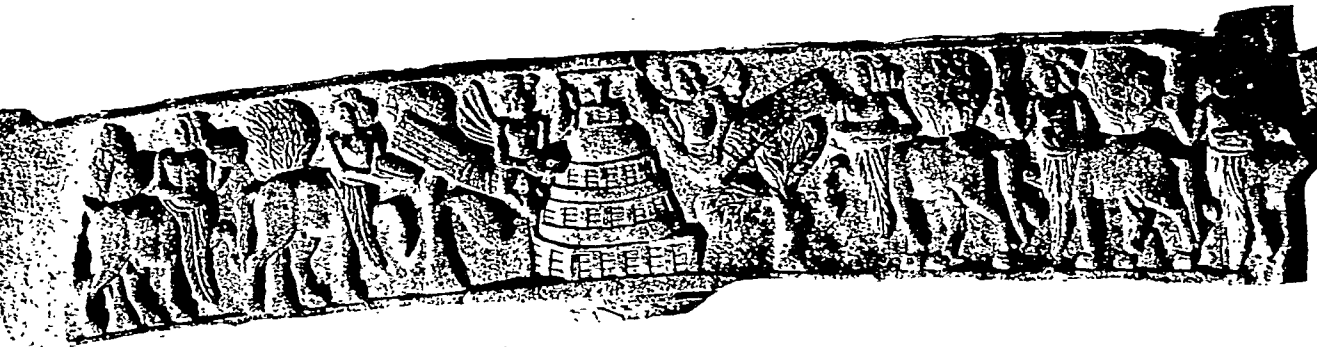
<sup>9</sup> See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, page 227, note. Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished me with a sketch of Harinegamesi, which is inserted in his ancient illustrated copy of the *Kalpasūtra*.

<sup>10</sup> The MS, from which the subjoined verses have been taken, is No. 250 of the Vienna University Library collection, which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. Bhagvānlāl Kevaldās' store of MSS, rejected as useless by the Bombay officials in charge of the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (see my paper: *Ueber eine kürzlich für die Wiener Universität erworbene Sammlung von Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften, Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. XCIX, p. 563ff).





a.



b) Obverse of doorstep.



c) Reverse of doorstep.

केनापमानितासि त्वं येनैव[व] शु[सु]भु ताम्यसि ॥ ८ ॥  
 भाम्यूचे नास्त्य[प]मानो मे किंतु प्रद्युम्नसंनिभः ।  
 न चेन्मे भविता सन्तुर्मरिष्यासि तदा धु[धु]वम् ॥ १० ॥  
 कृणत[णस्त]दाग्रहं ज्ञात्वा त्रिदि[दि]शं नैगमेषिणम् ।  
 उद्दिश्याष्टमन[भ]क्तिन पौषधं प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ११ ॥  
 आविर्भूय नैगमेषी न[त]मूचे किं करोमि ते ।  
 कृणोम्युवाच भामायै देहि प्रद्युम्नवत्सुतम् ॥ १२ ॥  
 नैगमेष्यवदय[द्य]स्यां पुत्रेच्छा ते भजस्व ताम् ।  
 त्वममुं हारमामोच्य ततो भावीप्सितः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥  
 अर्पयित्वा ह्र[ष्ट]तं हारं नैगमेषी तिरोदधे ।  
 वासुकं वासुदेवोपि सत्यायै सुचि[दि]तो ददौ ॥ १४ ॥

(8) "Annoyed at the great luck of Pradyumna and his fame, Bhâmâ went into her *boudoir* and lay down on a broken cot:

(9) The foe of Kamsa visited her there and spoke agitatedly: 'Who has shown disrespect to thee, whereby, O fair-browed one, thou art thus afflicted?'

(10) Bhâmî answered: 'No disrespect has been shown to me; but, if I do not obtain a son equal to Pradyumna, I shall certainly die.'

(11) Knowing her tenacity of purpose, Krishna undertook a fast in honour of the god Naigameshin, partaking only of every eighth meal.

(12) Naigameshin appeared and spoke to him: 'What can I do for thee? Krishna answered: 'Give to Bhâmâ a son who resembles Pradyumna.'

(13) Naigameshin replied: 'Make her, whom thou desirest to have a son, put on this necklace, and then have intercourse with her; thereby she will obtain the desired son.'

(14) Handing over the necklace, which he wore, Naigameshin disappeared. But Vâsudeva joyfully gave the precious ornament to Satyâ."

The legend shows that the Jainas worshipped a divine being, called Naigameshin, and considered him to preside over the procreation of children. And Professor Leumann informs me that there are passages in older Jaina works from which the same conclusion may be drawn. Now, Hariṇegameśī, the deer-headed general of Indra, is, according to the *Kalpasūtra*, likewise closely connected with the same delicate matter, since at his master's command he transferred the embryo of Mahāvīra from the body of the Brāhmaṇī Devanandā to the womb of the Kshatriyāṇī Trisālā. The last four syllables of his name exactly correspond with the Sanskrit Naigameshin, and the whole compound Hariṇegameśī means in all probability, as the note to the *Kalpasūtra* suggests, "the Negameśī of Hari," i.e., "Negameśī, the servant of Indra."

The close resemblance of the name Negameśī-Naigameśī and of Nemeso, and the fact that both deities are represented with the heads of similar animals, again tempt one to assume that both the names and the personages are identical. The difficulty, caused by the slight difference in the terminations of the names, may be removed by assuming that the word had originally, like many others, two forms, one ending in *a* and one

ending in *in*. And the correctness of this view is proved by the occurrence of the Sanskrit words *Naigamesha* and *Nejamesha*,<sup>11</sup> which in the *Grihya Sūtras* and the medical *Saṃhitās* are the names of a deity with a ram's head,<sup>12</sup> particularly dangerous to children. Our word *Nemeso* corresponds exactly with *Naigamesha* according to the analogy of the Pali *emeva* for *evameva*, *ajjhena* for *adhyayana*, *leṇa* for *layana*, and so forth (see E. Müller's *Simplified Grammar*, pp. 41, 43), the intermediate form being *Neyameso*.

There can be no doubt that the *Naigamesha* or *Nejamesha* of the Brahmins, who seizes children and sorely afflicts them with disease<sup>13</sup> and the son-granting and embryo-exchanging *Naigamesha*-*Naigameshin* of the Jainas are in reality identical. They represent two different aspects of the same deity, which was conceived both as beneficent and as hurtful or destructive. Their identity comes out still more fully, if one takes into account another Brahmanical deity, *Naigameya*, whose name, as the larger Petersburg Dictionary points out *sub voce*, is certainly only a variant of *Naigamesha*. This *Naigameya* is declared to be another form, or a son and companion, of the war-god *Skanda*, which latter likewise is represented as dangerous to children. A passage of the *Mahābhārata*, quoted in the Dictionary, *sub voce naigamesha*, asserts that he is *chhāgavakra* or 'goat-faced,' just like the *Nemeso* of our sculpture. The goat's head excellently suits a deity, who has to do with the procreation of children, as the strong sexual instincts of the goat did not escape the notice of the ancient Hindus.<sup>14</sup> Hence, it may be inferred that the goat's head was the original attribute of *Naigamesha*-*Naigameshin*, the Brahmins substituting later a ram's head on account of the seeming connection of the name with *mesha*, 'a ram,'<sup>15</sup> and the Jainas a deer's head on account of the compound *Harinegamesi*, seemingly connected with *harina*, 'a gazelle.' I may add that *Naigameshin*'s position as *Indra*'s general offers another point of contact with *Naigameya*, who is either considered as identical or as closely connected with *Skanda*, the field marshal of the gods

If we now return to our sculpture, *Nemesa*-*Naigameshin*'s divine rank is indicated—(1) by his ornaments, bracelets on the upper arm and a very broad necklace (see above the story of *Kṛishṇa*), (2) by the elaborately carved throne on which he sits, (3) by the female attendant to his proper left, who apparently fans him with a *Chauri*, and (4) by the fragment of a canopy or *chhattra*, which, I think, is visible above his head. *Nemesa*'s face is turned to the right, and he lifts his hand apparently addressing somebody who was represented on the lost right half of the slab. At his left knee stands a small naked male, characterised by the cloth in his left hand as an ascetic,<sup>16</sup> and with uplifted right hand. Below this figure is a fragment of an inscription, showing on Dr. Führer's rubbings very plainly the syllables *bhaga*. The first word was therefore *bhaga*-

<sup>11</sup> See the two Petersburg *Dictionaries* under these words. The identity of *Harinegamesi* with *Naigamesha* has already been hinted by Böttlingk, *sub voce Harinaigameshin*. The latter word is a faulty form, given by Mr. Colebrooke in his *Essay on the Jainas*, probably in accordance with a bad MS. of one of the commentaries of the *Kalpasūtra*.

<sup>12</sup> For a representation of *Naigamesha*, as represented in the Elura sculptures, see *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 326, 1st plate—J. B.

<sup>13</sup> See, in addition to the passages quoted in the *Dictionaries* from the *Susruta Saṃhitā*, and the *Ashṭāṅghridaya*, *Uttarasthāna*, ii, 63, and iii, 12-14.

<sup>14</sup> Āpastamba, *Dh. Śū.* II, 14, 13, quotes a Vedic passage to this effect: "Therefore, a he-goat and a learned Brāhmana erince the strongest sexual desires."

<sup>15</sup> I am not able to offer any etymology for *naigamesha* and *naigameya*.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the figures of monks on Dr. Bhāgvānlāl's slab from Mathurā

vā "divine," and a proper name no doubt followed. This epithet makes it probable that the ascetic is meant for a Tirthaṅkara, because, as far as my observation goes, *bhagavā* is not applied in the inscriptions to ordinary monks. Next, on the left comes the female fan-bearer already mentioned. To the left of her stands another female, who raises her right arm in astonishment and looks apparently at the ascetic. She wears earrings, a necklace, armlets, anklets and the usual dress of married ladies, while a scarf, or *sārī*, hangs over her shoulders. At some little distance further to the left, apparently in a separate section of the slab, which is indicated by remnants of architectural ornaments, is found the upper half of a mutilated female figure, who wears the usual ornaments. She likewise raises her right arm and supports with her left on a dish or cushion the body of a motionless infant with the hands folded on its breast.

A Jaina sculpture representing Naigamesha, a small Tirthaṅkara and a female with a small infant can only be taken to refer to the most famous legend, in which the deity plays a part, *viz.*, the exchange of the embryos of Devanandā and Trisalā. And it seems to me that the various figures on our slab may be explained on this supposition. The story, as related in the *Kalpasūtra*,<sup>17</sup> is briefly this,—“When Indra became aware that Mahāvira had taken the form of an embryo in the Brāhmaṇi Devanandā's body, he paid his reverence to the Arhat that was to be born. It then occurred to him that an Arhat ought not to be born in a low Brahmanical family, but only in a noble royal race, and that it was and always had been the duty of the reigning Indra to transfer the embryo, in case through the influence of his Karman an Arhat had descended into the body of a female of the Brahman caste. In order to fulfil this duty, Indra directed Hariṇegamesi, the divine commander of infantry, to transfer Mahāvira from the body of Devanandā to Trisalā, a lady of the Jñātri family of Kshatriyas who was also with child. Hariṇegamesi then repaired first to the Brahmanical quarter of Kuṇḍagrāma, took Mahāvira from Devanandā, cleansing him from all impurity, and carried him carefully in his folded hands to the Kshatriya quarter of the same town. There he took Trisalā's embryo from her, likewise duly cleansing it, and put Mahāvira in its place. Next, he returned to Devanandā and placed Trisalā's child in her body. During these operations the two ladies and their attendants lay in a deep magic sleep. Finally, the deity returned to Indra's abode and reported to him that his orders had been carried out.”

As our slab represents Naigameshi-Nemeso, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra's heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemeso had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody,—probably Indra,—who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesa's left knee, called in the inscription “divine” . . . , is no doubt meant for Mahāvira, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Trisalā, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.

<sup>17</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, p. 223 ff.

In confirmation of this interpretation, I may point to four mutilated statues now in the Museum at Mathurā, lithographed by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Reports*, vol. XX, plate iv, 2-5. Two of them represent seated females. "Each of them has," as Sir A. Cunningham says, *op. cit.*, p. 36, "a small child lying in a dish on her lap. The left hand supports the dish, but the right is raised up to the shoulder. Both females appear to be naked." The other two figures are males with the heads of animals. "Both," to use Sir A. Cunningham's words, "are represented in the same action. The larger figure carries a pair of children, male and female, in his left hand, each being grasped by one arm at full stretch. The right hand of the figure is raised to the shoulder in the same position as the right hands of the females. On each shoulder a small child is seated facing the head of the figure. The smaller figure is exactly the same as the larger one, excepting that it carries only one child by its outstretched arm." Sir A. Cunningham then goes on to say that he has been unable to find a clue to these curious 'ox-headed' figures, and that he abandoned his first idea that they might be Yakshas and Yakshinis of gigantic size preparing to eat the children, because the small figures, seated on the shoulders of the two males, seemed to point to a more friendly connection between the two parties.

With respect to Sir A. Cunningham's description I must state that I differ from him in one important particular. In my opinion the two males are not 'ox-headed,' but 'goat-headed;' for, between the much mutilated bodies of the children and the likewise somewhat disfigured heads, pendent goats' ears are recognisable, especially in the smaller figure. This granted, it is evident that both males are representations of Naigamesha. With this identification the other details admit of explanation. The motionless infants, represented in connection with the males, are the two embryos, which Naigamesha had to exchange. If the artist represented the larger Naigamesha with two children on his shoulders and two in his hands, and the smaller one with two on his shoulders and one in his hand, he probably meant to indicate two different steps in the transaction, *viz.*, that the deity first took the children out of their mother's bodies and 'cleansed them of all impurity,' as the *Kalpasūtra* says, and later conveyed them to their new destination on his shoulders. The two female figures are, of course, No. 2 Trisalā and No. 3 Devanandā, who are represented, the former with a male child on her lap and the other with a female one, in order to show what each received. And it must be noted that the higher rank of Trisalā seems to be indicated by the more costly necklace which she wears. The story, which the sculptures tell according to this explanation, may have differed in one detail from that of the *Kalpasūtra*, where Negamesi is said to have taken Mahāvīra in his joined palms, not on his shoulder. But it is also possible that the change is an invention of the sculptor, who wished to represent the deity as carrying the two infants, for both of which there would not have been any room in his hands.

If one compares these figures with our slab, the very close resemblance of the position of the infant, and of the attitude of the female holding it, is at once apparent. And this point, taken together with the unmistakable figure of Naigamesha-Nemeso, irresistibly leads to the conclusion that the legend referred to must be the same in both sculptures.

The other two reliefs on plate II, *B* and *C*, are found on a fragment of the doorstep

from one of the two temples, buried under the Kaṅkālī mound. Though they bear no inscription, they cannot be later than the first century B.C.; for one of the two temples existed on the evidence of the very ancient No. I of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions already in the middle of the second century B.C., while the likewise archaic inscription No. IV of the same Series which records the erection of the second temple, cannot be later than about the middle of the first century. The obverse, A, represents the worship of a Stūpa by two Suparṇas, half birds and half men, and by five centaurs or Kinnaras. One of the former offers a garland and the other, as well as three of the centaurs, two on the right and one on the left, bring jars or boxes filled with flower-bunches (?). The last two centaurs on the left seem to carry brooms or fans, made of branches. On both sides of the Stūpa stand trees, and the two Suparṇas seem to be seated on, or hovering above, the bending branches of those nearest to the Stūpa. All the five figures wear turbans, such as many of the males of rank represented on Buddhist sculptures wear.

A somewhat similar scene, where Suparṇas worship a Stūpa, occurs on a relievo at Sanchi (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate xxviii, fig. 1).<sup>18</sup> But it must be noted that the Sanchi figures are much more like Greek harpies, while those on our slab are done in a more conventional manner like the winged figures on the Assyrian and Persian sculptures. Among Brahmanical representations, those of Garuḍa, the king of the Suparṇas, on the Gupta seals<sup>19</sup> are worthy of comparison. Centaurs have been discovered on the Buddhist monuments in Gayā and elsewhere, and, in all probability, they go back to Greek models. What is particularly remarkable in those on our slab is the branch which hides the place where the human body is united with the rump of the horse. As far as I have been able to ascertain from my colleagues, versed in classical archæology, there are no Greek sculptures showing this particular.

The reverse of our doorstep contains a fragment of a procession, apparently about to visit some sacred place. On the extreme right we have two horsemen, each preceded by a 'syce,' or groom. Next follows a covered cart, drawn by two enormous bullocks, as big as those of the Pālanpur breed, and filled with males and females. The cart closely resembles a modern shighram, and the driver, who lifts his goad, is seated, as is still the custom, on the pole. The tails of the animals are tied to strings connected with the yoke, just as is the case with those of the horses on the Sanchi reliefs.<sup>21</sup> Behind the cart comes again a horseman and finally an elephant with two riders. The elephant is very badly done. The trappings of the several animals are exactly like those represented on the Sanchi sculptures. But similar carts are not traceable on the latter, where very Greek-looking chariots drawn by horses appear instead.

The two sculptures on plate III are found on the two sides of a fragment of a *Torana*, and the scenes represented on them correspond to each other very closely. On both we have triangular pieces in the upper corners and three rows with figures, separated by semi-circular rails, or *Vedikās*, with flowers, each row of figures ending with an

<sup>18</sup> Compare also *ibidem*, plates xxiv, 2; xxv, 1; xxvi, 1; xxvii, 1, where Suparṇas are represented as worshipping the Bodhi tree.

<sup>19</sup> See Fleet, *Corpus. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. III, plate xxxvii, and Dr. Hearnle's new Gupta Seal in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. LVIII, Pt. I, p. 85ff.

<sup>21</sup> Fergusson, *op. cit.*, Plate xxxiv, Fig. 1, etc.

open-mouthed *Makara*, which—in five cases—a man teases by taking hold of its tongue and upper jaw. The *Makara*, filling the corner of a row of figures, is common also on all Buddhist monuments.<sup>22</sup> In the cornerpiece on the obverse (*A*) the chief group is placed on the left side and consists of a male with a peaked ornament on his head (a crest-jewel?), holding a garland and four females in the attitude of worship; just below them appears a portion of an empty covered carriage. Further to the right stand five other smaller males (?), four in the attitude of worship, and carrying a large tray with offerings, the nature of which is not distinguishable. The extreme left is filled by five vessels of various shapes and sizes, from one of which rise the leaves of a plant. In the corresponding portion of the reverse (*B*) there is again in the back-ground a group consisting of one male with the peaked head-ornament and three or four females, one of whom holds a garland, further in front also a servant with offerings and a small male figure in the attitude of worship. Below the group appears likewise a portion of a carriage. The place, which on the other side is occupied by jars, is here filled up by a Stûpa and by two platforms of stone (*pîṭhikā*), which in the centre seem to have borne representations of sacred marks (*Pādukās*?), and at the upper ends are decorated, each with two lotuses. Two of the semi-circular rows of figures on the obverse, the first and the third, contain each two covered carts (*shighram*) very similar to that on plate *II*, *C*., which are apparently each occupied by several passengers and attended by servants. In front of the cart in the first row walk three dancing girls, who may be easily recognised by the manner in which they expose their persons. It is possible, but not certain, that two of them support with their left hands trays or dishes with offerings. In the third row we have in the place of the dancing girls portions of a clothed male figure seated on a throne and attended by a female fan-bearer. The second row of the obverse shows running male figures with flying upper garments, holding bunches of flowers (lotuses?) in their hands.

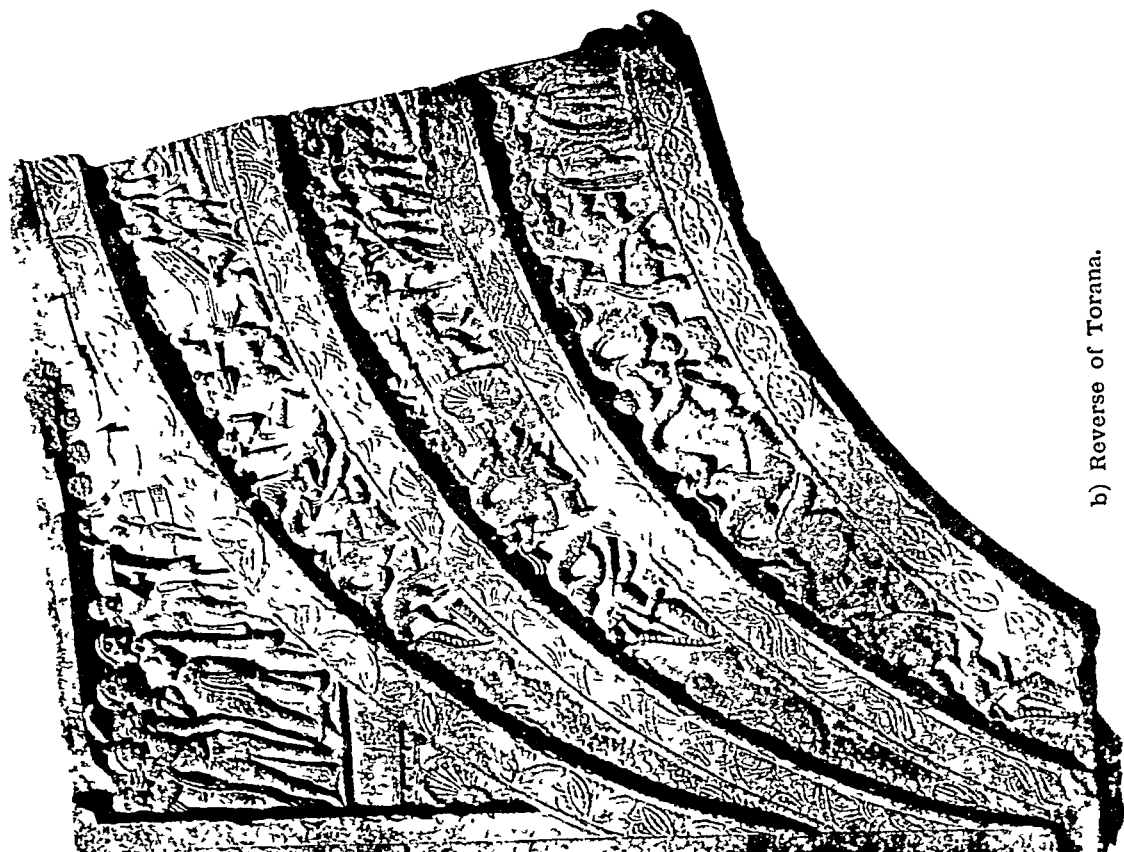
On the reverse only the second, or central, row contains the representation of an uncovered bullock or horse-cart, preceded by dancing girls. Behind this cart comes a male figure riding on a marine monster, and in front there is a mutilated male figure on a throne. The riders on sea-lions and *Makaras* reappear in the two other rows. In the first there is also a mutilated male figure on a throne, attended by a female fan-bearer, at whose dress a *Hamsa* nibbles. The back-ground behind the *Hamsa* is occupied by a monument, possibly a temple, enclosed by a wall. In the third row two male figures with upturned faces and uplifted hands are visible in front of the riders, as well as a piece of the garment of a third.

The general character of the scenes represented is, of course, not doubtful. They refer to the worship of one or several Jaina sanctuaries and to processions or pilgrimages undertaken for this purpose. Many of the details must be likewise familiar to every student of Indian archæology, and they agree in part at least with the descriptions of such scenes occurring in Jaina works. The jars of various shapes, even those with plants, appear frequently on the Buddhist Stûpas, and the Jaina descriptions of the pilgrimage of the deity Suriyâbha to the *Ambasâlavana* Chaitya mention them

<sup>22</sup> On the *Amarâvatî Stûpa*, Burgess, *Arch. Rep. South India*, vol. I, plate xxviii, 6, there is a similar scene in which a female takes hold of a *Makara*'s tongue.



a) Obverse of Torana.



b) Reverse of Torana.



MATHURA JAINA SCULPTURES.



distinctly as requisites of worship.<sup>22</sup> Again, the stone platforms, with lotuses and other sacred marks, occur on the Bharhut sculptures.<sup>24</sup> Nor are the riders on monsters and the running figures with flying garments unknown on the Buddhist Stūpas,<sup>25</sup> where the latter are easily recognisable as Vidyādhara, moving through the air. Similarly, the dancing girls, who, even in modern times, are engaged to perform in honour of the Tirthamkaras, are frequently represented on the Buddhist monuments as exhibiting their art at festivals. But other points, like the introduction of the half visible clothed males, seated on thrones, and the representations of carts along with the riders on marine monsters and Vidyādhara, are puzzling, and it is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to lay his scene in heaven or on earth, and whether all the figures on each of the two sides of the Torana must be taken as a whole or if each row represents a scene complete in itself. The most probable view is perhaps that the artist did not intend to give two compositions only, based on particular texts or illustrating particular legends, but merely wished to show how gods and men are eager to pay homage to the Tirthamkaras, to their Stūpas and temples.

Plate IV reproduces the mutilated slab, which bears No. XXI of my second Series of Mathurā inscriptions:<sup>26</sup>—

"The year 79, fourth month of the rainy season, day 20,—on that (*date, specified as above*, Aya-Vṛdhahasti, a preacher in the Koṭṭiya gaṇa and the Vairā śākhā gave the advice to make an image of the Arhat Nandiāvarta (*Ara*) . . . . . the image, the gift of the female lay disciple Dinā (*Dattā*), wife of . . . . . was set up at the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods."

The central piece on the slab is a *Dharmachakra* supported by a *Triśūla*, which itself rests on a lotus.

It belongs to the class of the *Chakras*, made conventionally and with a great number of spokes, which are not uncommon on the Amarāvati Stūpa (see Burgess, *op. cit.*, plates xxvi, 6, xxxiii, 2), and may be a later development of the carefully done wheels.

It differs from those on the Buddhist and other Jaina sculptures by the two ear-like projections at the top, as well as by the addition of two *Śaṅkhas*,<sup>27</sup> which lean against the basis. On the right of the *Dharmachakra* there is the mutilated figure of a naked ascetic, who, as usual, has a piece of cloth hanging over his right arm. This is probably the Arhat mentioned in the inscription. To the left of the *Chakra* stand four clothed females, wearing the usual ornaments of married women and holding garlands in their hands with which they evidently intend to worship the sacred symbol. The faces of these females look like portraits. Three of them seem to be matrons of mature years; the fourth is smaller and apparently much younger. The last two are half hidden by the figure of a large crouching lion, facing the left.

The most noticeable point is the *Dharmachakra*, which, as the Mathurā sculptures prove, was used and worshipped as much by the Jainas as by the Bauddhas. The fact is not very astonishing, as the wheel is the emblem of rule and government with all

<sup>22</sup> See Professor E. Leumann's translations from the *Rāyapateṇijja Sutta*, *Acte du Vième Cong. Int. Orientalistes*, tome III, 2, p. 590 and *passim*.

<sup>24</sup> See Cunningham, *Bharhut*, plates xxi, 2-4, xxx, 3, etc.

<sup>25</sup> *Arch. Reports South India*, vol. I, plates xxxiii, 2, xxxiv, 1, xxxvi, 2, and *Cave Temples*, plate<sup>1</sup>, Fig. 1-2.

<sup>26</sup> *Ante*, vol. II, pp. 195f.

<sup>27</sup> The *Śaṅkhas* have probably been added *maṅgalārtham*.

Hindus, and the Sanskrit *Koshas* give *rāshṭra* as one of the meanings of *chakra*. The epithet *apratihatachakra*, 'he whose wheel, *i.e.*, rule, is unopposed,' is commonly given to kings in the inscriptions, and there are hundreds of passages in epic and classical poetry in which the *chakra* of kings is mentioned. Nor are the compound *dharmachakra*, 'the rule of the sacred law,' and the familiar phrase *dharmachakram pravartayati*, 'he sets in motion the wheel of the law,' *i.e.*, 'he causes the rule of the law to spread,' wanting in Brahmanical literature. The larger St. Petersburg Dictionary quotes several passages from the *Mahābhārata* where they occur. It is said of Bhīshma, *Mah. I.*, 109, 14 :—

भीष्मेण विहितं राट्टे धर्मचक्रमवर्तत ।

"The rule of the law continued, which Bhīshma had established in the kingdom;" and *Mah. XII.*, 356, 2 :—

यच्च पूर्वामिसर्गे वै धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितम् ।

नैमिषे गोमतीतीरे तच्च नागाह्वयं पुरम् ॥

"A town, called Nāga, lies on the bank of the Gomatī in the Naimisha forest, where in a former creation the rule of the law was caused to spread."

Considering that the metaphorical meaning of *chakra* is very common with the Brahmanical poets and easily intelligible as an outgrowth of the idea that the unopposed progress of a king's chariot shows the wide extent of his power, it may be safely assumed that the application of the expression to the triumphant progress of the sacred law is likewise of Brahmanical origin, as the passages from the *Mahābhārata* indicate. And it naturally follows that the Jainas and Buddhists, who both worship the *Dharma-chakra* as the emblem of the rule of their respective creeds, borrowed it from the Brahmans, and that the commonly prevalent idea is erroneous, according to which the *Dharmachakra* is a distinctive mark of the Buddhists and their particular invention.

These new sculptures from the Kankālī Tīla teach the same lesson as Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Mathurā slab published in the *Transactions of the Leyden Congress*, and prove that the ancient art of the Jainas did not differ materially from that of the Buddhists. Both sects used the same ornaments, the same artistic *motives* and the same sacred symbols, differences occurring chiefly in minor points only. The cause of this agreement is in all probability, not that the adherents of one sect imitated those of the other, but that both drew on the national art of India and employed the same artists. Full proof of this assumption, which modifies the statements in some standard works on Indian archaeology regarding the development of ancient Indian art, can only be obtained by the excavation of really old Brahmanical temples. And it is to this task that the Archaeological Survey in India ought to direct its attention, as a thorough exploration even of a few Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, which date from the second or first century before our era, will do more for our knowledge of the history of the Indian religions than the excavation of a hundred Stūpas or Vihāras.

But even at present various pieces of collateral evidence are available which support the view that all the several Indian sectarians took their sacred symbols and the ornaments of their temples from one common storehouse. Chief among these is the now generally acknowledged fact that the Brahmanists, the Jainas and the Buddhists, all and at the same time, contributed to the development of the cave temple architecture

which formerly was considered to be a speciality of the Buddhists. It is now conceded that the oldest known caves at Barâbar and Nâgârjunî belonged to the Vaishnava Âjîvikas, and those near Katak to the Jaina worshippers of the Arhats. The undoubtedly Buddhist Lenas date from somewhat later times. It is, therefore, not in the least doubtful that all the old Indian sects used rock-excavations for sheltering their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and sometimes also their idols, and it is highly probable that this usage goes back to times antecedent to the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. In the face of such facts one can only say that it would be surprising if the worship of Stûpas, of sacred trees, of the Wheel of the Law, and so forth, more or less distinct traces of which are found with all sects, as well as their representation in sculptures, were due to one sect alone instead of being heirlooms handed down from remote times before the beginning of the historical period of India.

## XXV.—THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The subjoined ten inscriptions, which were discovered by Mr. A. Rea in the Bhattiprolu Stûpa, are published here in full according to impressions, and in the case of No. X, also according to a photograph furnished to the editor by Mr. Rea.<sup>1</sup>

Nos. I—IX are incised on three relic caskets, partly on the circular tops and partly on the rims of the lower stones. Their preservation is good except in parts of No. III and in No. IV, which latter is effaced. No. X is scratched on a small hexagonal piece of crystal and difficult to read on account of the shallowness of the strokes. The great interest and value of the first nine documents lie in their characters, which mostly resemble those of Âsoka's inscriptions, but show also peculiarities met with nowhere else. The details are as follows :—

(1) Twenty-three letters, *viz.*, the initial vowels *ā, â, u, o* and the consonants, *k, kh, chh, ñ, t, th, n, p, ph, b, y, r, v, s* and *h* agree exactly with those of the Southern Maurya alphabet.

(2) The letter *g* has both the usual angular Maurya form and that with the rounded top, which occurs occasionally in Âsoka's Edicts, *e.g.*, in *matesu* Pillar Edicts, VII. 2, 2, and is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The first palatal, *ch*, has a tail caused by a prolongation of the vertical. The third lingual, *ç*, shows slanting strokes instead of straight ones, which peculiarity is also repeatedly observable in the word *pāsāṇḍa* (Kâlsî version of the Rock Edict XII., 1, ll. 33—34) and in *ambîvâdikâ*, Allahabad, Queen's Edict, l. 3. The dental media, *d*, exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round like the Andhra *da* and that of the modern Devanâgarî. The same remarks apply to the fourth labial, *bh*.

(3) Five letters are entirely abnormal, *viz.* :—

(a) *gh*, which is expressed by the sign for *g* with a curve to the right denoting the aspiration (compare the Maurya *chha*, *çha* and *pha*, which have been formed in a

<sup>1</sup> See the plates. Preliminary notices, treating chiefly of the palæographic peculiarities of the first nine, have been printed in the *Academy*, 1892, p. 521, and in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. VI. p. 148.

similar manner out of the signs for *cha*, *ḍa* and *pa*). It occurs in the names *Vaghavā*, i.e., *Vyāghrapād* (II. 2), *Satugho*, i.e., *Śatrughna* (II. 8), *Chaghaña*, i.e., *Jaghanya* (VII), *Chagho*, i.e., *Chāṅga* (? VIII. 2), *Akhagho*, i.e., *Akshaghna* or *Ṛikshaghna* (VIII. 5).

(b) *j* has the angular form, which is rare in Aśoka's inscriptions, (but see, e.g., *rājā*, Girnār Rock Edict, IX. 1) and the usual one in later documents, *minus* the central horizontal bar. It occurs repeatedly (e.g., I, A, B) in the word *majusa* or *majūsa*, i.e., *mañjūśā*.

(c) *m* is turned topsy-turvy. It is found in the last-mentioned word and frequently in well-known names like *Samana* (III. 5), i.e., *Śramaṇa*, *Māho* (VIII. 5), i.e., *Māgha*, etc.

(d) *l* shows instead of the short horizontal bar on the left a long slanting line attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It occurs only in names, e.g., *Pigalako* (III. 9), i.e., *Piṅgalaka*, *Oḍalo* (III. 11), i.e., *Oḍāla* or *Audāra*, *Gilāṇo* (VII. 13), i.e., *Glāna*, *Gosālakānaṃ* (III. 16), i.e., *Gośālakānām*, and so forth.

(e) The lingual sibilant looks almost exactly like the *kra* of the later inscriptions, and seems to be developed from the *sha* of the Kālsī version of the Rock Edicts by turning the latter sign completely round and converting its upper curve into a crossbar. It occurs regularly for *sa* in the termination of the genitive of vowel-stems, e.g., *Kurasha* (I, A, B.), in the genitive plural *teshaṃ* (VI), i.e., *teshām*, in the word *shamuga* (I, A), i.e., *samudga* and in many proper names.

(4) There is further the lingual *ḷ*, which does not occur in Aśoka's Edicts. It looks like a *pa* with a short horizontal bar, attached to the right of the vertical stroke; it is more archaic than the corresponding Andhra letter and very similar to the *ḷa* of a Sanchī inscription. It occurs in the word *phāḷiga*<sup>o</sup> (I, A.), i.e., *sphātika* and in various proper names.

(5) The notation of the medial and final vowels shows two very remarkable peculiarities:—

(a) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant, which denotes long *ā* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvāra follows. The latter limitation is probably due to the circumstance that the Anusvāra was considered equivalent to *aṃ*, in which form it is invariably given in the native lists of *mātrikās*, or the alphabets.

(b) The long *ā* is usually marked by a horizontal stroke and a vertical hanging down from its end. In *negamā*, VIII, 1, a cursive form, consisting of a long notched horizontal stroke, appears instead.

(6) In other respects the notation of the medial vowels mainly agrees with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The diphthong *o* is however more commonly expressed by a bar projecting to the right and to the left of the consonant than by two separate strokes. The former *o*, though rare in the Edicts, does occur occasionally, see, e.g., *nigohāni*, Pillar Edict, VII, 2, 2. Finally, in the syllables *ṇi* and *ṇī* the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke of *ṇ*, according to the analogy of *ṇa* and *ṇā*.

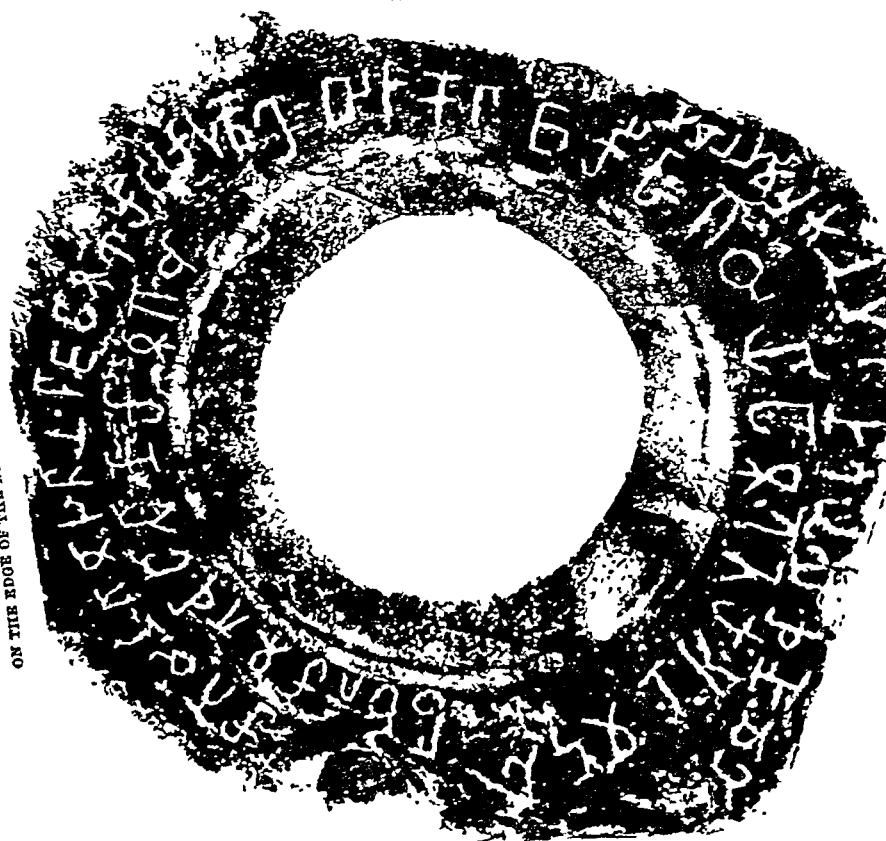
(7) The initial vowels *i*, *ī*, *u*, *e* and the consonants *jh* and *ḍh* do not occur, and there are at least no certain traces of the palatal sibilant *ś*, though there is a sign somewhat like it in a difficult name towards the end of III, 10.

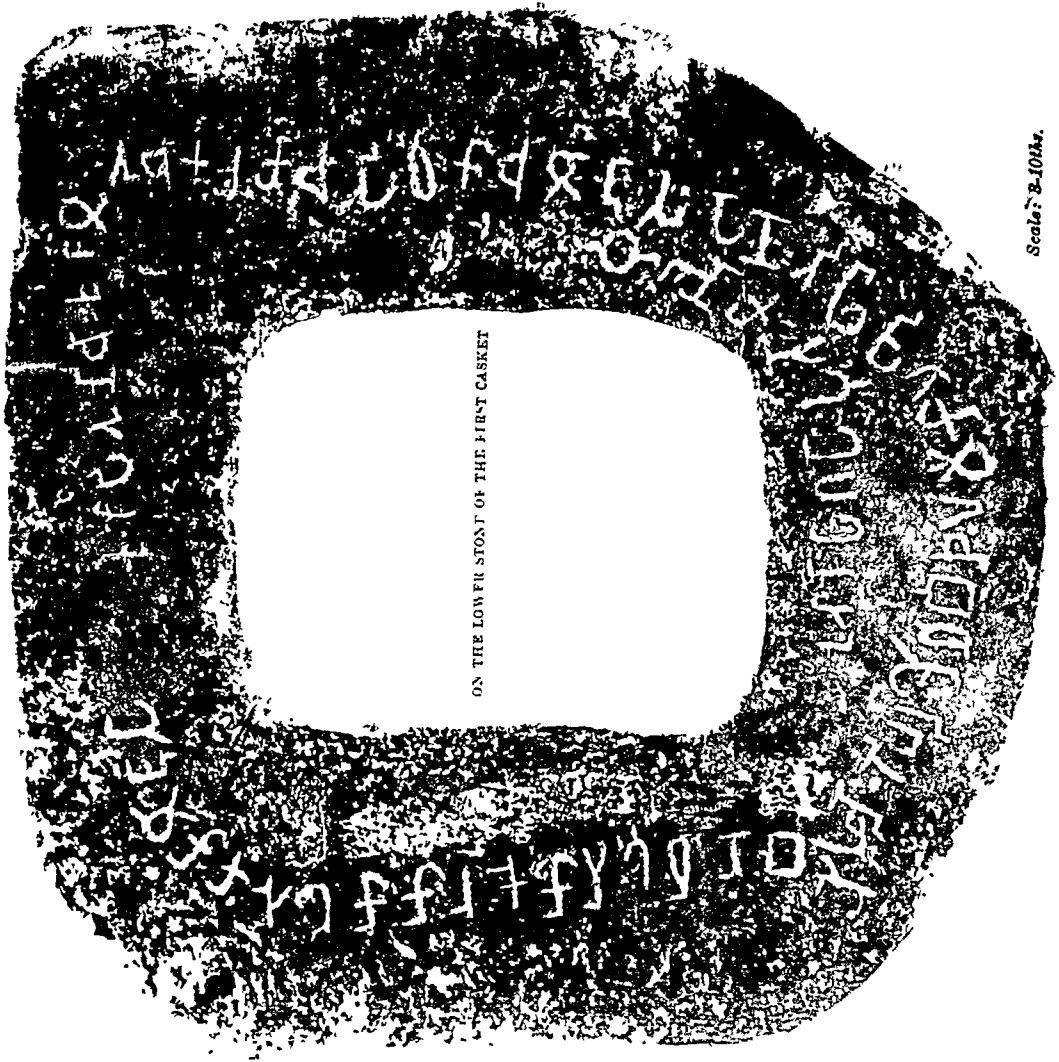
BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LID OF THE SECOND CASKET.



ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX OF THE SECOND CASKET.





Scale: 8-1000x.

ON THE CRYSTAL.

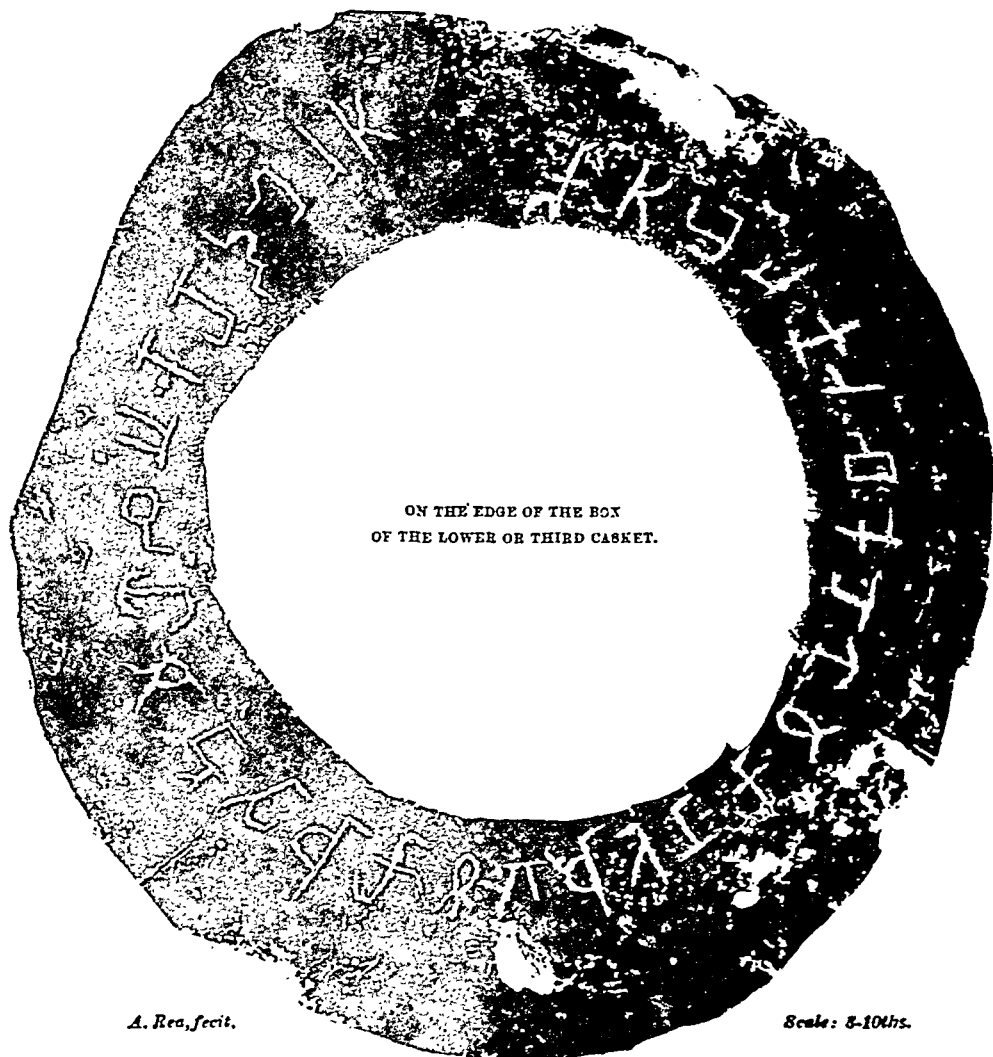
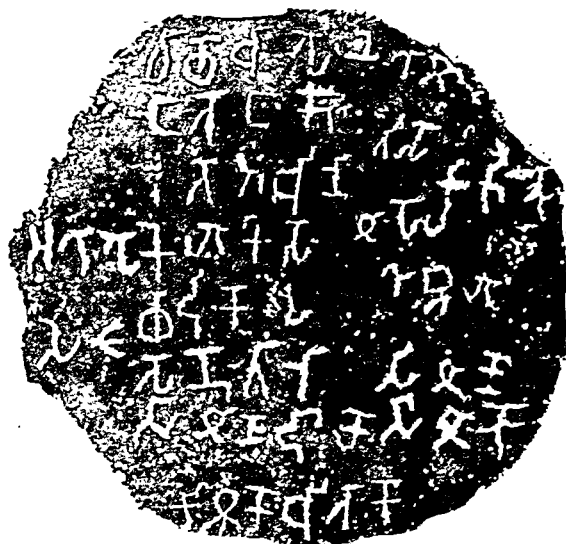
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय  
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Full size.

A. Rao, fecit.

# BHATTIPROLU CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE LID OF THE THIRD CASKET.



ON THE EDGE OF THE BOX  
OF THE LOWER OR THIRD CASKET.



ALPHABET OF THE BHATTIPROLU INSCRIPTIONS

𐤠 𐤡 𐤢 𐤣      𐤤 𐤥      𐤦 𐤧      𐤨  
 𐤩 𐤪 𐤫 𐤬 𐤭 𐤮 𐤯 𐤰 𐤱 𐤲 𐤳 𐤴 𐤵      𐤶 𐤷  
 𐤸 𐤹 𐤺 𐤻 𐤼      𐤽 𐤾 𐤿 𐥀 𐥁      𐥂 𐥃 𐥄      𐥅 𐥆 𐥇  
 𐥈 𐥉 𐥊      𐥋 𐥌 𐥍 𐥎      𐥏 𐥐      𐥑 𐥒  
                  𐥓      𐥔 𐥕      𐥖 𐥗      𐥘 𐥙  
                                  𐥚 𐥛 𐥜 𐥝      𐥞 𐥟  
 𐥠 𐥡 𐥢 𐥣 𐥤 𐥥 𐥦 𐥧      𐥨 𐥩      𐥪  
 𐥫 𐥬      𐥭 𐥮 𐥯      𐥰 𐥱 𐥲 𐥳 𐥴 𐥵 𐥶 𐥷 𐥸  
 𐥹 𐥺 𐥻 𐥼 𐥽 𐥾 𐥿      𐦀 𐦁      𐦂 𐦃      𐦄  
 𐦅      𐦆 𐦇 𐦈      𐦉 𐦊      𐦋 𐦌 𐦍 𐦎 𐦏 𐦐 𐦑 𐦒 𐦓 𐦔  
 𐦕 𐦖      𐦗      𐦘 𐦙 𐦚 𐦛 𐦜 𐦝 𐦞 𐦟 𐦠 𐦡  
 𐦢 𐦣      𐦤      𐦥 𐦦 𐦧 𐦨 𐦩 𐦪 𐦫 𐦬 𐦭 𐦮  
 𐦯 𐦰 𐦱 𐦲 𐦳      𐦴 𐦵 𐦶 𐦷 𐦸 𐦹 𐦺 𐦻 𐦼 𐦽

ON THE CRYSTAL { 𐦿 𐧀 𐧁    𐧂 𐧃 𐧄 𐧅 𐧆 𐧇 𐧈 𐧉 𐧊 𐧋 𐧌 𐧍 𐧎  
 { 𐧏 𐧐 𐧑    𐧒 𐧓 𐧔 𐧕 𐧖 𐧗 𐧘 𐧙 𐧚 𐧛 𐧜 𐧝

The inscription, No. X, which is incised on the piece of crystal, shares only two of the peculiarities, just described. Its *cha* (l. 2) has a tail and its *da* in °*deśānam* (l. 3) and in *dānam* (l. 6) opens towards the left. In other respects its letters, as well as its vowel notation, fully agree with those of Aśoka's Edicts. It may be noted that it twice offers in *Śamaṇudeśānam* (l. 2) with the palatal sibilant exactly in the places where it would stand in Sanskrit. This agreement of its characters with those of the Maurya inscriptions leads to the supposition that it belongs to the same time as the latter.

But the first nine inscriptions are also probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. They unfortunately contain no historical statements which might be used to absolutely prove the correctness of this estimate. They mention, it is true, the names of a king *Kubirako* or *Khubirako*, i.e., *Kuberaka*, of various families, of *gothās* or committees and Buddhist saints. But none of them is traceable in any other historical source. Under these circumstances, all that remains is to fall back on arguments deduced from a comparison of other datable inscriptions, which, of course, may be deceptive. If one does this and places on the one side the alphabet of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nānāghāt, Hathigumphā and Bharhut-Toraṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhattiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, may mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., but may be somewhat earlier.

If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the 3rd century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed; for they contain a system which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a longer history. The importance of this result lies therein, that it removes one of the arguments of those scholars who believe the introduction of writing to have happened during the rule of the Maurya dynasty. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions, incised at places which lie at distances from each other of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation, and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pāṭaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces and to induce them to imitate as much as possible the shape of the letters used at head-quarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhattiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing, which in some respects is radically different and which may be reasonably supposed to have arisen in Aśoka's times or even earlier, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for many centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pāṭaliputra.

This is, as far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the history of the Southern Maurya characters and regarding the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among them which, I think, may be considered for

good reasons as more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Northern *m* that I should not wonder if the two little strokes below the circle had really stood originally below the circle or semicircle and the letter had been turned topsy-turvy only later. Further, it is possible that the *gh* of the Bhāṭṭiprolu alphabet, which, as stated already, has been formed by the extension of a principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *ḍha* and *pha*, proves the Semitic prototype of the Southern Maurya characters to have been destitute of a sign for the guttural *media aspirata*. Though the common Southern *gha* looks like an independent character, it may have been formed out of a *ga* with a round top by the addition of a curve to the upper right corner and by then turning the whole letter round. If this view is correct, the Bhāṭṭiprolu *gh* probably dates from very ancient times and is quite as old as the sign of Aśoka's Edicts. On the other hand, two other letters, the *j* with two bars and the lingual sibilant *śh* are in all probability younger than the corresponding Maurya characters. With respect to *śh* this is self-evident. As regards the *j*, the central bar probably has to be regarded as an essential part of the letter on account of the shape of *jha*, which has been fashioned out of a *ja*, consisting of a vertical and a short horizontal stroke by the addition of a small upward stroke on the right. Nor is it possible to assume that the more elaborate system of vowel-notation in the Bhāṭṭiprolu inscriptions is more ancient than the simpler one, found in all other Indian alphabets; for the Semitic original of the Southern alphabet in all probability had no vowel-marks. Hence, a system of notation, requiring eight instead of seven signs for the purpose must be regarded *a priori* as the later one. With respect to the remaining anomalies, I am not able to say anything definite. But I would point out that, with the exception of the position of the letter *da*, not one of the peculiarities of the Bhāṭṭiprolu alphabet has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets.

The language of the Bhāṭṭiprolu inscriptions is of the type of the Pali, from which it differs only by the occurrence of the lingual sibilant in Nos. I—IX, and of the palatal one in No. X. Though the two signs differ, I believe that the sound for which they served was the same. There is, as far as I am aware, neither any modern nor ancient Prakrit dialect, which has or had more than two sibilants, the dental one and that which comes near to, but is a little thicker than, the Sanskrit palatal *śa*.

With regard to the contents of the inscriptions, I may confine myself to the remark that two of the caskets are said (see Nos. I and V) to be intended for relics of Buddha. This point, I think, speaks too in favour of the antiquity of the inscriptions.

#### TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

##### I.<sup>2</sup>

(A.) Kurapituno cha Kuramā[t]u cha Kurasha Siva[sha]<sup>3</sup> majusaṃ-panatī phāligashamugaṃ<sup>4</sup> cha Budhasarirāṇaṃ nikhetu [II].

(B.) Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [II].

<sup>2</sup> Nos. I and II are incised on the rim of the lower stone of the first casket.

<sup>3</sup> Looks like *Sivaka* as the lower curve of the *sha* has not been formed properly.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly *phāliḡaṃ sṃamugaṃ*.

## TRANSLATION.

“By the father of Kura, the mother of Kura, Kura (*himself*) and Siva (*Siva*), (*has been ordered*) the preparation of a casket and (*has been given*) a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*)”

“By Kura, the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*), the casket.

## II.

Utarō Pigahaputo kânītho<sup>6</sup> [॥]

## TRANSLATION.

“Utarā (*Uttara*), the youngest son of Pigaha (*Pigraha*)”.

## III.

- |    |    |                |                       |
|----|----|----------------|-----------------------|
| L. | 1  | Goṭhi          |                       |
|    | 2  | Hirañavaghavā  |                       |
|    | 3  | V[u]gāḷako     | K[ā]ḷaho              |
|    | 4  | Visako         | Thorasisi             |
|    | 5  | Samāṇo         | Odalo                 |
|    | 6  | Apaka          | . Shamudo             |
|    | 7  | Anuga[h]o      | Kuro                  |
|    | 8  | Satugho        | Potako [P]oto Āḷinakā |
|    | 9  | V[a]ruṇo       | Piga[la]ko Koshako    |
|    | 10 | Suto Pāpo      | Kabherakh[o] [Gāḷo]ko |
|    | 11 | Samāṇa[d]āsho  | Bharado               |
|    | 12 | Oḍalo          | Thoratiso Tiso        |
|    | 13 | Gilāṇo         | Jambho                |
|    | 14 | Puḍara (?)     | [B]ūbo                |
|    | 15 | Gālavata . . . | (?) Janako            |
|    | 16 | Gosālakānam    | Kūro                  |
|    | 17 | Uposhathaputo  | Utarō                 |
|    | 18 | Kārahaputo [॥] |                       |

## TRANSLATION.

“The Committee (*consists of*) :—

Hirañavaghavā (*Hiranyavyāghrapād*) Vugāḷaka (*Udgāraka*), Kāḷaha, Visaka (*Viśvaka*), Thorasisi (*Sthaulaśīrshi*), Samāṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Odala, Apaka, Shamuda (*Samudra*), Anugaha (*Anugraha*), Kura, Satugha (*Śatrughna*), Potaka, Pota, Āḷinaka (*Ālinaka* ?), Varuṇa, Pigalaka (*Piṅgalaka*), Koshaka (*Kauśika* ?), Suta, Pāpa, (Kabherakha ?) (*Kuberaka* ?), Gāleka (?), Samāṇa[d]āsha (*Śramaṇadāsa*), Bharada (Bharata) (L. 12), Oḍala (*Audāra* ?) Thoratisa (*Sthaulatishya*), Tisa (*Tishya*), Gilāṇa (*Glāna*), Jambha, . . . . Būba . . . . Janaka, of the Gosālakas (*Gosālaka*), Kūra, the son of Uposhatha, (*Uposatha*), Utarā (*Uttara*), the son of Kāraha.

<sup>6</sup> The genitive *sarīrānam* has to be taken as *genitivus partitivus*.

<sup>7</sup> This seems to be meant for *lanītho*.

<sup>8</sup> For the change of *va* to *pa*, compare words like Pali *pejāpati*, Sanskrit *prajāpati* and the inscriptional *bhagapato* for *bhagavato*, *pijite* for *vijite*, and the like. Probably Uttara was the stone-cutter who made the casket.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. III-V are incised on the top stone of the second casket, and No. III in a central disc, lines 1-11 running lengthwise, lines 12-13 breadthwise on the left, and lines 14-18 breadthwise on the right.

IV.<sup>9</sup>

Sama[ṇadā]sha[to hita] . a . . Budhasha sarirāṇi mahiyānukammā . . . .

*Remark.*

Nothing can be said regarding the contents of this inscription, except that it mentions relics of Buddha.

V.<sup>10</sup>

- L. 1 Goṭṭhisamaṇo Kubo [I]  
 2 Hiraṇakāragāmaṇiputo Bābo [II]

## TRANSLATION.

“Kuba (*Kumbha*), the ascetic of the Committee (?)”

“Bāba, the son of the village-headman Hiraṇakāra (*Hiranyakāra*).”

VI.<sup>11</sup>

Shaga[ṭh]inigamaṇaputānaṃ rājapāmukhā<sup>12</sup>[I] Sha . i[sha] puto Khubirako rājā  
 Shihagoṭṭhiyā pāmukho [I] tesham aṇṇaṃ maḥ [ū-]s[am] phāligashamugo cha  
 pāsānashamugo cha [II].

## TRANSLATION.

“By the sons of the Shāgaṭṭhi *nigama* (*guild or town*), chief among whom is the king—king Khubirāka (*Kuberaka*), the son of Sha.-i, is the chief of the Shīha (*Simha*) Committee—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone.”

VII.<sup>13</sup>

Samaṇo Chagha[ṇa]puto Utaro Āraṇutara . . [II]

## TRANSLATION.

“Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), the son of Chaghaṇa (? *Jagbanya* ?). Utara (*Uttara*) .

. . . .

VIII<sup>14</sup>

- L. 1 Negamā  
 2 Vachho Chagho  
 3 Jeto Jambho Tiso  
 4 Reto Achino Shabhiko  
 5 Akhagho Kelo Keso Māho  
 6 Seṭo Chhadiko Okhabūlo  
 7 Soṇutaro Samaṇo  
 8 Samanadāsho Sāmako  
 9 Kāmuko Chītako [II]

<sup>9</sup> Incised on the rim to the left and below the inscription on the central disc.

<sup>10</sup> Incised on the outer rim, to the right of the inscription on the central disc. Possibly *Kābo* is so to be read.

<sup>11</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket.

<sup>12</sup> Read *pāmukhānaṃ*.

<sup>13</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the second casket, outside the No. VI, the letters being turned the other way.

<sup>14</sup> Incised on the upper stone of the third casket.

## TRANSLATION.

“The members of the guild (*are*):—

Vachha (*Vatsa*), Chagha (Chāṅga ?), Jeta (*Jayanta*), Jambha, Tisa (*Tishya*), Reta (*Raivata*) Achina (*Achīrṇa* ?), Shabhika (*Sabhika*), Akhagha (*Akshaghna*), Kela, Kesa (*Keśa*), Māha (*Māgha*), Setā (*Śvaitra* ?), Chhadika (Chhandika ?), Okhabūla, Soṇutara (*Suvarṇottara*), Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*), Samaṇadāsha (*Śramaṇadāsa*), Sāmaka (*Śyāmaka*), Kāmuka, Chītaka (*Chitraka*).

IX.<sup>15</sup>

Arahadinānam goṭhiyā majūsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [l] tena kama yena Kubirako rājā am[k]i [n]

## TRANSLATION.

“By the Committee of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta*, was given) a casket and a box. The work (*is*) by him, by whom King Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the carving to be done.”

X.<sup>16</sup>

- L. 1 Mātugāmasa [Nam]dapurāhi<sup>17</sup>  
 2 Suvaṇamāhā  
 3 Śamaṇudeśānam cha<sup>18</sup>  
 4 Gilāṇakerasa<sup>19</sup> ayasaka  
 5 [Sa]ṭhiya<sup>20</sup>  
 6 gohiyā a-ga dānam<sup>21</sup> [n]

## TRANSLATION.

“An *A-ga*,—gift by the women from Nandapura (?) and by the Śrāmaneras from Suvaṇamāha, in the *Ayasakaṣṭhi gohi* of *Gilāṇakera* (?).”

The arrangement of the lines of this inscription seems to be fixed, first by the *cha* after *Śamaṇudeśānam* and secondly by *dānam*. The latter word in all probability concludes the inscription and the former shows, that line 3 is preceded by something else. Nevertheless the exact meaning remains obscure, as the word immediately preceding *dānam* is mutilated and those from *gilāṇakerasa* down to *gohiyā*, though plain enough, are for me at least, inexplicable with any certainty.

<sup>15</sup> Incised on the rim of the lower stone of the third casket.

<sup>16</sup> Incised on the sides of a hexagonal piece of crystal, found inside one of the boxes.

<sup>17</sup> The first syllable is abnormal and the reading uncertain. The last syllable is visible only on the tracings, not on the photograph.

<sup>18</sup> The *cha* has a tail, like in the other nine inscriptions.

<sup>19</sup> There is also a short stroke to the left of the top of *ra*, and it is possible to read *\*keresa*, which however would be perfectly inexplicable.

<sup>20</sup> The left limb of *sa* is abnormal.

<sup>21</sup> There is on the photograph a letter between *a* and *ga*, which I am not able to make out. Possibly the word may have been *dyāga*. The *da* of *dānam* opens to the right, just as in the other nine inscriptions.

## XXVI.—GOVINDPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE POET GANGADHARA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1059.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

About five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me a rubbing, received by him from Sir A. Cunningham in October 1883, of an inscription, described as being on a slab of stone in Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, in the Nawādā sub-division of the Gayā district of the Province of Bengal. And some time afterwards I received another rubbing of the same inscription from Dr. Burgess, to whom it had been made over by Mr. Beglar.<sup>1</sup> Both rubbings are very faint, and I know that, with a good impression, the wording of the text of this inscription which I now publish may be improved upon; but I feel confident that everything of importance has been made out correctly, and that a renewed examination of the original inscription will not add materially to what I now have to report regarding the contents of it.

The inscription contains thirty-five lines of writing which cover a space of about 1' 8½" broad by 1' 3½" high. At the upper proper left corner a small piece of the inscribed surface is broken away, causing the complete loss of altogether a dozen *aksharas* at the end of lines 1-6. Of the rest of the inscription nothing is actually lost, but, to judge from the rubbings, the proper right half of the writing, from about line 11 to 24, has suffered either from exposure to the weather or from careless treatment; and a few *aksharas* are more or less illegible on the left side. The size of the letters is between ⅙" and ⅞". The characters are the peculiar kind of Nāgarī which was used in parts of Eastern India during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., and the most characteristic feature of which is, that *r*, preceding another consonant, is written by a short line, sideways attached to the right side of the *akshara* of which *r* forms part, not by the ordinary superscript sign. Essentially the same alphabet is used, *e.g.*, in the Dinājpur plate of Mahipāla and in the Âmgāchhī plate of Vīgrahapāla III., and the closest possible resemblance to the writing of the present inscription is shown by the writing of the Cambridge palm-leaf MS. Add., 1693,<sup>2</sup> which was written in A.D. 1165, and by that of the Hodgson<sup>3</sup> palm-leaf MS. 1 of the Royal Asiatic Society, written in the fourth year of the reign of Govindapāla.<sup>4</sup> In the inscription here edited the sign for *r*, described above, is so small and so shallow that often it can hardly be recognized in the rubbings; and this, as well as the fact that the sign of *anusvāra* and the superscript strokes which turn *e* and *o* into *ai* and *au* are equally faint, and the close resemblance of the signs for *p* and *y*, *t* and *bh*, *m* and *s*,

<sup>1</sup> I saw at once that the inscription, of which these two rubbings had thus been sent to me, was of some value, but have long hesitated to attempt a full decipherment of the text, because the imperfect state of my rubbings suggested the advisability of waiting for a proper impression. To secure one, I applied in April 1892 to Mr. Grierson, and he again, having then left the Gayā District, kindly communicated my request to Mr. D. J. Macpherson, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Macpherson most readily at once sent two of his men to Narsingh Māli's house at Govindpur, but they were told there that two or three years ago a Sabib had come and examined the stone which contains the inscription, and that next day the same Sabib had returned on a camel, and taken the stone away. If this story is really true, I need hardly say that even now I should be grateful to the present owner of the stone for an impression.

<sup>2</sup> See Bendall's *Catalogue*, plate ii, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Cowell and Eggeling's *Catalogue* in the *Journal Royal As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. VIII, plate i, 2.

<sup>4</sup> For Govindapāla we have the date Vikrama 1232 = A.D. 1175; see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 358

*v* and *dh*, and of the subscript *u* and *r*, have caused me no slight difficulty. The inscription never employs the signs of the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya*, and the sign of the *avagraha* is used only once, in *Gaṅgādhara 'bhāt* in line 24.

The language of the inscription is Samskrit, and, with the exception of the introductory *om om namaḥ Sarasvatyai* and the date *Śāka 1059* at the end, the whole is in verse. The writer and engraver have done their work with great care, so that, in respect of orthography, my remarks may be brief. As was to be expected, the letter *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal in *Kasyapād*, line 6, and *prasrayaiḥ*, line 7; and the palatal instead of the dental in *śūribhir*, line 29. Instead of *anusvāra* we find the guttural nasal in the word *vanśa*, in lines 2 and 5 (but not in line 4), and the dental nasal in *avatansa*, line 4. Before *r*, *t* has been doubled in *mittra*, lines 7 and 24, *amittra*, line 21, *maittrī*, line 27, and *ātapattra*, line 31; and *bh* is similarly doubled in *avbhriyam* (for *abbhriyam*), line 30. As regards the rules of euphony, *t* is left unchanged before *ś* in *śrīmatśaṅkara*, line 17; and *m* before *y* and *v* in *samyattau*, line 18, *samvāsāya*, line 9, and *sarvasvam=vitātāra*, line 11; and the dental sibilant is wrongly employed instead of the lingual in *nisprabhārdham* (assuming this to be the right reading) in line 13, and *duskare* (for *dushkaro*) in line 30. Of words which according to von Böhtlingk's Dictionary have been hitherto found only in lexicographical works our inscription offers *girā* 'speech, song,' in line 5, *mahallaka* 'eunuch,' in line 10, and *ātman* in the sense of 'the sun,' in line 13. Besides we find *śivirī* for the neuter *śivira*, in line 9, and the word *rama* ('husband and wife') apparently employed in the sense of 'parents,' in line 19. To a few other points, having reference to the grammar and to the construction of some of the verses, attention will be drawn below.

The inscription is dated, in lines 34-35, both in words and in figures, in the Śāka year 1059, corresponding to A.D. 1137-38. It was engraved by the artisan Śūlapāṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharāṇa (verse 39). And its immediate object is, to record that a man named Gaṅgādhara, who has himself composed this poem, for the spiritual benefit of his parents, built a tank near which the inscription must have been put up (verses 34-38). But what is of more importance is, that the author has furnished a *praśasti*,<sup>5</sup> or eulogistic account, of himself and his family which enables us to fix the time of no less than six men who were known to us as poets from other sources, and some of whose verses have been preserved; and that he has given us the names of the rulers of Magadha, hitherto unknown, under whom he and some of his relatives lived and whose patronage they enjoyed. It may also be a matter of some interest to learn that the author's family belonged to the clan of the Māga or Śākadvīpiya Brāhmins.

Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of Viśvambhara (Vishṇu), the inscription, in verse 2, glorifies both Aruṇa (*i.e.* the dawn personified as the charioteer of the sun) 'whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śākadvīpa where the Brāhmins are named Magas,' and the Magas themselves who here, as elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> are said to have sprung from the sun's own body and to have been brought to India by

<sup>5</sup> According to verse 37 of the text Gaṅgādhara composed two *praśastis* which both must have been engraved and put up close to each other.

<sup>6</sup> See Professor Weber's most interesting essay on the *Magaryakti* of Kṛishṇadāsa.



Śâmba (the son of Kṛishṇa and Jâmbavati). According to our author the first of these Maga Brâhmins was Bhâradvâja (verse 3), whose family had a hundred branches (verse 4). In one of these was born, as a son of a certain Dâmodara, Chakrapâṇi, who, compared as he is to Vâlmiki, must have been considered a poet of some eminence (verse 5). He had two sons, Manoratha and Daśaratha (verse 7), who were induced to come to the court of the ruler of Magadha (verse 15), the prince Varṇamâna of the Mâna family (verse 10), where one of them was appointed to the office of *pratihâra*, while the other was made superintendent of the eunuchs (verse 11). Daśaratha again had two sons, Harihara and Purushottama (verse 22). Of Manoratha, to the praise of whose liberality,<sup>7</sup> piety, shrewdness, learning, etc., our author has devoted no less than six verses (12-17) and who is spoken of as a modern Kâlidâsa (verse 15), we learn that he married a daughter of Devaśarman, a counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaudî<sup>8</sup>] country (verse 18); and that she bore to him also two sons, Gaṅgâdhara, the author of the inscription, and Mahîdhara (verses 21-22). All these six men, Manoratha and Daśaratha and their four sons, are especially eulogized for their learning and proficiency in vedic studies (verse 23). The rest of the inscription treats of Gaṅgâdhara himself. Here it will be sufficient to say that he represents himself to have been a counsellor and friend of the Mâna prince, the king Rudramâna (verse 24); that he married Pâsaladevî, a daughter of Jayapâṇi, an official of the king of Gauḍa, and his wife Subhagâ (verse 29), and finally, that, according to his own account, he was the author of a poem entitled *Advaitaśata* and had shown his skill as a poet also in the composition of other poems (verse 33).

The princes of the Mâna family, mentioned in the above, have not, so far as I am aware, become known yet from other inscriptions, and it may therefore suffice here to state that Varṇamâna and Rudramâna must have ruled over Magadha (or part of it) towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

As regards Gaṅgâdhara and his relatives, the inscription tells us distinctly that, like Gaṅgâdhara himself, Chakrapâṇi and Manoratha were poets, and it may reasonably be assumed that some of the other members of the family, learned men as they were, also were in the habit of writing poetry. Now it happens that the *Saduktikarṇâmrîta*,<sup>9</sup> an anthology compiled by Śrîdharadâsa in A.D. 1205, contains verses of six poets bearing the same names as six of the Maga Brâhmins mentioned in this inscription, and, considering that these Brâhmins lived in Eastern India and that the *Saduktikarṇâmrîta* also was compiled there,<sup>10</sup> I have little doubt indeed as to the identity of the six poets mentioned by Śrîdharadâsa with Gaṅgâdhara, the author of this inscription, and five of his relatives, viz. his great-grandfather Dâmodara, his grandfather Chakrapâṇi, his father's brother Daśaratha, his own brother Mahîdhara, and his cousin Purushottama.

Of Gaṅgâdhara himself the *Saduktikarṇâmrîta* has two verses which were first published by Professor Aufrecht in *Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 511,

<sup>7</sup> See verse 12, according to which Manoratha on the occasion of a lunar eclipse went to the sacred place *Purushottama*, which was situated near the sea.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of this name is doubtful; see below.

<sup>9</sup> See Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra's *Notices*, vol. III, p. 134.

<sup>10</sup> Professor Aufrecht states the *Saduktikarṇâmrîta* to be an anthology, culled chiefly from Bengal poets. The compiler's father, Baṭudâsa, lived under Lakshmanasena.

and have afterwards been reprinted by Professor Peterson in his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvali*, Introduction, p. 32. Of Dāmodara the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* contains two verses,<sup>11</sup> of Chakrapāṇi four, of Daśaratha also four, and of Mahīdhara one verse. As regards Gaṅgādhara's cousin, the author of the anthology assigns six verses to Śrīmat-Purushottamadeva, one verse to Purushottamapādāḥ, and one to Purushottama and it seems probable that only the last is the Purushottama of our inscription. All these verses have been kindly copied out for me by Professor Aufrecht and will be published elsewhere. The inscription being dated in Śaka 1059, the six poets may be assumed to have composed their verses—

Dāmodara between about A.D. 1050 and 1075;

Chakrapāṇi between about A.D. 1075 and 1100;

Daśaratha between about A.D. 1100 and 1125;

Gaṅgādhara, Mahīdhara and Purushottama between about A.D. 1125 and 1150.

### TEXT.<sup>12</sup>

L. 1. ओं<sup>13</sup>[॥\*] ओं नमः सरस्वत्यै ॥

एकत्रोन्नतगात्रगौरवभरात् प्राप्ते तथा नम्रता-

मन्यत्र त्रियसुहृत्तिलपुं तुङ्गे भुजङ्गेश्वरे ।

वक्षःसन्मुखसम्भृतस्तनतटीसङ्गोपसर्पत्सुखं

निद्रा[णो] ७<sup>14</sup>

2. द[यां] दधातु दयितामाश्लिष्य विश्वम्भरः ॥<sup>15</sup>—[1].

देवो जीयात्तिलोकीमणिरयमरुणो यन्निवासेन पुण्यः

शक्राक्षीपक्ष दुग्धाब्जु(म्बु)निधिवलयितो यत्र विप्रे मगाख्या ।

वङ्गस्तत्र<sup>16</sup> द्विजानां भूमिलिखिततनोर्भा(वर्भा)स्त्रतः स्वाङ्ग — —<sup>17</sup>

3. शास्त्रो<sup>18</sup> यानानिनाय स्वयमिह महितास्ते जगत्यां जयन्ति ॥<sup>19</sup>—[2].

तेषां स प्रथमः समस्तनिगमज्ञानात्मविद्यापदं

वु(वु)द्ध्या व्यावृत्त एव नित्ययजनव्यापारपारीण्या ।

भारद्वाजमुनिर्व(र्व)भूव भुवनोद्धारामिपातौ<sup>20</sup> तपः

— —

1. यस्य सुखे मगद्विजमहावंशावतन्त्रोपमः<sup>21</sup> ॥<sup>22</sup>—[3].

गोत्रञ्च तस्य शतशाखमभूदभूतपूर्वैस्तपोभिरयः सुप्रसरैर्यशोभिः ।

यत्रापरे प[र]मतच्चविदो नवव्यविद्यावदात्मतयः पतयो द्विजानां ॥<sup>23</sup>—[4].

कालिना ७ ७ —

<sup>11</sup> The first words of these verses and of those mentioned below are: *Kailāsa re puṣupati*; *Silam śatayati*; *Tasyā nāma mayā*; *Yat kāmāṁ gaganadrūmasya*; *Ārūḍhāntarayauvanasya*; *Agre vitatya charanau*; *Āchchhidya Lakṣmīm*; *Iyam sū Kāḍindī*; *Naikam janma tavaiva*; *Vandiyosau vidhir eva*; *Līlottānaśayopi*; and *Kāntāreshu karāvalambi*.

<sup>12</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's pencil-rubbings.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>14</sup> The *akṣhara*, here broken away, was probably व.

<sup>15</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>16</sup> Read वंशस्तव.

<sup>17</sup> The *akṣharas*, here broken away, were probably सुकः.

<sup>18</sup> Read शास्त्री for सान्नी.

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>20</sup> This is what was originally engraved; but the vowel of the *akṣhara* सि is clearly struck out, and I believe the intended reading to be रावप्राप्ती.

<sup>21</sup> Read °तसीपमः.

<sup>22</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>23</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

L. 5.

विलुप्तविलसद्विद्याधने धन्विनां

वीराणां धुरि चक्रपाणिरभवद्दामोदरस्यात्मजः ।

यो वाल्मीकिरिवावतारितगिराधारः स विश्वस्थिति-

<sup>24</sup>व्यङ्ग्या ७ ७ - चतुर्मुख इव ख्यातो गुणियामणीः ॥<sup>25</sup>-[5].अतिस्थिरा पृथु . . . -<sup>26</sup>

6. क्लीर्त्तिर्गिरि[मास्य]दं ।

दिक्कक्रं यदि नारुढा तद्भ्रमत्यन्यथा कथं ॥<sup>27</sup>-[6].

जातौ वासवकेशवाविव सुतौ तस्मात्प्रसन्नामरी

मारीचादिव कस्य(श्च)पादुपचितां धर्तुं कुले सत्क्रियां ।

ज्यायांस्तत्र मनोरथो दशरथस्तस्यानुजन्मा [ययो]-

7. विद्या[चा]रशुचित्वशीलविलसत्कीर्त्त्या पवितं जगत् ॥<sup>28</sup>-[7]

मुख्यत्वेन सतां यशोभिरखिलोद्गीतैः स्वकर्णश्रुतैः

सन्निचोपगमेन तैरतिभूतैर्भोगैर्यत्नोप[गैः] ।

भ्रातोरत्र ययोर्नरेन्द्रनिहितैः सप्रेमभिः प्रस(श्च)यै-

8.

श्यामानि द्विषदाननानि विदधे शुभोप्यदभ्यो गुणः ॥ -[8].

तौ भ्रातरावतितरां सहजोदितेन प्रेम्णा परस्परमनोहरणाभिरासौ ।

सौहार्दहृदयचरितेषु ययोरधीरः कालोपि न स्खलितमाप कलिः कदाचित् ॥<sup>29</sup>-[9].

9. आनीतौ निजराज्यमुज्ज्वलयितुं यत्नात् प्रतीतात्मना

सम्वासाय<sup>30</sup>नरेश्वरेण शिविरी<sup>31</sup>श्रीवर्णमानेन तौ ।

तस्याज्ञामवलम्ब्य(स्व)तत्कुलमिदं ताभ्यामपि प्रापितं

काञ्चित् कोटिमनुत्तरां गुणभुवः कीर्त्तैर्विभूतेरपि ॥<sup>32</sup>-[10].

आ

10. सि[न्धोर्ग]णीनीयगौरवगुणैर्नैकेन [से]व्येनयो-

स्तस्मिन्मानपतेर्नहीयसि गृहे प्रापि प्रतीहारता ।

अन्येनापि पुनर्मह[ल्ल]कधुरा<sup>33</sup>व्यस्तेति<sup>34</sup>विस्तारिणा-

वेतौ सत्तनयैर्व्व(ब्ज)भूवतुरिह प्रज्ञैकविज्ञानिकौ ॥ -[11].

गत्वा श्री-

11. पुरुषोत्तमं [भग]वयोहृदयः प्रतिष्ठापदं

पारावारतटे पटीयसि लसच्चन्द्रग्रहानेहसि ।

सर्वस्वम्बिततार<sup>35</sup>तर्पितपितृस्त्रोमः करोल्लासितै-

स्तोयैर्यः पिहितस्य पर्वणि विधोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणं ॥ -[12].

मात[त्या]-

<sup>24</sup> Read व्यङ्ग्या. The next three aksharas are quite blurred in the rubbings, and it is impossible to say confidently what they were.

<sup>25</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>26</sup> The aksharas, here broken away, were probably तरा य-

<sup>27</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>28</sup> Metre of verses 7 and 8: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>30</sup> Read संवासाय.

<sup>31</sup> One would have expected the neuter शिविरं.

<sup>32</sup> Metre of verses 10-12: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>33</sup> The akshara in brackets is doubtful, and looks rather like ल.

<sup>34</sup> This is clearly engraved, but I believe the intended reading to be "पुरावसिति."

<sup>35</sup> Read सर्वसं वितदार.

- L. 12. नित्यकृत्या[हु]तिभिरपचिती चन्द्रमौलिस्त्रिकालं  
न्यस्ताभिर्यस्य यैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य ।  
एनः खेनोज्ज्वार त्रिजगति विदितादात्रया[न्त्र]त्वदोषा-  
दिदं धूमच्छलेनोज्ज्वलरुचिरचिरान्निर्झृतं हो-
13. मवह्निः ॥<sup>36</sup>—[13].  
श्वेताई तं अयति [पितृभी]त्यात्मनो [निस्पृ(प्प्र)भार्धे]<sup>37</sup>  
धत्तेनन्तप्रमि[तिरमि]तां शक्तिसुमुक्ततर्कम् ।  
यस्यैश्वर्यं प्रथयति विभोः कर्तुरित्यद्भुतश्री-  
भ्रान्तिं लोकस्थितिषु भजते भूयसीन्धर्मकीर्त्तिः ॥<sup>38</sup>—[14].  
यस्य श्रीमग-
14. धेश्वरो [नयवशा]न्नोतिप्रयोगार्[ख]ल-  
प्राग्भा[रा]नुभवैरनुस्मि[स्व]तमतिर्व्यासाभिधानं व्यधात् ।  
राजास्थानसरःसरोरुहमिति स्वीरं पुरः स्नाभृतां  
गीतो नूतनकालिदास इति यः कालेषु वैतालिकैः ॥<sup>39</sup>—[15].  
यः सन्मन्त्रिषु चा-
15. तुरीपरि[च]यैर्वाचस्पतिः प्रस्तुत-  
प्रज्ञासर्गविरिञ्चिरुच्चरि[ते]रौचित्यचिन्तामणिः ।  
सद्भावप्रभवो गभीरिमगृहं र[त्न]त्रयीताच्चिको<sup>40</sup>  
भाषासु प्रतिभाप्रभुः कविकलासन्दर्भगर्भेश्वरः<sup>41</sup> ॥—[16].  
म्मेरापारपरोपका-<sup>42</sup>
16. रपरमः प्रेमोपचारोत्तर-  
व्याहारैर्ज्वनतानुराग[र]चनाचातुर्यचर्यागुरुः ।  
धीरेयः सुधियां सुधानिधिकात्मौलिः सदाराधन-  
ध्याने जन्म निजं निनाय सुजनः स्वान्तेन शान्तेन यः ॥ —[17].  
पत्नी तस्य मनोरथस्य क-
17. तिनश्चारित्र्यसु[द्रा]पदं  
[धौ]डीदेशनरेशशङ्खसचिवश्रीदेवशर्मात्मजा<sup>43</sup> ।  
मू[र्त्ता] स[त्य]मरुन्धतीव जग[तां] वन्द्या सतीनां धुरि<sup>44</sup>  
श्रीमत्शङ्कर<sup>45</sup>[आ?]वि[रं]कुर[यि]तुं सत्युखबीजा[न्य]भूत् ॥ —[18].  
[ना]पत्यं चिरमापतुर्यदचितं तेनैव तौ द-

<sup>35</sup> Metre : Śragdharā.

\* This whole line and part of the following line are extremely indistinct in the rubbing.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

<sup>39</sup> Metre of verses 15—19: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>40</sup> The *akṣhara* in brackets, in the original, is ऌ rather than व.

41 Read 'न्दर्वगर्व'.

"The reading is clear here, but I would alter it to श्रीपा°

<sup>43</sup> The first *akshara* of this line, according to the rubbing, can only be either घी or घौ. Originally सचव was engraved, but it has been altered to सचिव.

"I am not satisfied with the text of this line and of the next, which are quite blurred in the rubbings; but, with the exception of the bracketed letters the above seems to me to be the reading offered by the rubbings. In the place of the *akshara* अ another letter was originally engraved, but it has been altered subsequently.

“Read त्रीनच्य”.

L. 18.

पती

सम्यक्तावपि<sup>10</sup> नूनमन्वभवतां सन्तापमन्तस्ततः ।

मामाराधयतन्मधेयमरतिर्भावी सुतस्तेन वां

गत्वेति स्वयमादिदेश गिरिशः स्वप्ने समीपं ययोः ॥ —[19].

मुप्रीतयोर्ध्व(र्भ)गवतो मम नामधेयमाधेयमस्य पुन-

19.

रित्यनुशासनेन ।

स्वाराधितस्मरहरस्वरमानुरूपो रूपानुमेयसुनयस्तनयोजनिष्ट ॥<sup>47</sup>—[20]

गङ्गाधराख्यः स ततो जितात्मा यः शैशवादिश्वजनीनवृत्तः ।

विवर्द्धमानः परलोकभीत्या सदात्मनीनं नयमातता-

20.

न ॥<sup>48</sup>—[21].

अभवदनुजो महीधर इति पुत्रौ श्रीमनोरशादुदितौ ।

आशीर्वराभिनन्दौ हरिहरपुरुषोत्तमौ दशरथात्तु ॥<sup>49</sup>—[22].

सत्कल्पप्रवणाः श्रुतिप्रणयि[नः] शिष्यमिरुद्धासिताः

सज्ज्योतिर्गर्गतयो निरुक्तदिशदाश्वन्द्योवि-

21.

धौ साधवः ।

[ख्या]ता व्याकरणक्रमेण विदुषाम[त्युच्च]धीशील[ना]-<sup>50</sup>हेदाङ्गप्रतिमाः षडेव भुवने ते वि(वि)भ्रति भ्रातरः ॥<sup>51</sup>—[23].

तदन्तरे माननरेन्द्रचन्द्रमाः स रुद्रमानोजनि येन भूसुजा

स्वमेदिनीमण्डलमादिकोलवह(ह)लादमिक्षा-

22.

सु(स्व)निधेः समुद्धृतं ॥<sup>52</sup>—[24].

पाणि[र्हानचणः प्रभौघ]लह[री] वक्त्रञ्च यस्य स्वयं

मर्यादास्थितिमान् एव जगतां जीवातवशेत्कृताः ।

तत्किं कल्पलतायहीन्द्रकमठौ सा चित्रभानुदयी

पद्मेन्द्र<sup>53</sup>निधयोभसामिति विधेर्द्धिक् प्रक्लि-

23.

यागौरवं ॥<sup>54</sup>—[25].

सूक्ष्मं दिक्करिदन्तकोटिमटितुं क्रा[न्तौ ?] गि[री]णां ल[घु]

व्याप्तुं व्योम पृथुस्थिताविह दिशि प्रोतं वशि भ्रान्तिषु ।

चीराब्धी[न्दु]सुधादिषु<sup>55</sup>प्रभवति ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डगवर्भा(र्भ)ह[हि]-र्निर्यात्यस्ति यथेत्य[मी]श्वरगुणैरित्यद्भुतं<sup>56</sup>यद्यश-

24.

: ॥ —[26].

युधे व(व)होत्सवरिपुमटश्रेणि[सिद्ध]ः सदा यो

व(व)सुः शुद्धो विपदि विसरत्कार्यनिर्याससीमा ।

श्रेयान् सभ्यः सदसि विशदे विश्वविश्वासपात्रं

पातुं मित्रं हृदयमितरत्तस्य गङ्गाधरो ऽभूत् ॥<sup>57</sup>—[27].

आचाराभ-

<sup>10</sup> Read संयसावपि.<sup>47</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.<sup>48</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>49</sup> Metre: Giti.<sup>50</sup> Originally वि was engraved, instead of धौ.<sup>51</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.<sup>52</sup> Metre: Vamśastha.<sup>53</sup> Read पद्मेन्द्रो.<sup>54</sup> Metre of verses 25 and 26: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.<sup>55</sup> Read चीराब्धी°.<sup>56</sup> Read यथेच्छ°(f).<sup>57</sup> Metre: Mandākrāntā.

L. 25. रणः सुभाषितचणः सन्नीतिरन्नापणः

प्रागल्भीरमणः प्रशान्तकरणः कारुण्यपारायणः ।

यः सौजन्यनिधिः स्थितावनुपधिः सख्यस्य सुख्यो विधि-  
र्दीर्घत्वेनवधिर्विधूतवितथव्याधिर्हिंसां सेवधिः ॥<sup>59</sup>—[28].

26. गौ-

डराजमुहदो जयपाणेरधिकारिकपदोपपदस्य ।

आत्मजामुदवहृत्सुभगायाः पेशलां स किल पासलदेवीम् ॥<sup>59</sup>—[29].

आक्रान्तो न वृषः कदापि गतये यस्मिन्न हीनाङ्गना

रौद्री नाद्रियते स्थितिर्न गणितास्ता

27.

गोत्रमित्सङ्ख्याः ।

अन्योन्यास्यविलासवञ्चितदृशोरेकं वपुर्वि(र्वि)भ्रतो-

स्तव्यायः शिवयोरपीदमनयोर्दाम्पत्यमत्वादृतम् ॥<sup>60</sup>—[30].

सन्तोषार्जवधैर्यसंयमदमानुक्रोशशान्तिचमा-

मैत्रीसत्यसमाधिमग्नमन-

28.

सो नारायणैकात्मनः ।

दम्भद्रोहविमोहलोभमसतामात्सर्यमायामद-

द्वेषर्षादिनिस्सदनस्य चरिते यस्यात्र साक्षी जनः ॥ —[31].

तेनात्र दुःशकमसीम सहस्रलालः कृत्यं स्वभर्तुश्चितोन्नतये समाप्य ।

29. आवा(वा)[ल्य]यौवन[मसु]प्रतिरोधि व(व)भुलोकस्य चेतसि चमत्कृतिराचितैव ॥<sup>61</sup>—[32]

[य]स्याद्वैतशते<sup>62</sup>स्वयं विरचिते किञ्चित्कवित्वमत्रः

स ब्र(व्र)ह्मोपनिषत्कथास्वधिगमः शुद्धो विरुद्धोयवा ।

भाव्यः शू(सू)रिभिरेव<sup>63</sup>चित्रकवि-

30.

तायास स्तुती दुस्करे<sup>64</sup>

भारत्याः कुरुतेपरान्निजगुणप्रस्तावनां केन सः ॥<sup>65</sup>—[33]

धा[त्वा ?]वर्त्तवशाद्विद्वत्परतरुप्रासादसद्भादिक-<sup>66</sup>

व्यक्ताकारकदस्व(स्व)मन्व(स्व)रमनु स्वेनोद्भवत्यग्नि(त्रिभ्र)यं ।

स्थित्वा तत्त्वणतो विपन्नमपुनर्वर्मा(वर्मा)वा-

31.

यधेदं तथा

मत्तैव त्रिजगन्ति येन जनितः सत्कर्मधर्मादरः ॥ —[34]

पुण्योत्पत्तिनिमित्तमत्र निजयोः पित्रोः पवित्रात्मना

कीर्त्या तेन तयोच्चिरं रचयता शुभातपन्नं जगत् ।

कासारोयमकारि पारदर-

<sup>59</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Svāgatā.

<sup>61</sup> Metre of verses 30 and 31: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. At the beginning of verse 30 I would suggest reading आक्रान्तेन इत्

<sup>62</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>63</sup> Originally तस्या<sup>64</sup> was engraved, but the initial त may have been altered to य.

<sup>64</sup> Originally शू<sup>65</sup> was engraved, but the sign for i has been added afterwards.

<sup>65</sup> Read-दुस्करि.

<sup>66</sup> Metre of verses 33-35: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>67</sup> The second akṣhara of this line originally was clearly त्र, but it seems to have been altered to ल.

L. 32.

सच्छायाभूतामश्रसां

यस्मिन्निर्मिषाद्यशस्तदमलं मूर्त्तन्नरीनृत्यते ॥ —[35].

सकीर्त्या सरसस्तस्य प्रतिष्ठासमयोत्सवे ।

शभ्रास्व(स्व)रपरीधानं जगत्तेनात्र कारितं ॥<sup>67</sup>—[36].

आकाशः पवनः कृशानुरुदकं धात्रीति लोकोत्त-

33.

यो-

मूर्त्या ब्र(व्र)ह्म विवर्त्तमानमयते यावद्विचित्राङ्गतिम ।

नेत्रयौत्रमनःप्रसादसदने तावत् सतामादरा-

दुन्निद्रां मुदमान्तरिषु<sup>68</sup> कुरुतां कीर्त्तिप्रशस्ती इमे ॥<sup>69</sup>—[37]

क्व शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिव्यतिकरविरोधेन सुलभाः

कवी-

34.

नां पथ्यानस्तदिह ननु केषामनुगमः ।

सपूर्त्तं त्वेतस्मिन् सुजनजनितोनुग्रहगुणः

प्रशस्तौ प्राशस्त्यं वितरति स गङ्गाधरगिराम् ॥ ॥<sup>70</sup>—[38].

नन्देन्द्रियाभ्रेन्दुसमे शकाब्दे(ब्दे) रुद्रात्मजश्चोदरणस्य नसा ।

इमां शि-

35.

लाशिल्पिवरः प्रशस्तिं स शूलपाणिः स्वयमुच्चखान ॥<sup>71</sup>—[39].शाक १०५८ [॥<sup>x</sup>]

## TRANSLATION.

Om !

Om ! Adoration to Sarasvatī !

(Verse 1.) May the supporter<sup>72</sup> of the universe bestow [on us] his compassion !— who, embracing his beloved and thrilled with delight by the close contact of his breast with her bosom, is sleeping on the lord of serpents, on one side bent low by the weight of the god's lofty body, while on the other he remains upright under the very light burden of the goddess of fortune !

(2.) Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa,<sup>73</sup> whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śāṅkadvīpa where the Brāhmanas are named Magas ! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the sun's own body, grazed by the lathe,<sup>74</sup> whom Śāmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world !

(3.) The first of them was an abode of all vedic lore and of the knowledge of the supreme soul, and wholly occupied in thoughts<sup>75</sup> familiar with every sacrificial rite, that

<sup>67</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).<sup>68</sup> Read °सन्तरिषु.<sup>69</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikīṛita.<sup>70</sup> i.e., the dawn, personified as the charioteer of the sun.<sup>71</sup> The story told in the *Purānas* is, that, to diminish the sun's intensity, Viśvakarman placed the luminary on his lathe, to grind off some of his effulgence (*Vishnu-purāna* III, 2); and the above verse appears to intimate that the Magas were produced from some of the particles of the sun's body, which were taken away by this process of grinding it.<sup>72</sup> In connection with *vyāpṛita* one would have expected the Loc., not the Instr. case.<sup>73</sup> Metre: Śikharinī.<sup>74</sup> Metre: Upajāti.<sup>75</sup> i.e., Vishnu.

sage Bhāradvāja whose penance could both deliver and destroy the world, and in whose face there was . . . like a garland of the great race of the Māga twice-born.

(V. 4.) His family had a hundred branches, distinguished for unprecedented penances and endowed with far-spreading fame; and in it there were other lords of the twice-born, conversant with the highest truth, whose minds were purified by faultless knowledge.

(5.) In the course of time the heroes who lift their bows to conquer the brilliant treasure of knowledge, robbed by . . . , were headed by Chakrapāṇi, the sor of Dāmōdara. Like Vālmiki in having made the streams of song to descend, he, a leader of the virtuous, became famous . . . of his family, as Brahman is of the continuance of the universe.

(6.) If his everlasting, widely spread and weighty renown had not mounted the wheel of the quarters,<sup>76</sup> how would that wheel turn round now?

(7.) As Indra and Vishṇu have sprung from Kaśyapa, the descendant of Marichi so to Chakrapāṇi were born, to sustain the homage heaped upon their family, two sons favoured by the immortals, an elder son named Manoratha and his younger brother Daśaratha, the bright renown of whose learning, purity of conduct and good disposition has purified the world.

(8.) Because these two brothers were the foremost of the good and had their fame sung by all people within their hearing, and by the facts that they made excellent friends and that plentiful enjoyment came to them unsought, and because princes treated them with loving kindness, their abundant bright excellence (*which caused all this*) rendered their enemies' faces dark (*with envy*).

(9.) These brothers gave extreme delight by captivating one another's hearts with their innate love; and even this capricious Kali age never saw anything to blame in their dealings (*with one another*) that were pleasing on account of their affection.

(10.) In order that they might render his reign illustrious, the wise prince Varnamāna besought them both to come to his royal residence, to dwell with him; and they, abiding by his commands, raised this family of his to the highest pitch of excellence and renown and prosperity.

(11.) In that magnificent home of the Māna lord, which they then served, one of them, whose respectability was an object of esteem as far as the sea, received the office of *pratihāra*,<sup>77</sup> while the other was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs; and in these positions these learned and intelligent men became widely known for both their goodness and good management.

(12.) Pleasing with his good fortune and youth, and a person of good renown, Manoratha<sup>78</sup> went to the sacred Purushottama, and on the noisy shore of the sea gave away his wealth in charity at the time of an eclipse of the bright moon; (*and*) gladdening his ancestors with the water thrown from his hands, he for a moment obtained the fellowship of the moon,<sup>79</sup> eclipsed at full-moon time.

(13.) The sacrificial fire of this man whose mind was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine, in consequence of the oblations duly thrown into it three

<sup>76</sup> The meaning of the verse is simply, that Chakrapāṇi's fame filled all the quarters of the compass.

<sup>77</sup> Literally 'door-keeper.'

<sup>78</sup> The verses 12-17 refer to Manoratha; see verse 18.

<sup>79</sup> The exact meaning of this is not clear to me. Altogether the construction is objectionable, because the two verbs *citādra* and *dāra* are in no way connected with each other.



times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god, perpetually threw up of its own accord, under the guise of smoke, the sin kindled from the blindness of the organs which is the bane of the three worlds; but quickly hid it again with its bright lustre.

(7. 14.) In the bright fortnight the lustreless half of the sun resorts to him from fear of the manes. He, without doubt, possessed of infinite true knowledge, has unmeasured power. The fame of his piety, wonderfully glorious because it proclaims the might of the omnipresent creator, spreads far and wide in the abodes of men.<sup>80</sup>

(15.) To him the illustrious ruler of Magadha gave the name of Vyâsa, because in consequence of his prudent management his own mind had not to attend to any matters whatever relating to the proper conduct of affairs. He also, even in the presence of princes, was at the appointed seasons freely sung of by the bards as the lotus in the lake of the king's audience hall, and as a modern Kâlidâsa.

(16.) He was a Vâchaspati among good ministers on account of his familiarity with shrewd schemes, a very Brahman in creating due knowledge for whatever was propounded, in consequence of his noble conduct a gem fulfilling all desires in regard to propriety, a source of goodness, and a home of depth. He possessed the true knowledge of the jewel-triad,<sup>81</sup> was quick in languages, and a master by birth of all the arts of poetry.

(17.) With a smiling face intent on doing endless good to others, most proficient in winning the affection of mankind by loving and civil speeches, and a leader of the wise, this excellent man with a mind free from passion always spent his life in worshipping and meditating on the god whose crest is the digit of the moon.

(18.) This fortunate Manoratha married the daughter of Devâsarman, the stainless counsellor of the prince of the [Ghaudî] country, a lady on whom propriety of conduct had set its seal. Considering that she verily was Arundhatî in mortal frame, to be revered by the worlds as the foremost of good wives, the holy Śaṅkara manifested himself to cause the seeds of piety to sprout.

(19.) As for a long time they did not obtain the desired-for offspring, both husband and wife, though not to blame, were naturally distressed in mind. Then Śiva himself came to them in a dream, and told them that their anxiety was groundless; they should worship him, and then they would have a son.

(20.) To them, well pleased by this and by the god's further command that they should give his own name to their son, a son was born who was like his parents<sup>82</sup> who had well worshipped the destroyer<sup>83</sup> of Smara, and whose good conduct was proportionate to his beauty.

(21.) Him then they called Gaṅgâdhara; and he, self-subdued, from childhood pleased every one by his behaviour, and growing up he always, from fear of the world to come, gave ample proof of his wisdom.

<sup>80</sup> Here again, assuming my reading of the text to be correct, the construction is unsatisfactory. In the first line of the verse we should have expected *yam* instead of *tam*, and in the second line we miss the relative *yañ*. The meaning of the first line of the verse, the reading of which is more or less conjectural, appears to me to be this that, when the moon is waxing, the sun at night resorts to Manoratha to share in his lustre, because it is afraid of being invaded by the manes whom it supposes to be anxious to get away from the bright moon.

<sup>81</sup> I am not certain what *ratnatrayî* the author is referring to. With Buddhists the term would denote *buddha*, *dharma* and *sangha*, with Jains *samyagdarśana*, *samyagjñāna* and *samyakcāritra*.

<sup>82</sup> The original has *rama*, which should mean 'husband and wife,' not 'parents.'

<sup>83</sup> i.e., Śiva, the destroyer of the god of love.

(V. 22.) After him came another son, named Mahādhara. These were the two sons of Manoratha. To Daśaratha, on the other hand, were born Harihara and Puruṣhottama, blessing and fulfilment of desire.

(23.) Fond of the Vedas, devoted to the proper ceremonial, illustrious for their knowledge of the *Sikshās*, well acquainted with the *Jyotisha*, accurately understanding the *Nirukta*, proficient in the rules of metrics, famous for their progress in grammar, these six brothers, deeply engaged in the lofty course of study of the learned, well represent the *Vedāṅgas* in the world.

(24.) Meanwhile there was born that moon of the Māna princes, the king Rudramāna, who, like the primeval boar, powerfully recovered his realm from the sea of adversaries.

(25.) As his hand is famed for its liberality and his face a wave of the flood of light, and since he keeps himself within the bounds of propriety, and provides means of subsistence for the people,<sup>84</sup> of what account are the creeping-plant of paradise, the great serpent and the tortoise, those two bright luminaries yonder, and the lord of elephants and the seas? Fie on such cumbrous insignia of high rank of the Creator!

(26.) Marvellous indeed is his fame, because it shares the properties of the supreme lord. So subtle as to pervade the edges of the teeth of the elephants of the quarters, so light as to reach the heavens in its ascent of the mountains, it extends everywhere here in the broad regions and roams freely about at will; it predominates in the sea of milk as well as in the white splendour of the moon, and it goes out of the mundane egg, and stays in it as it pleases.

(27.) Of this (*king*) Gaṅgādhara was (*as it were*) a second heart to protect friends, (*Gaṅgādhara*), who always was in battle a magician (*in scattering*) the lines of exulting hostile warriors, in misfortune an honest friend, a check when affairs were getting beyond control, an excellent associate in a spotless assembly, and worthy to be trusted in everything.

(28.) (*Gaṅgādhara*), who was embellished by good behaviour, famed for his cleverness of speech, a market of the gems of prudent counsel, a lover of resoluteness, tranquil-minded, full of compassion, a store-house of benevolence, fraudless in obligations, a prime promoter of friendship, boundless in steadfastness, free from the failing of untruth, and a treasure of intelligence.

(29.) He married the charming Pāsāladevī, a daughter of Jayapāṇi who bore the title of *ādhi-kārika*,<sup>85</sup> a friend of the king of Gauḍa, and of (*his wife*) Subhagā.

(30.) And their matrimonial union was universally esteemed even as that of Siva and his consort, who are prevented from seeing the charm of each other's faces, because they have only one body; a union where the wife is never left behind when (*the husband*) mounts the bull to go abroad, and where (*the wife*) never notices the (*husband's*) fearful form, nor minds being addressed with the name of a rival.

(31.) The people here have witnessed the conduct of (*Gaṅgādhara*) whose mind is brimful of contentment, honesty, firmness, forbearance, self-restraint, tenderness, calmness, patience, friendship, truth and contemplation, whose only thought is Nārāyaṇa,

<sup>84</sup> Here, again, the two first lines of the original verse do not admit of a proper construction.

<sup>85</sup> i.e., 'a superintendent of affairs.'

and who destroys deceit, malice, folly, covetousness, selfishness, envy, fraud, infatuation, hatred, jealousy and other evil qualities.

(V. 32.) Having accomplished here a thousand times, ever since he was a boy and a youth, and even to the endangerment of his life, most difficult deeds without end for the due advancement of his master, he has indeed filled the minds of his kinsmen with wonder.

(33.) A man who in his *Advaitaśata* has striven to prove that he has some poetic gift, whose knowledge, be it faultless or perhaps otherwise, of the treatises on the supreme soul is well known, and whose attempts in the way of artificial poetry, hard even for the goddess of eloquence and to be ventured on by scholars only, have met with applause; need he say more in praise of his merits?

(34.) The revolution of elementary matter gives rise to the diffused mass of trees, palaces, houses, and the rest of visible objects; the rain-cloud forms in the sky of its own accord; all this stays for a moment only and vanishes again, never to return.<sup>86</sup> Considering such too to be the case with the three worlds, (*Gaṅgādhara*) has devoted himself to virtuous and pious deeds.

(35.) To secure for his parents religious merit, that pure-minded man has founded here,—covering the world for ever with their fame as with a radiant umbrella,—this tank of water shining like quick-silver, in which their spotless renown in the guise of the waves dances about in visible form.

(36.) And at the festive inauguration of this lake he has made his own fame here envelop the world like a radiant garment.

(37.) As long as the supreme spirit in the shape of the three worlds, as ether, air, fire, water and earth, passing through a succession of existences, pursues its varied course, so long may these two eulogies of fame, pleasing the eyes and ears and the mind, vigorously cause lively joy in the hearts of the good!

(38.) How can the ways of poets be easily found in the absence of innate ability as well as of culture? And, accordingly, is it likely that the author of this should have discovered them? Yet, as this treats of himself, the favour shown to him by good men will find in this eulogy also something to applaud in *Gaṅgādhara's* words.<sup>87</sup>

(39.) In the Śaka year equal to the Nandas (9), the organs of sense (5), the sky (0) and the moon (1), the excellent stone-mason Śūlapāṇi, the son of Rudra and grandson of Uddharana, himself engraved this eulogy.

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<sup>86</sup> Instead of the Abl. case *apunarābhātāt* I should have expected the Dat. case.

<sup>87</sup> Literally 'will bestow on this eulogy also the excellence of *Gaṅgādhara's* words.'

## XXVII.—DUDHPANI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF UDAYAMANA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The preceding inscription induces me to publish here, also from a rubbing of Sir A. Cunningham's, the text of another inscription which on the back of the rubbing is described as 'Rock inscription from Dudhpani Ghat near Dumduma,' with the note that 'Dudhpani' is 'in the Hazâribâgh district' (of Chutiâ Nâgpur in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, south of the districts of Gayâ and Monghyr).

This inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 6' broad by 1' 2½" high. With the exception of about half a dozen *aksharas* which are broken away, but can be easily supplied, the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are essentially the same as, but somewhat more modern than, those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasena,<sup>1</sup> and may be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. In describing the writing of the Aphsaḍ inscription,<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fleet has stated that in that inscription *r*, in combination with a following consonant, is formed throughout on the line of writing, instead of above it, and that 'in the *ry* of *śaurya*, in line 7, we have an exact reproduction of the same letter as it was written nearly two centuries before' (the seventh century). In the present inscription the conjunct *ry* occurs three times (in *parākkramair=yaḥ*, line 1, *aparyantam*, line 3, and *śauryeṇa*, line 4), and is each time written exactly as in the Aphsaḍ inscription. In combination with other (following) consonants *r* occurs thirty-five times and is 21 times written on, and 14 times above the line. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* (which however is really like the sign for *sh*) is employed seven times, but is not used in four cases where it might also have been employed; and the sign of the *jihvāmālīya* seems to be used once, before the word *khaṇḍita* in line 11. At the end of the writing there is a good engraving of a flower; and altogether the letters throughout have been drawn and engraved very well indeed, and it is much to be regretted that the rubbing is not suitable for photographing.

The language of the inscription is Samskrit, and the whole is in verse. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is written by the sign for *v*; instead of *anusvāra* the guttural nasal is used in *siṅha*, lines 1, 6 and 8, *aṅśuka*, line 5, and *nistrinśa*, line 6, and the dental nasal in *kasminśhit*, line 2, *°bhānsi* and *yaśānsi*, line 5, and even in *°prītin=surendrā°*, line 10; and the consonants *k* and *t* are everywhere doubled before *r* (e.g., in *°parākkramakkramapadākkrāntatrilokī°* in line 5). Besides, attention may be drawn to the hiatus in *śrīĀdisiṅha*, in lines 1 and 8, and to the fact that a final *m* before a word beginning with a consonant is generally changed, not to *anusvāra*, but to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs.—Wrong grammatical forms which the inscription contains are *dadata* for *datta*, in line 7, and *chakhanuḥ* for *chakhnuḥ*, in line 12; and the causal is improperly employed instead of the primitive verb in *achīkarat*, in line 11. Wrong constructions we find in verses 15, 16 and 24; and the rules of metrics are violated in verses 1, 14, 21 and 23. Words not found in the dictionaries, or employed in unusual significations, are *prārābdtī*, in line 6, *avalagaka* and *avalagana*, in

<sup>1</sup> See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, plate XXVIII<sup>2</sup> See *ib.*, p. 202

line 7, *vyutthānika* (derived from *vyutthāna* as *viññānika* is from *viññāna*), in line 12, and *rechaka* (unless this is an error for *mechaka*) in the same line.

The inscription is not dated, but, as intimated above, it may, on palæographical grounds, be assigned to about the 8th century A.D. Opening with a verse which invokes the blessing of the goddess of fortune, it tells us (in verses 2 and 3) that in former days there was a king of Magadha, named Âdisimha, to whose dominions belonged the three villages (*palli*) of which the inscription treats and near one of which it must have been engraved,—Bhramaraśālmali, Chhīṅgalā, and Nabhūtishanḍaka.<sup>3</sup> Now, once upon a time three brothers—Udayamāna, Śrīdhautamāna, and Ajitamāna<sup>4</sup>—merchants, went on business from Ayodhyā to Tāmalipti; and having made plenty of money and being on their way home, they for some reason or other tarried at one of the three villages, apparently Bhramaraśālmali (verses 4—5). While they were there, the king Âdisimha came to the forest near the villages on a hunting expedition,<sup>5</sup> and ordered the inhabitants to give him an *avalagnka* (or *avalagana*). The villagers, on receipt of the king's orders, went to the eldest brother, Udayamāna, and entreated him to do the king's behest. He thereupon did send an *avalagana* and quickly became a favourite of the king, who not only bestowed a diadem (*śrīpaṭṭa*<sup>7</sup>) on him, but also, at Udayamāna's solicitation, assured the people of Bhramaraśālmali of his royal favour (verses 12—16). When Udayamāna returned to the village, the inhabitants in their delight, and with the king's approval, requested him to become their *rājā*, and he complied with the request and long ruled the village happily and vigorously (verses 17—19). He also, at the request of the inhabitants of the two other villages, sent his brothers Śrīdhautamāna and Ajitamāna to rule, subordinately to himself, over Nabhūtishanḍaka and Chhīṅgalā (verses 20—23). Verse 24 (if I understand it rightly) adds that people of former days had this eulogy engraved<sup>8</sup> to record that the family (ruling at Bhramaraśālmali) had been founded and owed its greatness to Udayamāna, and to warn (the chiefs of) the two other villages not to act in opposition to, or to separate themselves from, the (main branch of the) family; and the inscription ends with a prayer for the uninterrupted continuance of the family of the prince Udayamānadeva.

I am not at present able to state whether any or what historical importance should be attached to this inscription;<sup>9</sup> nor can I identify the three villages of which the inscription treats. The place Tāmalipti (Tāmralipti), to which the three brothers are said to have gone from Ayodhyā, is the modern Tamlūk, the head-quarters of the sub-division

<sup>3</sup> So the name is given in verse 3. In verses 21 and 23 originally *Bhūtishanḍaka* was engraved, but both times this appears to have been altered to *Nabhūtishanḍaka*.

<sup>4</sup> These names are given below.

<sup>5</sup> The verses 6-11 only glorify the wealth, liberality, valour, etc., of the three brothers in the customary manner.

<sup>6</sup> This appears to be the general sense of the original text, but I am unable to give the exact meaning of the word *prārabāhi-khelana*, and of the following words *avalagaka* and *avalagana*. According to the dictionaries *prārabāhi* is 'the post to which an elephant is fastened,' which would suggest that the king was out elephant-hunting. For *avalagana* (as a neuter noun) von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* only gives the meaning 'the winning of somebody'; and *avalagaka* I find in Professor Jacobi's edition of Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra*, p. 107, note 61, employed in the explanation of the word *kaṭumbika* where also its meaning seems to be uncertain.

<sup>7</sup> See Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, Chapter XLIX. In the note on the *Kalpasūtra*, quoted above, the word *śreṣṭhin* is explained by *Srīdevatādhyārita-saṃvarṇapaṭṭa-bhūṣitottamāṅgaḥ*; what the king gave to Udayamāna was apparently such a *śrīpaṭṭa*.

<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, the present inscription is recording events which had happened generations before this inscription was engraved.

<sup>9</sup> The names of Udayamāna and his brothers will of course remind the reader of the occurrence of the names *Varnamāna* and *Rudramāna* in the preceding inscription.

of the same name of the Midnapur district of Bengal, on the Rûpnârâyan river, a town which is well known from Buddhist records, and is even now one of the principal seats of commerce in the district.<sup>10</sup>

TEXT.<sup>11</sup>

L. 1.

[श्री<sup>12</sup>]श्रीरामदेहप्रतिमासहस्रमालोक्य भोगी[न्द्रप]णामणिस्त्र्य<sup>13</sup> ।ई[र्याकु]ला कर[तले]न हरेऽप्रहा[र]मुक्ता[सय]न्ती भवतु [त्रि]ये वः ॥<sup>14</sup>—[1].व(व)भूव पूर्वम्गधाधिराजः श्रीआदिसिङ्घोरिगजै[क]सिङ्घः<sup>15</sup> ।

पराक्रमैर्येऽप्रथितोद्वितीयः

2.

श्रीमज्ज[रास]न्ध इव द्वितीयः ॥<sup>16</sup>—[2].

अस्याम्भ[म\*]रशालमल्याब्जिङ्गलाय[ान्त]थैव च ।

नभूतीप[ण्ड]के चापि व(व)भूवाधिपतिऽपुरा ॥<sup>17</sup>—[3].अथ कस्मिन्धि[त्स]मये<sup>18</sup> वणिजो भ्रातरस्त्वयः ।तामलिसि[म]योध्याया ययुः पूर्वस्वणिव्यया<sup>19</sup> ॥ —[4].

भूयः प्रतिनिवृत्तास्ते स्वमावासं यियासवः ॥(1)

3. प्रयोजनेन केनापि चिरञ्चक्रुरिह स्थितिं ॥ —[5].

सुवर्णमणिमणिक्वमुक्ताप्रभृति यैर्धनं ।

वित्तपस्यैवैवासोदपर्यन्तमुपार्जितं ॥ —[6].

सर्वभूताश्रयास्तत्त्वदयादालिख्यशालिनः ।

स्रष्टा(ष्टा)र इव लोकस्य चयः क्षितिमुपागताः ॥ —[7].

केलासः कठिनः कलङ्क-

4.

मलिनचन्द्रस्तुपाराचलः

प्रायस्तीक्ष्णकरप्रहारविवशो नित्यङ्गलत्वेव हि ।

तारल्यञ्च समाश्रिता गुणवतो हारा इति प्रायशो

येषामक्ष व(व)भूव निर्मलगुणैः शीलस्य नेवोपमा ॥<sup>20</sup>—[8].

दातृत्वेन समो व(व)भूव न पुरा कर्णेऽपि येषामसौ

शौर्येणापि जगज्जिगीषुरगमत्<sup>21</sup>

5.

नैवाज्जुनस्तुल्यतां

ये चासह्यपराक्रमक्रमपदाक्रान्तिलोकीतला

वीरानाहवमूर्धसु प्रव(व)लिनऽपङ्गुनिवोच्चित्तिपुः ॥ —[9].

दिक्काम(मि)नीतनुविलिपनचन्दनानि [रा]ज्यश्रिय स्तनतटीविकटाङ्गकानि<sup>22</sup> ।अद्यापि चन्द्रकरहारतुपारभान्ति<sup>23</sup> सर्वा दिशो धवलयन्ति यशा[न्ति] येषां ॥<sup>24</sup>—[10].

विद्यासमुन्नतगुणा

<sup>10</sup> See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIII, p. 171.<sup>11</sup> From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing.<sup>12</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>13</sup> The two *aksharas* in brackets are almost entirely broken away.<sup>14</sup> Metre. *Indravajrā*; but the third *Pāda* of the verse is as if the metre were *Vasantatilakā*.—Compare Vallabhadra's *Subhāshitāvalī*, verse 41.<sup>15</sup> Observe the hiatus in श्रीआदि; and read °सिङ्घी and °सिङ्घः.<sup>16</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.<sup>17</sup> Metre of verses 3-7: *Śloka* (Anuṣṭubh).<sup>18</sup> Read कस्मिन्धि?<sup>19</sup> Read पूर्व व°.<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.<sup>21</sup> Read °नमनैवा°.<sup>22</sup> Read °विकटाङ्गकानि.<sup>23</sup> Read °भान्ति and यशांसि.<sup>24</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11: *Vasantatilakā*.

- L. 6. अपि न [स्ययान्वा] नमः सुदूरमथ चोन्नतिमूर्तिभाजः<sup>25</sup>  
 निखिलनिष्ठुरकराः<sup>26</sup> [क]पयाकुलाथ ये चार्थिकल्पतरवः शिवश्रीरिभक्ताः ॥ —[11].  
 स श्रीमानादिसिङ्घोय<sup>27</sup> कदाचिदटवोमिमां ।  
 प्रारब्धो(ब्धो)खिलनोद्युक्तः<sup>28</sup>प्रविवेशवनीश्वरः<sup>29</sup> ॥<sup>30</sup>—[12].  
 आदिदेश

7. समाह्वय स पक्षीक्षितयाज्जनं ।  
 यूयमद्यावलगकमस्मभ्यं<sup>31</sup> ददताश्विति ॥ —[13].  
 अक्षयस्तन्ममाकर्ण्य<sup>32</sup> [तूण]स्व(स्व)लपरिग्रहः<sup>33</sup> ॥(1)  
 वणिजां भ्रातरं ज्येष्ठमुदयमानसुपागमत् ॥ —[14].  
 राज्ञीवलगनार्थाय तमभ्यर्थं प्रयत्नतः ।  
 प्रेषयामास तन्मोपि<sup>34</sup> वल्लभोभून्महीपतेः ॥ —[15].  
 8. अल्लैरहोभिरनुभूय नृपप्रसादं श्रीपट्टव(व)न्ममधिगम्य ततः क्रमेण ।  
 श्रीआदिसिङ्घनृपतिम्परिवो(वो)ध्य<sup>35</sup>[ते]न [स]न्मानितो<sup>36</sup>भ्रमरशाल्मलिपल्लिलोकः<sup>37</sup>[16].  
 तुष्टास्ततो भ्रमरशाल्मलिवसिनस्ते भूयस्तमागतमुपेत्य जनाः<sup>38</sup>प्रणम्य ।  
 राजा भव त्वमिह पालय पल्लिमेतामित्या-

9. दि तत्परधियोभिदधुस्तमुच्चैः ॥ —[17].  
 एवन्नाम भवत्विति प्रतिवचस्तस्मात्समाकर्ण्य ते  
 तस्मै राज्यपदन्दुः क्षितिर्भृताप्याज्ञापि[ता]स्तत्कृते ।  
 सोस्मिन्विक्कमखण्डितारिसुभटश्चैषिः श्रुतार्थश्चिरं  
 राज्यन्निर्जितसर्वपक्षिरकरोन्नाम्नोदयाख्यो नृपः ॥<sup>39</sup>—[18].  
 यस्य त्यागनयान्वयोन्नतिगुणग्रामाधिपत्यार्जितां

10. कीर्त्तिश्चन्द्रकरावदातसुभगामद्यापि सोत्कण्ठिताः ।  
 गेहासीनसुराङ्गनाजनकतप्रीतिन्मुरेन्द्रालय-<sup>37</sup>  
 प्रान्तप्रोत्थितकल्पपादपतले गायन्ति सिद्धस्त्रियः ॥ —[19].  
 आगत्योदयमानस्तु तैरेवाभ्यर्थितस्तदा ।  
 पक्षीहयेपि राज्यार्थं भ्रातरौ विससर्ज सः ॥<sup>39</sup>—[20].  
 श्रीमाच्छ्रीधौतमानाख्यः<sup>39</sup> प्रख्यातो [न]भूति-<sup>40</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Read श्रीप्रतमं.

<sup>26</sup> Read निखिलं.

<sup>27</sup> Read अक्षिणोय.

<sup>28</sup> Metre of verses 12-15; Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>29</sup> Originally अक्षो was engraved, but it has been altered to अक्षयं.

<sup>30</sup> Read अक्षयना.

<sup>31</sup> Of the aksharas in brackets the upper portion is broken away.

<sup>32</sup> Read तं सोऽपि ० तन्मोपि.

<sup>33</sup> Observe again the hiatus in श्रीआदि; and read अक्षिणं.

<sup>34</sup> Read संमानितो.

<sup>35</sup> Metre of verses 16 and 17: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>36</sup> Metre of verses 18 and 19: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>37</sup> Read श्रीतिं सुरे.

<sup>38</sup> Metre of verses 20-23: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>39</sup> Read श्रीमाच्छ्री.

<sup>40</sup> The akshara in brackets was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

L. 11.

षण्डके ।

वश्यात्तोदयमानस्य चिरं राज्यमचीकरत् ॥ —[21].

प्रचण्डसुभटाटोपङ्कगिडितामिच्छमण्डलः ।

अभूदजितमानोपि च्छिङ्गलायां महीपतिः ॥ —[22].

पत्युर्ध्वमरशात्मत्याम्बिकाङ्गला[न?]भूतिषण्डकौ<sup>41</sup> ।

वश्यौ व(व)भूवतुः पूर्वमेवमेतौ यथाक्रमं ॥ —[23].

आरभ्योदयमानमादिपुरुषं गोक्ष-

12.

क्षमोयस्महा-

नस्त्राकम्परिवर्द्धमानमहिमेत्यालोक्य ते पूर्वजाः ।

अस्मन्नोत्तमवाक्कदाचिदनाहुत्यनिकं<sup>42</sup> स्यादिदंसत्यलोदयमित्यवेत्य चखनु७प्राशस्त्यवर्णानिमान् ॥<sup>43</sup>—[24].यावद्वान्तमरीचिरेचकचयव्यासत्तिलोकोच्छयं<sup>44</sup>

चक्रं चक्रधरो वि(व)भर्त्ति गिरिशो यावद्वानीपतिः ।

13. यावत्तिलोकिरुच्ययाकुलमिलच्चिन्तालसञ्चात्मभू-

र्गोत्तिस्योदयमानदेवनृपतेस्तावत्स्थितिर्दृश्यताम् ॥ —[25].

## XXVIII.—COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA, KING OF KÂMARÛPA.

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Twenty-five copper-plate inscriptions were found in October 1892 in the village of Kamauli, near the confluence of the Barnâ and the Ganges at Benares. The story at the time was that a villager while ploughing a field had turned up one of the plates with his plough and so discovered the others; but I do not know whether this simple and (in India) not unusual story has been subsequently confirmed by official inquiry into the locality and circumstances of the find. Mr. R. H. Brereton, Magistrate of Benares, sent me the plates, which are the subject of this and the next paper, *viz.* the grant of Vaidyadeva and two grants of Govindachandra of Kanauj, for immediate examination and report. On receiving from me a few rough notes as to their general contents and approximate dates, he kindly permitted a more careful and leisurely revision of these grants.<sup>1</sup>

The Vaidyadeva grant is engraved on three plates. A spoon-like arrangement loosely holds the plates together, its narrower, hooked end being passed through a hole in the middle of their right-hand margins. The broader, hollow end of the spoon contains a figure of Gaṇeśa. The plates measure 9½" broad by 7" high, and weigh together

<sup>41</sup> Here again the *akṣhara* in brackets seems to be engraved above the line.

<sup>42</sup> This was originally engraved, but appears to have been altered to "चिदन व्यु"; and I believe the intended reading to be "चिदिपि न व्यु".

<sup>43</sup> Metre of verses 24 and 25, Śārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>44</sup> I am not sure whether the word रेषक of this line should be altered to सेचक.

<sup>1</sup> All the plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow in July 1893.



2lbs. 13oz.; their margins are slightly thickened outwards. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only. Each side contains sixteen lines, except the outer side of the third plate, on which there are nine lines only. The height of the letters is about a quarter inch. On the whole, the writing is well preserved, being nowhere completely obliterated. The characters resemble those of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena (*ante*, vol. I, p. 305), but approach more closely to the modern Bengali character. They may also be compared, in some respects, with the character of the Kṛṣṇadvārikā Temple inscription at Gayā (*Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. III, plate xxxvii), which Dr. Kielhorn describes as “a kind of Devanāgarī which appears to have been current in the 12th century A.D.” (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVI, p. 63.)

Peculiarities, epigraphical and orthographical, are always better seen than described; but the purpose of this notice will have been sufficiently served, it is hoped, by the corrigenda in the foot-notes to the printed text. Lines 6-13 of plate iii, A, have not been corrected, because they are mostly filled with names of villages, tanks, their exact boundaries, etc., in Prakrit forms. It may be remarked in passing that the engraver of the plates (or his prompter) has fallen an easy victim to the shibboleth of श, ष, स. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse.

The inscription records the grant of two villages named Śāntipāṭaka and Mandarā situated in the *vishaya* of Bāḍā, in the *bhukti* of Prāggyotisha, in the *maṇḍala* of Kāmarūpa. The donee is a Brahman named Śrīdhara, the son of Yudhisṭhira and Pāi his wife, and the grandson of Bharata, who was born of the *gotra* of Viśvāmitra, in the village of Bhāva in Vārendrī. Vaidyadeva, the donor, is the son of Bodhideva and Pratāpadevī his wife, and the grandson of Yogadeva. His caste is not mentioned; but there can be little doubt that he was a Brahman. He was a devotee of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. His father and grandfather, in their time, had been the ministers of Rāmapāla and Vighrapāla, who were the father and grandfather respectively of Kumārapāla. The royal and the ministerial lines stand thus:—

*Sūryavamśī Pālas.*

- I. Vighrapāla.
- II. Rāmapāla (son of I).
- III. Kumārapāla (son of II).

*Mantrins.*

1. Yogadeva.
2. Bodhideva (son of 1).
3. Vaidyadeva (son of 2).

From the inscription we directly learn but little more about the Pālas than is given in the above table. Vighrapāla is dismissed in a single verse as “perfect in every accomplishment”—a brief but appropriate intimation, perhaps, that his reign was brief. Rāmapāla, a warrior, is compared to his great namesake. If the dark conceit of verse 4 has not escaped me, it means in bald prose that Rāmapāla conquered (or regained?) Mithilā, and killed a certain raja Bhīma, whom I am unable to identify. Kumārapāla is styled Lord of Gauḍa. He loved Vaidyadeva “dearer even than life,” to whose generalship he entrusted the fortunes of the empire. Vaidyadeva was a stern minister and a victorious general. If verse 11 and verses 13—17 do not refer to the same event, he won two glorious victories for his master; the one in the southern part of Vaṅga (but see note 81); the other “in the East,” when he killed a rebellious vassal whose name I read hesitatingly as Timgyadeva.

In the kingdom "in the East" was included Kāmarūpa; for it was here that the two villages conveyed by Vaidyadeva as Mahārājādhirāja, etc., were situated. He dates the charter from his victorious camp at Haṁsākoñchī, which again I cannot identify. His younger brother (? nephew), Budhadeva, is introduced without any apparent reason, unless indeed it be to mark him as the heir. The *praśasti* was written by Manoratha, the son of the *rājaguru* Murāri and Padmā his wife. The *śāsana* was delivered by Gonandana, Vaidyadeva's *dharmādhikārin*. It was engraved by Karṇabhadra.

The date of the Vaidyadeva grant remains to be discussed. I have failed to work it out directly from the text. The statement in plate iii, A, l. 5, appears to be only a prose repetition of the statement in verse 28, with the addition of the word *Sam* and the numerical sign 4. The syllable *nī*, with which it concludes, I take as a contraction of *nibaddham* (to qualify *śāsanam*). Verse 28 will be considered below. The other statement in ll. 3, 4 of plate iii, A, baffles me. The last word *Guggulī* is very doubtful. Read thus, it may be explained as an *upanāman* of Śrīdhara, the donee, in reference to the story of the *Guggulu* in verse 26. But the forms of conjunct *ggu* are entirely different in the two words. I am still inclined to think that the letters read *Guggulī* are somehow connected with the date indication.

Failing to fix Vaidyadeva's date from the inscription itself, I have been forced to enter on the much debated chronology of the Pāla and Sena dynasties. Now, in regard to the Pāla dynasty, the reign of Mahīpāla from 1006 to 1060 A.D., and the accession of Govindapāla in 1161 A.D., are practically the only dates unanimously accepted by the latest modern authorities. The intervening names, the order of their succession, and their dates are still disputed. Dr. Kielhorn's list of Pāla kings from Gopāla I. to Vigrahapāla III., based on the Āṅgāchhī plate (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XXI, p. 99), is, in part at least, confirmed and extended by the statements of the Vaidyadeva plates: for, assuming the historical accuracy of the Āṅgāchhī and Vaidyadeva's grants (which indeed there seems to be no reason for doubting), we see from the latter grant that the kings Vigrahapāla, Rāmapāla and Kumārapāla must be placed together in this unbroken order; and from the former grant that no place in the Pāla line can be found for this trio previous to Mahīpāla. Further, the dates discussed in the next paragraph make it almost certain that Vigrahapāla of the Vaidyadeva grant is identical with Vigrahapāla III. of Dr. Kielhorn's list.<sup>2</sup> Nayapāla's position is not so easy to decide. Dr. Hoernle identifies him with Devapāla, 956—991 A.D., (*Ind. Ant.* vol. XIV, p. 164). Of course there may have been two or more of his name in the Pāla dynasty. But I may observe that the exact position of Nayapāla is not material to the present inquiry.

I return to verse 28, and premising the succession given by Dr. Kielhorn, I would thus state the problem widely:—Between the years 1060 and 1161 A.D., to find the year in which the *Meshasamkrānti* fell (1) on *ekādaśī* and (2) on *dvādaśī* in Vaiśākha (*kṛishṇa-paksha*)? The following years result:—(1) on *ekādaśī* 1077, 1096, 1123, 1142, 1161 A.D.; (2) on *dvādaśī* 1115, 1134 A.D. Now, the years 1077, 1096, 1115 and 1123 may at once be rejected as altogether too early for Kumārapāla, by whom Vaidyadeva was made a king. The year 1134 may also be rejected; for, since we do not know

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Kielhorn confines himself to proving that the Āṅgāchhī plate of Vigrahapāla III. was issued after 1053 A.D.

whether Kumārapāla was the immediate predecessor of Govindapāla or not, we are not at liberty to count the years of Kumārapāla backwards directly from 1161 A.D. Then, turning to the other end of the line, even if Nayapāla's name be omitted from that part of the royal succession which is now under review, it is safer to place Kumārapāla nearer the end than the beginning of the period 1060—1161 A.D. Thus 1142 and 1161 remain. And of the two 1142 A.D. seems the more probable date for the grant of Vaidyadeva. The 4th year mentioned in Plate III, A., ll. 3, 4, 5 may be the regnal year of Vaidyadeva, whose rule in Assam would then date from 1138 A.D.

Next, as to the history of the Sena dynasty, it is generally acknowledged that some time during the second half of the 11th century A.D. the Pālas lost Eastern and Northern Bengal (including Assam) to the Senas under Vijayasena. "Vijayasena's reign (Dr. Kielhorn writes, *ante*, vol. I, 307) may therefore be reasonably supposed to have begun about the beginning of the last quarter of the 11th century." I have no wish to indulge in further speculation. Briefly, this is what I suppose the drift of events to have been. At first, *i.e.* roughly from 1060—1130 A.D. the Pālas were driven westwards by the Senas. Then the Senas began to lose ground rapidly and were driven back by the Pālas into a small corner of Bengal, where they were finally demolished by the Muhamadans at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. Thus, the conquest of Janakabhūmi (Mithilā) by Rāmapāla, recounted in verse 4 of the Vaidyadeva grant, may have been an historical fact, marking the return of power to the Pāla line. And thus, too, the Pāla culmination under Kumārapāla about 1142 A.D. would synchronise with the Sena decadence under Keśavasena or his successor.

To recapitulate: Vaidyadeva's grant furnishes some new historical material, *viz.* a trio of the royal line of Pālas arranged in order of descent; it throws some more light on the relations existing between the rival Pāla and Sena dynasties in Bengal during the 12th century A.D.; and its data, as confirmed by the history of the period, seem to point to 1142 A.D. as its probable date.

#### TEXT.

##### Plate I. (Inner side only.)

Line [ 1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ अम्बरमानस्तम्भः कुम्भः संसारबीजरक्षायाः । ह-

रिदन्तर-

[ 2.] मितमूर्तिः क्रीडापोत्री हरिज्योतिः<sup>३</sup> ॥<sup>४</sup> (Verse 1) एतस्य दक्षिणदशो वंशे मिहिरस्य जातवान् पूर्व्वं<sup>५</sup> । विग्रहपा-

[ 3.] लो नृपतिः सत्त्वाकारद्विसिद्धिः<sup>६</sup> ॥ (2) यस्य वंशक्रमेणाभूत्सचिवः शास्त्रवित्तमः । योग-देव इति ख्यातः

[ 4.] स्फुरद्दोर्हृण्डविक्रमः ॥<sup>७</sup> (3). तस्योज्ज्वलपीरुपस्य<sup>८</sup> नृपतेः श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्पुत्रः पालकुला-विश्वी-

[ 5.] तकिरणः साम्राज्यविख्यातिभाक् । तेने येन जगत्त्रये जनकभूलाभायथावेद्यशः क्षीणीना-यकभीम-

<sup>३</sup> Read "मूर्तिः" and हरिज्योति

<sup>४</sup> Metre of verses 1 and 2: Pathyāryā.

<sup>५</sup> Read जातवान् पूर्व्वम्.

<sup>६</sup> Read सत्त्वाकारद्वि

<sup>७</sup> Metre: Śloka. (Pathyāvakra.)

<sup>८</sup> Read तस्योज्ज्वल

- L. [ 6. ] रावणवधायुद्धार्णवोत्सङ्घनात्<sup>9</sup> ॥<sup>10</sup> (4) यस्य शुद्धसचिवः पुराभवद्वोधिदेव इति तत्त्वबोधभूः।  
विश्वगेव वि-
- [ 7. ] दितोऽद्भुतैर्गुणैरुज्जितात्सदृशः क्षितावयं<sup>11</sup> ॥<sup>12</sup> (5). अस्य प्रतापदेवी पत्नी घर्मद्विकीर्त्तिवि-  
श्रान्तिः
- [ 8. ] विश्रान्तिः<sup>13</sup> । आसीदसीमकान्तिः सन्तोषस्याकृतिः पत्युः ॥<sup>14</sup> (6). अभूदसुष्यान्तनयोऽस्य  
विश्रुतः श्रीवे-
- [ 9. ] श्रीवैद्यदेवः<sup>15</sup> परया श्रिया युतः । यदुच्छलत्कीर्त्तिशरोवरोद<sup>16</sup> पद्माङ्गुराभः शिवभूधरो-
- [ 10. ] भवत् ॥<sup>17</sup> (7). दैवज्ञेषु च तर्ककेषु च जनुर्दृष्टस्य दिष्टिश्चुतेरन्वसप्रधृतीर्धटित्वरिभटैरुन्मु-
- [ 11. ] च्य संसृष्टितं । किञ्चैतन्निजवन्धुवृन्दनयनप्रोद्धतहर्षास्वुभिः पारक्यप्रसरप्रतापदहनस्याभू-  
हनि-
- [ 12. ] वर्षापण<sup>18</sup> ॥<sup>19</sup> (8). सोऽयं रामनरेन्द्रजस्य सचिवः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीजुषः प्रख्यातस्य कुमारपाल-  
नृपते-
- [ 13. ] क्षितान्तरूपोऽभवत् । यस्यारातिकिरीटहाटककृतप्रासादकण्ठीरवग्रासत्रासवशादपैष्यति
- [ 14. ] विधोर्विस्वाङ्गरूपी<sup>20</sup> सृगः ॥ (9). सचिवसमाजशरोजतिगमभानुः<sup>21</sup> प्रसरयशोऽस्वुधिरप वैद्य-  
देवः । स-
- [ 15. ] हजवदान्यतयैव चम्पकेशः सुजनमनःकुमुदेषु शीतरस्मिः<sup>22</sup> ॥<sup>23</sup> (10). यस्यानुत्तरवङ्गसङ्गरजये  
नौवाट-
- [ 16. ] हीहीरवत्स्रैर्द्विकरिभिर्य<sup>24</sup> यन्न चलितं चेन्नास्ति तद्वन्मभूः । किञ्चोत्पातुककेनिपातपत-  
नप्रोत्थयितैः
- Plate II, A.*
- [ 17. ] शीकरैराकाशे स्थिरता कृता यदि भवेत्स्यान्निष्कलङ्कः शशी ॥<sup>25</sup> (11). गौडिशस्य कुमारपाल-  
नृपते-
- [ 18. ] द्वोर्वीर्यतेजस्यतेः<sup>26</sup> तैलोक्योदरपूरिभूरियशसः प्रज्ञानवाचस्यतेः । सप्ताङ्गक्षितिपाधिपत्य-  
मभितः
- [ 19. ] संचिन्तयन्नुग्रहीः प्राणैर्भ्योप्यतिवन्धुरस्य सचिवः सोऽभूद्गुणिग्रामणीः ॥ (12). एतादृशे<sup>27</sup> हरि-  
हरिङ्गवि स-
- [ 20. ] दत्ततस्य श्रीतिमग्यदेव<sup>28</sup> नृपतेर्विद्वत्तिं निशम्य । गौडिखरेण भुवि तस्य नरेखरत्वे श्रीवैद्यदेव  
उरुकीर्त्ति-
- [ 21. ] रयं नियुक्तः ॥<sup>29</sup> (13). स्रजमिव शिरस्यादायाज्ञां प्रभोररतेजसः । कतिपयदिनैहत्वा<sup>30</sup> जिशुः  
प्रयाणमसौ

<sup>9</sup> Read °भाक्. °लङ्घनात्

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>11</sup> Read तत्त्व° विश्वगेव °तावयम्

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Rathoddhātā.

<sup>13</sup> Read घर्मद्विकीर्त्तिविश्रान्तिः.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Pathyāryā.

<sup>15</sup> Read श्रीवैद्यदेवः

<sup>16</sup> Read °सरोवरोदरे. The रे is supplied from a *truff*, which is found at the bottom of the plate and is prefixed by the numeral sign fo: 9.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti of Vamśastha and Indravamśa.

<sup>18</sup> Read जनुर्दृष्टस्य, i.e. "of the birth time (of Vaidyadeva) संसृष्टितम् °निर्वापयम्

<sup>19</sup> Metre of verses 8 and 9: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>20</sup> Read विधोर्विस्वा°

<sup>21</sup> Read °सरोज°

<sup>22</sup> Read शीतरश्मिः

<sup>23</sup> Metre: P

<sup>24</sup> Read °वसैर्द्वि°

<sup>25</sup> Metre of verses 11 and 12: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.

<sup>26</sup> Read °नृपतेर्द्वोर्वीर्य°

<sup>27</sup> Read एतादृशी.

<sup>28</sup> This might be read विद्वत्.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>30</sup> Read °दिनैर्हत्वा and द्रुवम्. One would expect प्रयाणं कृत्वा

- L. [22.] द्रुतं । तमवनिपतिं जित्वा युद्धे बभूव महीपतिञ्जिभुजपार्ष्णन्ः<sup>31</sup> साक्षाद्विषयतिवि-  
क्रमः ॥(14).<sup>32</sup> ए-
- [23.] तस्य प्रवरप्रयाणसमये पांशूत्करैः स्थण्डिलप्राये व्योमतले कंसप्तिकगणै-
- [24.] लब्धोऽङ्घ्रियानश्रमः । किञ्चाक्षिहयगोपनेन करयोरन्यक्रियास्वक्षमः सुत्रामा नय-
- [25.] नानिमीलनकरं कर्म स्वकं निन्दति ॥<sup>33</sup> (15) दोहण्डारणिज<sup>34</sup> हविर्भुजि भटत्रातेन्धनैरेधिते
- [26.] संग्रामाध्वरपूजिते रिपुशिरःश्रेणीलसत्श्रीफलैः ।<sup>35</sup> कृत्वा होमविधिं परक्षतिभु-
- [27.] जा दत्वाथ<sup>36</sup> पूर्णोद्भुतिं लब्धोदग्रयशो<sup>37</sup> महत्फलमसौ श्रीवैद्यदेवो बभौ ॥ (16). यदुरुसमर-  
मध्यात<sup>38</sup> खड्गघातो-
- [28.] त्यतद्भिः परसुभटशिरोभिव्योम कीर्णं निरीक्ष्य । भटिति विसरराहुव्यहधीविभ्यदर्कः स्व-
- [29.] रुचमपि रजोभिः प्रोच्छयन्<sup>39</sup> स्वं जुगोप ॥<sup>40</sup> (17). चन्द्रस्योद्भवभूर्महीध्नसरणं सत्वप्रधानाशयः  
पा-
- [30.] त्रय्यीमहितः स्फुरद्रसमयः सोयं गभीरः परः । रत्नानां निलयः श्रियः कुलगृहं स्वान्तस्थित-
- [31.] श्रीपतिः स्यादेवं सदृशोऽम्बुधेर्यदि जलाधारोऽथवा लंघितः<sup>41</sup>॥<sup>42</sup> (18). ज्ञानैर्गीष्पतिरुजितै-  
द्दिनपतिः
- [32.] सत्पीरुषैः श्रीपतिद्वैत्यैरम्बुपतिर्द्वैतैर्द्वैतपतिद्वानैः<sup>43</sup> स चम्पापतिः । किञ्चितेपि गिरीपमान-  
विषयाः

Plate II, B.

- [33.] प्रायः प्रसिद्धेर्बलाद् नुम किन्तु वयं स्वयं स्वसदृशः सर्वैर्गुणानां<sup>44</sup> गणैः ॥0॥ (19) यस्य श्रीबुध-  
देव इत्यनुजभूः
- [34.] श्रीरामभद्रानुजप्रायस्ततदसीमनिर्मलगुणैर्द्वैतैश्चशीलद्विभूः<sup>45</sup> । दानैः शोभनपल्लवैर्द्विज<sup>46</sup>-
- [35.] कुलप्रीतिप्रदानैरपि । ख्यातः कल्पमरूहप्रतिकृतिर्द्वैर्वीर्यजृम्भायसाः<sup>47</sup> ॥ (20). अथाभ-
- [36.] वत कौषिकसञ्ज्ञको सुनिमुनीन्द्रमुख्यो<sup>48</sup> निजगोत्रपूरुषः । पयोजजन्मास्यचयभमशमात्
- [37.] यदास्यपद्मेतु सुखं गिरा स्थित<sup>49</sup> ॥<sup>50</sup> (21). एतदंसे महति भरतः प्रादुरासीतद्विजाति-  
र्भावशामे
- [38.] प्रविसरयसाः शासनोये वरेन्द्रां अस्तामन्यहुणगणसमाख्यानमाख्यानमात्राद्यन्नाम्नोऽ-
- [39.] पि स्फुटति निखिलः किर्णेषानां प्रपञ्चः<sup>51</sup> ॥<sup>52</sup> (22). अस्य विप्रतिलको युधिष्ठिरः पुत्र इ-
- [40.] त्यभवत्सुधीश्वरः<sup>53</sup> । शास्त्रवेदपरिशुद्धबोधभूः श्रीत्रयत्वविलसद्यशोनिधिः ।<sup>54</sup> (23). पार्श्व-
- [41.] ति धर्मपत्नी धीरवरस्यास्य चित्तविश्रान्तिः । असिदसीमकान्तिः श्रीलौदायश्रीयां<sup>55</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Read महीपतिर्निजं.

<sup>32</sup> Metre Harini.

<sup>33</sup> Metre of verses 15 and 16 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

<sup>34</sup> Read दीर्घा.

<sup>35</sup> Read लसत्श्रीफलैः

<sup>36</sup> Read दत्वाथ

<sup>37</sup> Read लब्धोदग्रयशो.

<sup>38</sup> Read मध्यात

<sup>39</sup> Read शिरोभिर्व्योम प्रोच्छयन्

<sup>40</sup> Metre Mālini

<sup>41</sup> Read महीध्नसरणं सत्वं लङ्घितः

<sup>42</sup> Metre of verses 18, 19, and 20 Śārdūlavikrīḍita

<sup>43</sup> Read रुजितैर्द्वैत्यैरम्बुपतिर्द्वैतैर्द्वैतपतिद्वानैः.

<sup>44</sup> Read नृसः and सर्वैर्गुणैः.

<sup>45</sup> Read लसत्तसीमं धर्मैर्द्विभूषितं

<sup>46</sup> The var. lect सत्फलपल्लवैः (with the numerical sign 2 affixed) is given in the upper margin of the plate, and श्रीभन<sup>50</sup> is cut out in the text.

<sup>47</sup> Read कल्पमरूहप्रतिकृतिर्द्वैर्वीर्यचक्षुश्याः । जृम्भा<sup>51</sup> is cut out in the body of the plate, and चक्षुश्या (with the sign 3 affixed) is supplied in the lower margin.

<sup>48</sup> Read भवत् कौषिकं सुनिमुं

<sup>49</sup> Read भमशमात् and स्थितम्

<sup>50</sup> Metre Vamśastha.

<sup>51</sup> Read एतदंसे . . . प्रादुरासीद् . . . प्रविसरयसाः

. . . वरेन्द्रां । अस्तामन्यं. किलिषाणा.

<sup>52</sup> Metre Maudākrāntā.

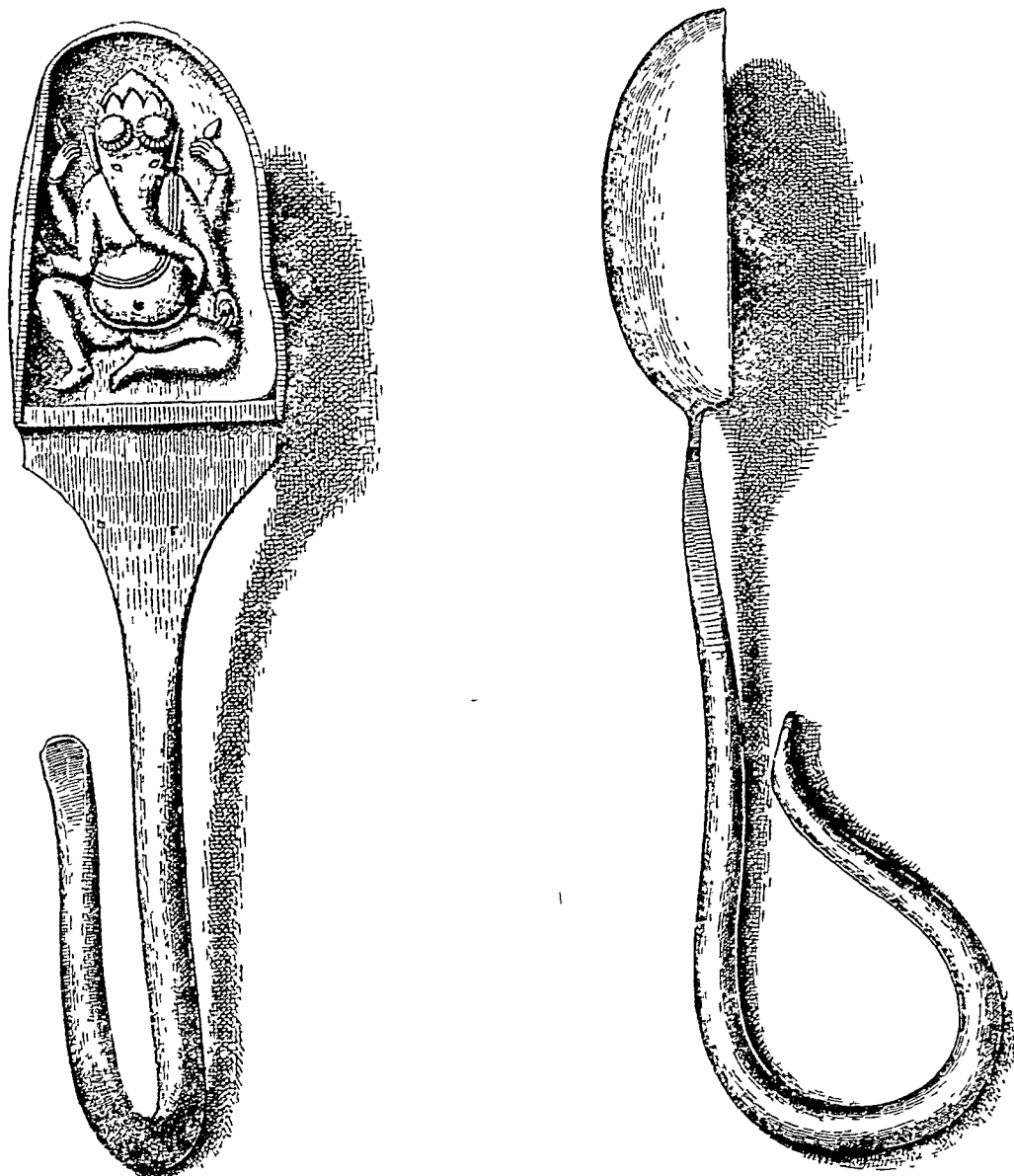
<sup>53</sup> भवत्सुधीश्वरः is faulty metre.

<sup>54</sup> Metre Rathoddhatā.

<sup>55</sup> Read आसीद् . . . श्रीलौदार्यश्रीया.

GRANT OF VAIDYADEVA OF KAMARUPA.

THE SEAL.



*Scale: 3-4ths of original.*

[illegible]

- L. [42.] वसतिः ॥<sup>66</sup> (21). पृव्वपूव्वजनुज्जन्मकम्मपाकादभूत्सुतस्तस्यैतस्यां द्विजाधीसपूज्यः<sup>67</sup> श्रीश्रीध-  
 [43.] रः परः ॥<sup>68</sup> (25). तीर्थेषु भ्रमणात् श्रुताध्ययनतो दानात्तथाध्यापनाप्यज्ञानां<sup>69</sup> करणाद्भूतै-  
 कचरणात् सव्वो-  
 [44.] त्तः श्रीत्रियः ॥ प्रातन्नक्तमयाचितोपवसनैर्य्येन स्वयं गुग्गुलोराकर्षाद्वरदः कृतोच हि कलौ  
 श्री-  
 [45.] सोमनायः<sup>60</sup> प्रभुः ॥<sup>61</sup> (26). कम्मव्रह्मविदां मुख्यः सर्वाकारतपोनिधिः श्रौतस्मात्तरहस्येषु<sup>62</sup>  
 वागीश इव वि-  
 [46.] श्रुतः ॥<sup>63</sup> (27). एतस्मै शासनं प्रादाद्देवदेवत्तीतीश्वरः । वैशाखे विश्रुत्याञ्च<sup>64</sup> स्वर्गार्थं हरि-  
 वासरे ॥0॥ (28).  
 [47.] स्वस्ति हंसाकीञ्चीसमावासितश्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात<sup>65</sup> । परममाहेश्वरः परमवैष्णवः महा-  
 राजाधि-  
 [48.] राजः । परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः । श्रीमान<sup>66</sup> वैद्यदेवदेवः कुशली । श्रीप्रागुज्योतिषभुक्तौ ।  
 कामरू-

## Plate III, A.

- [49.] पमण्डलि । वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तक । शान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीय । यथाप्रधानप्रति-  
 वासि । चट्टभट्टविस-  
 [50.] यिल्लकादिजनपदान् कर्षकाश्च यथात्याग मानयति । बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु  
 भवतां । एतत् इयं  
 [51.] चतुःश्रीमावच्छिन्नं । परिवोधशुद्धं अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशं सजलस्थलं । भूच्छिद्रश्च अकिञ्चित्कर-  
 याञ्च<sup>67</sup> । चतुर्थ्याच्च  
 [52.] सं वैशाखप्रथमादिना गुग्गुली श्रीशुद्धरश्मिर्ग्रे<sup>68</sup> चतुःश्रितिकं शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तमस्माभिः  
 तदेतस्मिन्<sup>69</sup>  
 [53.] विधेया भवेतेति । सं ४ सूर्यगत्या वैशाखदिने १ नि ॥0॥ सन्तिवडामन्दराग्रामयोरे-  
 कीभूय अष्टसीमा-  
 [54.] त्रिनयत्ततः ॥ पूर्वदिशस्तावत् दिग्दाण्डिधरमादाय यावत् पश्चिमकूलशीमा ॥ ऐशा-  
 नदिशः शिङ्गिआध-  
 [55.] रशीमालेङ्गवडाभोग्ये कंसपलभू १ ॥ उत्तरदिशः कोण्टुवाडोङ्गीनडजोलीनवधराशीमा ॥  
 [56.] शिरवडाशिलगुडिभोग्यं किञ्चिदतिक्रम्य जयरातिपोला उणैपोलाविरामादाय वाय-  
 [57.] व्यदिस पिपामुण्डा अश्वत्यशीमा अम्भडाचौवोल । वुडिपोखिरिपूर्वधरकुलाचापडि अ-  
 [58.] ट्टवलपुराणधर्मालि पश्चिमायावत् पश्चिमदिशःशीमा किञ्चिद्वरकित्वा नैर्ऋत्यदिशो घ-

<sup>66</sup> Metre: Pathyārrā.<sup>67</sup> Read पूर्वपूर्वजनुज्जन्मकम्मपाकादभूत्सुतः । द्विजाधीसपूज्यः ।<sup>68</sup> Metre: Pathyāvakra.<sup>69</sup> Read तथाध्यापनाप्यज्ञानां<sup>60</sup> Read सर्वोत्तरः श्रीत्रियः . प्रातन्नं . . श्रीसोमनाय<sup>61</sup> Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>62</sup> Read "निधिः । श्रौतस्मात्".<sup>63</sup> Metre of verses 27, 28, 29, 30: Pathyāvakra.<sup>64</sup> Read "चित्तौ" विपुवत्याच्च.<sup>65</sup> Read "श्रीमज्जयकन्धावारात्".<sup>66</sup> Read श्रीमान्.<sup>67</sup> Read thus, omitting the unnecessary pauses in the plate:—वाडाविसये भट्टगङ्गाधरभुक्तकशान्तिवडामन्दराग्रामीययथा-  
प्रधानप्रतिवासिचट्टभट्टविसयिल्लकादिजनपदान् कर्षकांश्च यथात्यागं  
मानयति बोधयति समादिशति वः मतमस्तु भवताम् । एतद्वदयं  
चतुःश्रीमावच्छिन्नं परिवोधशुद्धम् अचट्टभट्टप्रवेशं सजलस्थलं भूच्छिद्रश्च  
अकिञ्चित्करयाञ्च.<sup>68</sup> Read श्रीश्रीधर° With the परिवोध of the text (L 3)  
compare the Pāli form पालिवोध = hindrance.<sup>69</sup> Read तदेतस्मिन्.



- L. [59.] मालिमादाय नैपोशृङ्गारयो विवादभूमेर्वाद्यर्द्धमादाय लच्छुवडास्थितैकवाटीसमेतघाट-  
चम्पकः शीमा वे-  
[60.] लवणीपटानवपल । दक्षिणदिशः कुम्भकारभोग्यवहिः शीमा कोण्डोहाडादुध्रवीलयावत  
हेलावणामुण्डमा-  
[61.] दाय दिग्दाण्डियावत । अग्निदिशः सीमा । एव अष्टसीमा ॥ ॥ द्वितीयपटकस्य चतुद्दश-  
पङ्क्ताः ॥ सन्तिपाट-  
[62.] कसन्नन्तु मन्दराग्रामसंयुत । वडाविसयसम्बद्धं भूच्छिद्रेणेति निश्चयात् ॥<sup>70</sup> (29). सव्वायोपाय-  
संयुक्तं करोप-  
[63.] स्करवज्जितं । यावच्चन्द्राक्सभीग्यं यावदिच्छाक्रियाफलं । जलस्थलखिलारण्यवाट-  
गोवाटसंयुत<sup>71</sup> ॥ (30). कोष्ठ य-  
[64.] श्व करिष्यति स्वयमिदं यः कारयिष्यत्यसौ पुत्रादिद्वयमभ्युदीक्ष्य निरये कल्पान्तरं स्थास्यति ।  
यः श्लाघाः परिपा-

## Plate III, B.

- [65.] स्यति सुतैस्त्वितैः स वह्निस्यते स्वलोकों परिमुच्य यास्यति चिराद्विष्णोर्वैरणं पदं<sup>72</sup> (31).  
यावद्भास्करहिमकर-  
[66.] ताराभूधरपधिवसुधाद्याः । तावद्विलशंतु नृपतेः कीर्तिः<sup>73</sup> श्रीवैद्यदेवस्य<sup>74</sup> ॥ (32). इमां  
राजगुरोः पुत्रः श्रीसुरार्द्धि-  
[67.] जन्मनः पद्मागर्भोद्भवश्चक्रे प्रसस्तिं श्रीमनोरथः<sup>75</sup> ॥ (33). देवोयं रिपुचक्रविक्रमकथाप्रत्यर्थि-  
दोव्विभ्रमः शश्वद्विष-  
[68.] परिभ्रमन्नवनवीनीलयशः श्रीधरः । एतस्मै सुदितो द्विजातिपतये धर्माधिकारार्पितश्री-  
गोनन्दनकोवि-  
[69.] दैकवचसा प्रादादिदं साशनं<sup>76</sup> ॥ (34). कर्णभद्रेण भद्रेण शिल्पिनानल्पबुद्धिना । ताम्रं  
विनयनक्षेत्रे निमित्तं  
[70.] साधुकर्मणा<sup>77</sup> ॥ (35). एतादृशे सुनिवचनानि भवन्ति । स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसु-  
न्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा  
[71.] पच्यते पितृभिस्त्वह ॥ गामेका स्वर्णमेकस्वा भूमेरप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाह-  
[72.] तसंज्ञवं ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-  
[73.] लं<sup>78</sup> ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to the holy Vāsudeva! Hail!

*Verse.* (1.) Glorious is Hari; the pillar for measuring the sky; the receptacle in which are preserved the germs of the transmigratory world; the boar whose form, assumed by him in sport, terminates with space, (i.e. is all-pervading).

(2.) In the race of the Sun, who is the right eye of Hari, was born of yore the king Vighrahapāla, perfect in every accomplishment.

<sup>70</sup> Read सञ्जं संयुतम् विषयं निश्चयात्.

<sup>71</sup> Read सव्वायो वज्जितम् यावच्चन्द्राक्सभीग्यं फलम् संयुतम्

<sup>72</sup> Read कोष्ठे करिष्यति कारयिष्यति परिपाठयिष्यति  
सुतैर्वि वज्जितम् स्वर्णमेकम् पदम् ॥ Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>73</sup> Read भूधरपयोधिं लसतु कौर्षिः

<sup>74</sup> Metro: Pathyārṇā.

<sup>75</sup> Read प्रशस्तिं. Metro: Pathyāvakra.

<sup>76</sup> Read दोर्वि लवणाः शासनम्. Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>77</sup> Metro: Pathyāvakra.

<sup>78</sup> Read परदत्तां वा वसुन्धराम् गामेकां स्वर्णमेकं वा मङ्गुलम्  
संज्ञवं फलम् ।

此乃天界之寶藏也。凡我子民。若能  
 虔心禮拜。則可得此寶藏之利益。其  
 利益之廣大。不可言喻。凡我子民。  
 若能虔心禮拜。則可得此寶藏之利  
 益。其利益之廣大。不可言喻。凡我  
 子民。若能虔心禮拜。則可得此寶  
 藏之利益。其利益之廣大。不可言  
 喻。凡我子民。若能虔心禮拜。則  
 可得此寶藏之利益。其利益之廣大。

[illegible]

(3.) His minister was Yogadeva, who was versed in the Śāstras and the prowess of whose arm was manifest.

(4.) Of this king of mighty power the son was Rāmapāla, who was the moon (*produced*) from the ocean-like Pāla family and who wielded the glory of empire. As befitted one of his name (*yathāvat*), Rāmapāla (*yena*) spread glory through the three worlds, by gaining the country of Janaka,<sup>79</sup> (as Rāma gained Janakabhū, the child of Janaka, *i.e.* Sitā); and by killing king Bhīma,<sup>80</sup> as Rāma killed Rāvaṇa; and by crossing the ocean of war, as Rāma crossed the ocean.

(5.) Bodhidēva was Rāmapāla's faultless minister, the abode of truth. By his wondrous qualities he was known throughout the world as one without an equal.

(6.) His wife was Pratāpadevī, the resting-place of virtue, good fortune and good report, whose beauty was boundless, and who was the embodiment of her husband's joy.

(7.) To him was born of her the renowned Vaidyadeva, who was endowed with the highest happiness, and in whose lake of leaping glory the mountain of Śiva (*i.e.* Kailāsa) appeared as it were but a lotus-sprout.

(8.) Hearing from astrologers and mendicants of the auspicious juncture of Vaidyadeva's birth-time, his enemies' soldiers forthwith gave up food and sleep and courage, and were stupefied. And, further, by the waters of joy that sprang from the eyes of his gathered friends was extinguished the fire-like splendour of the hostile multitude.

(9.) This Vaidyadeva was the minister after his own heart of the famous king Kumārapāla, who was the son of the king Rāma, and who delighted in the glory of empire. The deer which is formed in the orb of the moon will run away through fear of being swallowed by the lions represented on the palace, which is made of gold from diadems of the enemies of this (*Vaidyadeva*).

(10.) This *Vaidyadeva* was the sun in the lotus-like assembly of ministers; the ocean of spreading fame; by reason of his natural generosity he was the Lord of Cham-pakā (*i.e.* Karpā); he was the moon among the lily-like minds of good men.

(11.) And on the occasion of Vaidyadeva's (*yasya*) victory at the battle in Southern Vāṅga,<sup>81</sup> if the elephants of the eight quarters did not run away terrified by the shouts from the enclosure of boats, it was because they had no place to run to (*i.e.* the shouts of the rowers pervaded all space!) Moreover, if the spray, thrown up by the downward strokes of the upraised rudder-oars, had remained fixed in the sky, then the moon would have become spotless (being washed clean by the spray).

(12.) He (*Vaidyadeva*) chief among the virtuous, sternly keeping in mind the kingdom in all its parts, was minister, dearer even than life, to king Kumārapāla the, Lord of Gauḍa, who was like the sun in the might of his arm, with his great glory, filling the three worlds, and like Vṛihaspati in his wisdom.

(13.) The aforesaid renowned Vaidyadeva was appointed ruler by the Lord of, Gauḍa in the room of Timgyadeva, who had been treated with honour in the East, and of whose disaffection the Lord of Gauḍa had heard.

<sup>79</sup> *i.e.* Mithilā. To take *janaka* = "father" would spoil the play upon the word.

<sup>80</sup> I cannot identify the name.

<sup>81</sup> *Anuttara* = "complete" may qualify "victory." For *Naurāṣa* see Dr. Hultzsch, — *Ind. Antiq.* vol. XV, p. 309.

(14.) This victorious Vaidyadeva having placed upon his head, garland-wise, the command of his glorious master, marched speedily in a few days, and having defeated that king (*viz. Timgyadeva*) by the energy of his own arm, became king and appeared like the valiant Indra himself.

(15.) When during the glorious march of this Vaidyadeva the sky became like the surface of the earth on account of the heaps of dust, the horses of the sun found it difficult to move their feet. - Further, Indra, while closing both his eyes (*against the dust*), is unable to use his hands for any other action, (*and therefore*) reviles his fate,<sup>82</sup> to which is due the never-closing condition of his eyes.

(16.) This *Vaidyadeva* performed the *Homa* in the fire of his own splendour, which, produced from his arm as fire from the *arani*, was fed like fire by the fuel of his enemies' hosts, and was worshipped at the fight, as fire at the sacrifice, (*and he used as material for his sacrifice*) many heads of his enemies in the place of bright *vilva* fruits; next, he offered the *pārṇāhuti* oblation with the (*body of the*) hostile king, and having acquired vast glory as the result (*of his sacrifice*) he shone resplendent.

(17.) The sun, beholding the sky covered with the enemies' heads, as at the stroke of the sword they fly upwards from the great fight of Vaidyadeva (*yad*), suddenly became alarmed at the thought of these heads being so many Râhus and protected himself by smearing out his own lustre with dust.

(18.) This Vaidyadeva might be exactly compared with the ocean, if he were (*but he is not*) a *jalādhāra*, *i.e.* protector of fools (*jala* = *jaḍa*), as the ocean is a *jalādhāra*, *i.e.* receptacle of water; or if he were conquerable (*laṅghita*) as the ocean was crossed (*by Rāma*)—(for in other points the comparison holds, thus—) the ocean is the birth-place of the moon, and he is the source of delight (*chandra*); the ocean is the refuge of mountains (*e.g. Maināka*) and he is the refuge of kings (*mahādhra*); the ocean is the home of living things, and he is the home of a disposition in which the *sattva* element of goodness predominates; the ocean is adorned by the beauty of its bed, and he is adorned by the beauty of his ministers (*pātra*); the ocean is filled with sparkling water, and he is filled with *rasa* (*love, etc.*); the ocean is very deep, he is profound; the ocean is the abode of gems, and he the abode of what is most precious; the ocean is the chief home of Lakshmi, and he of wealth (*śrī*); Vishṇu dwells within the ocean and within his heart.

(19.) He was *Vrihaspati* as regards his knowledge, and the Sun as regards his energies, and Vishṇu as regards his good actions, and Varuṇa as regards his stability, and Kuvera as regards his wealth, and the king of Champā (*Karṇa*) as regards his liberality. Further, even these names (*sc. Vrihaspati etc.*) are here employed because of their notoriety as the common objects of comparison in poetry (*gīṛā*); but we for our part declare that in respect to all his numerous qualities Vaidyadeva was like himself alone.

(20.) His younger brother<sup>83</sup> was Budhadēva, who, resembling the younger brother of Rāma (*viz. Lakshmaṇa*) in possessing his well-known (*tattat*) boundless and spotless qualities, (*and himself*) the abode of perfect *dharma* and perfect character, with glory leaping in the might of his arm, was famed to be like the Kalpataru in his gifts and also in his donations to Brahmans, which are the good fruits and fresh sprouts.

<sup>82</sup> It is his *karman* = (*prārabdha*) that makes him Indra with never-closing eyes.

<sup>83</sup> *Anujabhūḥ* is ambiguous. I explain thus:—*anujā bhūḥ (utpattiḥ) yasya so anujabhūḥ*.

10

[illegible]

(21.) Now (turning to the receiver of this grant), there was that chief of munis, named Kauśika, the first of his *gotra*, in whose mouth Sarasvatī rested after her fatigue in wandering through the (*four*) mouths of Brāhmā.

(22.) In his great *vanśa*, in the strictly-disciplined village of Bhāva,<sup>84</sup> in Varendri appeared Bharata, a Brāhmaṇa, glorious, by the bare mention of whose name,—to say nothing of his many other good qualities—are destroyed all sins.

(23.) His son was Yudhishṭhira, chief of Brāhmaṇas and intelligent men, the repository of knowledge purified by (*study of*) the Vedas and Śāstras, the abode of glory showing itself through his mastery of the sacred learning.

(24.) The wife of this learned man was Pāi of boundless beauty, the repose of her husband's heart, and the dwelling-place of virtue, nobleness and prosperity.

(25.) As the result of his merit, acquired in many previous states of existence, there was born to him of her that great son Śrīdhara, honoured among Brāhmaṇas.

(26.) By reason of his pilgrimages to *tīrthas*, and study of Veda, and generosity, as well as by his teaching and by his performance of sacrifices and strict observance of vows, Śrīdhara was chief among learned Brāhmaṇas. Through Śrīdhara's penances of eating once only either by day or by night, and living on alms without begging, and fastings, the Lord Śiva was propitiated here, in the Kaliyuga, by being drawn out of a Guggulu tree.

(27.) Foremost among those who know *karman* and *brahman* (*i.e.* the *Karma-kāṇḍa* and the *Jñāna-kāṇḍa* of the Veda), Śrīdhara, the store-house of every kind of religious observances, was famed to be like Vṛihaspati in (his mastery of) the hidden things of *Śruti* and *Smṛiti*.

(28.) To this Śrīdhara, at the Vishuvatī (*saṃkrānti*) in Vaiśākha ṅ Ekādaśī, the king Vaidyadeva gave this charter, to gain heaven.

[To follow line 14 of the second Plate].<sup>85</sup>

(29.) As determined by the *bhūmichchhidra* rule, the village Santipāṭaka<sup>86</sup> is joined to the village Mandarā and belongs to the Baḍā-vishaya.

(30.) The villages conveyed are provided with all sources of revenue, and are exempt from royal charges and payments in kind. They are to be enjoyed as long as the sun and moon shall endure, and the profits (*phala*) of cultivation (*kriyā*) shall be arranged for as (*the owner may*) wish. They are provided with water and dry land, forest tracts, gardens and enclosures for cows.

(31.) Whoever may himself appropriate this or cause it to be appropriated, shall see his sons and property perish before him and shall remain in Naraka for the period of a Kalpa. But the honourable man who respects it shall be blessed with sons and wealth; and having long enjoyed Svarga he shall go to the supreme abode of Viṣṇu.

(32.) May the glory of king Vaidyadeva continue to shine as long as sun, moon, stars, mountains, sea and earth endure!

<sup>84</sup> *Sāsnogre* I take equal to *Ugrasane*, the commoner *bahurīhi*.

<sup>85</sup> The sign of omission is found in the second plate (side B) after *hariśāsare*, the last word of l. 14. The translation is therefore made to follow the order intended by the words *dvitīyopātakasya caturdaśapaṅktyāḥ*, to which I supply "*agre*" to complete the construction.

<sup>86</sup> Translation doubtful. Dr Kielhorn explains *pātaka* by "outlying hamlet" (*Ind. Antiq.* vol. XVIII, p. 135), which I follow above. Santi would thus be the name of the *pātaka* adjoining the village Mandarā and falling within the *vishaya* Baḍā; and the correcter form of the name would appear to be *Śānti*; [cf. III, A, line I, where, however, the final syllable of *Śānti* is read only doubtfully owing to the bad state of the plate.] The grammar of verse 29 seems to make *saṃpīṭakasaṃjñam* an adjective to *Śāsanam* in verse 28: (observe also *idam* in verse 31).



(33.) Manoratha, son of the brâhmaṇa *rajaḡuru* Murâri, and Padmâ, his wife, composed this praśasti.

(34.) This is that king whose active arm destroyed the famed prowess of his many foes. And this is that Śrîdhara, whose glory ever spreading through the world extends anew. [*The king*] being pleased delivered this śâsana to that brâhmaṇa through the words of his *dharmâdhikârin*, the very learned Gonandana.

[Plate II, B, l. 15.] Hail ! From the victorious camp at Hamsâkoñchî, his Majesty Vaidyadeva, a most devout worshipper of Śiva and of Viṣṇu, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Paramêśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, being in good health [Plate III, A, l. 1.] greets, informs and commands the people of the villages of Śânti-Baḍâ and Mandarâ possessed by Gaṅgâdhara Bhaṭṭa, in the *vishaya* of Baḍâ, in the *maṇḍala* of Kâmarûpa in the *bhukli* of Prâggyotisha, beginning with the principal residents . . . (?) and peasants. Be it known unto you that these two villages, having their boundaries fixed and subject to no reduction, with their water and dry land, not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, and their uncultivated land free of taxes, with a revenue of 400, we have given by charter to Śrîdhara Śarmâ (surnamed) Gugguli in ? ? . . . Therefore be obedient to this charter. Written in the fourth year on the first day of Vaiśâkha by the movement of the sun.<sup>87</sup>

[Plate III, B, l. 5.] (35) This copper was engraved by the artist Karnabhadra, an intelligent, courteous and accurate workman.

To such a plate are added the words of the Munis<sup>89</sup> :—

## XXIX.—BENARES COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KANAU

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No. I.<sup>1</sup>—Dated Samvat 1162.

This grant is on a single plate, and closely resembles the Basâhi grant of Samvat 1161, both in its outward form and text.<sup>2</sup> The plate is 1' 6" long by 11" broad, and weighs 8lbs. 12oz. Like the Basâhi plate (see Dr. Fleet's description *in loco*), it has a *saṃkha* engraved on its left margin with a barbed arrow below it. At its top end is rivetted a turned over copper band, through which the ring of a seal was evidently intended to run ; but the seal is missing.

The inscription is in Nâgarî characters and is well preserved, but the technical execution is on the whole imperfect. As regards orthography, *b* and *v* are denoted by the same sign, except once in line 1, where *b* (*babhûva*) is represented by the sign used in seven inscriptions of Jayachchandra (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 129 *et seq.*) The sibilants are used promiscuously. The letters *r* and *ś* have two forms. In line 22 I

<sup>87</sup> See above, p. 349.

<sup>88</sup> Here follow the boundaries of the villages.

<sup>89</sup> The usual imprecations which follow are left untranslated.

<sup>1</sup> As to the finding of these plates see *ante*, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> See Râjendralâla Mitra, *Journal As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. XLII (1873), and Fleet, *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XIV (1885) for the Basâhi plate.

have failed to read the two letters immediately preceding the word *purandara*. In line 23, initial *e* appears in the old form of a triangle, with the apex downwards.

The opening verses, 1—3, correspond with those of the Basâhi plate. Line 2 reads *Mahīyalatutah*:—conf. *Mahiala-sutah* or *Mahīdla-sutah* of the Bas. pl. according to Drs. Fleet and Mitra. Verse 4 of the Bas. pl. is not found in our text: verse 6 of our text is not found in the Basâhi plate: but these omissions are unimportant. Line 6 records the date in words and figures,<sup>3</sup> viz. Tuesday, full moon (bright half) of Kārttika, 1162 Samvat, date corresponding to 24th October, 1105 A.D.

Line 7. Govindachandra, the donor, was then encamped in Vishṇupura and made the grant after having bathed in the Ganges, etc. This, and the succeeding names of places, I cannot identify.

Line 8. He gives the village of Usithâ (?), in the Jîâvatî-pattalâ in the Pañchâla country, with the usual appurtenances.

Ll. 12—13. The donee, Vilhākāya Dīkṣita, who came originally from Sāvithadeśa (?), was the son of Puravāsa and grandson of Nāgānanda (?). These belonged to the Vandhula gotra with the three *pravara*s of Vandhula, Aghamarshaṇa and Viśvāmītra, and were followers of the *Yajurveda*.

Ll. 15—16 contain the well-known crux मत्वा यद्द्विभान . . . दशव (व) धविशतिरुवधाकरे तुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृति . . .

Ll. 23—24. The composer of the inscription was Vijayadāsa, who also composed the Basâhi document. The following consented to the grant:—the *pratihara* Gautama, the *purohita* Jāgūka, the *mahattaka* Vālhana (all three of whom are mentioned in the Basâhi plate) and the Queen-mother Rālhadevī.

#### TEXT.

##### Front.

- Line [1.] ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ तमायं सर्वदेवानां दामोदरमुपास्महे । त्रैलोक्यं यस्य वक्त्रो व  
क्रोडान्तःस्थं वल्लिचयी ॥ (1).<sup>4</sup> वंसे गाहडवालास्थे बभूव विजयी नृपः ॥<sup>5</sup>  
[2.] महोयलसुतः श्रीमान्नलनाभागसन्निभः ॥ (2).<sup>6</sup> याते श्रीभोजभूषे विबुधवरवधूनेवसीमाति-  
थित्व<sup>7</sup> श्रीकर्णे कीर्त्तिशेषं गतवति च नृपे क्षात्यये जायमाने ।  
[3.] भर्त्तारं यं धरित्री त्रिदिवविभुनिभं प्रीतियोगादुपेता त्राता विश्वस्य पूर्वं समभवदिह स  
क्षापतिचंद्रदेवः<sup>8</sup> (3).<sup>9</sup> ॥ तस्मादभूद्रिपदिलापतिदन्तिसिंहः क्षोणीपति-  
[4.] मंदनपाल इति प्रसिद्धः । येनाक्रियन्त वभुशः समरप्रवन्थाः सन्नर्त्तितप्रहृतशत्रुकवन्धवन्थाः<sup>10</sup> ॥  
(4).<sup>11</sup> तस्मादजायत नरेश्वरवृद्धव्यपादारविंदयुगलो ज्व-  
[5.] लितप्रतापः । क्षोणीपतीन्द्रतिलको रिपुरगभंगी गोविंदचंद्र<sup>12</sup> इति विश्रुतनामकीर्त्तिः (5).<sup>13</sup> ॥  
तिष्ठतो यस्य दोःस्तम्भे मत्तसौर्यैकदन्तिनः । धनुर्गुणक्षिण्येणी म-

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Kielhorn kindly provides the following note:—

‘For V. 1162 expired:—Tuesday, the 24th October, A.D. 1105; the full moon *tithi* commenced 2h. 29m. after mean sunrise and ended 0h. 9m. after mean sunrise of the following day.’

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>5</sup> Read वंसे . . . नृपः

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>7</sup> Read विभुध.

<sup>8</sup> Read चन्द्रदेवः

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>10</sup> Read वृद्धः. ‘प्रवन्था . कवन्धवन्थाः

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>12</sup> Read ‘वृद्धव्यपादारविन्द’ रिपुरगभंगी गोविन्दचन्द्र

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

- L. [6.] दराजीव लक्ष्यते ॥ (6).<sup>14</sup> संवत्सहस्रैके द्विषष्ट्युत्तरशताभ्यधिके कार्तिकेयैर्णमास्ये भीमे दिने ऽक्षेपि संवत् ११६२ सुदि ५ भीमे<sup>15</sup> अद्येह श्रीमद्विष्णुपुरावासितश्री-  
[7.] विजयकटके सकलकल्मषक्षयकारिण्यां गंगायां स्नात्वा ॥ यथाविधानं मंत्रदेववृष्टिपमनुष्य-  
भूतपितृस्तर्पयित्वा । सूर्यं भट्टारकं संपूज्य । भगवन्तं महेश्व-  
[8.] रं समभ्यर्च्य । विश्वाधारं वासुदेवं समाराध्य । मंत्रपूतं भुतवह हुत्वा । पंचालदेशे जीश्रा-  
वतीपत्तलायां उत्तिथागामे समस्तविषयसार्धवर्तिसमस्त-  
[9.] महत्तमजनपदान्बोधयति समाज्ञापयति ॥<sup>16</sup> यथा ग्रामोयं मया स्वसीमातृण्यूतिगोचर-  
पर्यन्तः सजलस्थलः साम्भमधूकः सगर्तोषरपाषाणः स-  
[10.] नदीवनलोहलवणाकरः सदशापराधदण्डः साकाशपातालः स्वसीमाचतुराघाटविशुद्धान्तः  
पूर्वदत्तदेवब्राह्मणवर्जितः । नलिनीदलगतजल ।  
[11.] लवतरलतरं प्राणिना जीवितं<sup>17</sup> विज्ञाय । करिकलभकर्णाग्रविलसितचपलां लक्ष्मीं विलोक्य ।  
जलबुद्बुदाकारं यौवनं परिज्ञाय । कदलीदण्डव-  
[12.] त् संसारमसारतरं<sup>18</sup> समाकलय्य ॥ साविथदेशनिर्गताय वाजरुनेयसाखीमृगाय वंधुलगोत्राय  
बंधुल अधमर्षणविश्वामित्रप्रवराय<sup>19</sup> ॥  
[13.] दीक्षितनागानदपौत्राय दीक्षितपुरवासपुत्राय यंजुर्वेदविद्यानलिनीविकासनप्रत्यक्षभस्कर-  
राय<sup>20</sup> दीक्षितवील्हाकाय । श्रद्धाविशुद्धमनसा  
[14.] महाराजपुत्रश्रीमन्नोविदचंद्रदेवेन कुशपूतहस्तोदकेन कार्तिक्यां निमित्ते सम्यगाज्यूयास्मै  
ब्राह्मणार्या मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च यशःपुण्यवि-  
[15.] वृद्धये चंद्रार्क्षेर्दिधर्तितपवनाम्बराणि यावत् शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः<sup>21</sup> ॥ मत्वा यद्दीयमान-  
भागभागकूटकदशवधविशतिक्वथाकरे तुरु-  
[16.] ष्टदण्डप्रभृतिस्त्वादायान तत् सर्वमस्मै निसेदनीय<sup>22</sup> ॥ ये यास्यन्ति महीभृतो मम कुले  
किं वा परस्मित्पुरस्तोपामेष मयाजलिर्विरचित्ता नादेय-  
[17.] सत् कियत् दूर्वामात्रमपि स्वधम्मनिरता दत्त सदा पाल्यता वायुर्वास्यति तस्थति प्रतपन  
श्रुत्व मुनीना वचः<sup>23</sup> ॥ (7).<sup>24</sup> अत्राय पौराणिकाः  
[18.] श्लोकाः ॥ भूमि<sup>25</sup> यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी नियतं  
स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (8).<sup>26</sup> योर्चितं प्रतिगृह्णाति ददात्यर्क्षि-  
[19.] तमेव वा । तावुभौ गच्छतः स्वर्गं नरकं तु विपर्यये ॥ (9). बहुदिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग-  
रादिभिः । यस्य सत्यं यदा भुगिस्तस्य तस्य वदा  
[20.] फलं<sup>27</sup> ॥ (10). यानोह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवत्तत्प्रति  
मानि<sup>28</sup> तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ (11).<sup>29</sup> अस्मत्कुलं पर-

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>15</sup> Read 'भीममास्यं' and १५ instead of ५.

<sup>16</sup> Read 'गङ्गायां मन्त्रदेववृष्टिपमनुष्यभूतपितृस्तर्पयित्वा . . . महेश्वरं . . . मन्त्रपूतं हुतवहं पंचालं ग्रामे पाश्र्ववर्तितं पदान् सर्वोषः', remove the unnecessary signs of punctuation.

<sup>17</sup> Strike out the unnecessary punctuation after लव ; and read प्राणिना जीवितं.

<sup>18</sup> Read बुद्बुदां सारतरं.

<sup>19</sup> Read 'शास्त्रामृगाय वसुधाचमर्षं'

<sup>20</sup> Read 'नागानन्दं यजुर्वेदं'

<sup>21</sup> Read 'श्रीमन्नोविदचन्द्रदेवेन . . . सम्यगाहयां . . . ब्राह्मणार्याय . . . रात्मनं . . . अर्क्षेर्दिधर्तितपव-

नाम्बराणि . . . शासनीकृत्य.

<sup>22</sup> Read 'स्त्वादायान् निसेदनीयम्'

<sup>23</sup> Read 'परस्मित्पुरस्तोपामेष मयाजलिर्विरचितो नादेयमस्यात् कियत् . . . स्वधर्मं दत्तं . . . पाल्यतां तस्थति . . . श्रुत्वा मुनीनां

<sup>24</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavik-ñidita.

<sup>25</sup> Read भूमिं

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the two following verses.

<sup>27</sup> Read बहुभिर्वं . . . यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य वदा फलम् ॥

<sup>28</sup> Read निर्माल्यवान्प्रतिमानि तानि

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

- L. [21.] सुदारसुदाहरद्विरनैश्च दानमिदमच । सुमादनीयं । लक्ष्मास्तडित्तिलिवुद्वुदचंचलाया  
दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ज<sup>०</sup> (12).<sup>32</sup> संखभदासनं  
[22.] क्व वराणां वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि मसं \* \* पुरंदर<sup>३३</sup> ॥ (13).<sup>33</sup> स्वदत्तां पर-  
दत्तां वा यो दरीत वसंधरां । स विस्तृयां हूमिर्दूला<sup>३४</sup> पितृभिः स-  
[23.] ह मज्जति ॥ (14). प्रतीहारगौनमश्व<sup>३५</sup> जागृकश्च पुरोहितः । जननी राहदेवी च वाल्म-  
ह्य महत्तकः ॥ (15). एतेषां संमत्तिं प्राप्य सम्यग्लिखित-

Reverse.

[24] वानिदम् । नाम्ना विजयदासाख्यः शासनं राजसंमतम् (16).

## No. II.—Dated Samvat 1196.

This inscription is engraved on a single plate, which measures 1' 3½" in length by 1' ¼" in breadth, and weighs 5lbs. 15oz. The plate is perforated at the top margin to take the ring of a seal; and it is likely that one of the loose seals now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, belongs to this plate. The orthography calls for no special remark. Verses 1-7 correspond with the opening verses of the Chandradeva and Madanapāla grant (see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. XVIII, p. 11): verses 8 and 9 are found again in a grant of Jayachchandra (*ibid.*, p. 130).

L. 13.—Govindachandra while at Benares conveys the village of Janakadevipura in the Rānapattalā (the latter name I read doubtfully owing to the plate being injured).

Ll. 16, 17.—Contain the date, and mention a lunar eclipse on that date, viz. Monday, the 15th day in the bright half of Āśvina, 1196 Samvat, corresponding to 9th October 1139 A.D.<sup>36</sup>

19, 20. The donee was the *purohita* Jāgū Śarman, the son of the donee in the preceding grant.

## TEXT.

- L. [1.] स्वस्ति । अकुण्ठेकण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठत्कारः । संरम्भ<sup>३७</sup> सुरतारम्भे स श्रियः  
श्रेयसेस्तु वः ॥ (1).<sup>38</sup> आसीदसीतद्युतिवंसजातच्छापालमाला-  
[2.] सु<sup>३९</sup> दिवङ्गतासु । साक्षादिवस्त्रानिव<sup>४०</sup> भूरिधाम्ना नाम्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ (2).<sup>41</sup>  
तत्सुतो भूषाहीचन्द्रश्चन्द्रधामनिभन्निजं । येनापारम-  
[3.] कूपारपार<sup>४२</sup> व्यापारितं यशः ॥ (3).<sup>43</sup> तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिकः क्रान्तहिषश्चण्डलो  
विश्वस्तीक्ष्णतधीरबोधतिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः ॥ येनो-

<sup>36</sup> Read "सुदाहरद्विरनैश्च दानमिदमथनुमीदनीयम् । लक्ष्मास्तडित्तिलिवुद्वुदचंचलाया . . परिपालनं

<sup>37</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>38</sup> Read "सुखं भद्रासनं दत्तं वराणां वरवारणाः । फलं स्वर्गः पुरंदरः ॥

<sup>39</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the three following verses

<sup>40</sup> Read "हरेण वसुधाम् । स विहयां कृमिर्मूला.

<sup>41</sup> Read "प्रतीहारगौतमश्च

<sup>42</sup> Dr. Kielhorn again kindly notes,— "The year is the

northern expired year; the lunar eclipse occurred 13 h 21 m. after mean sunrise."

<sup>43</sup> Read "अकुण्ठो संरम्भः

<sup>44</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh)

<sup>45</sup> Read "आसीदसीतवैकुण्ठः

<sup>46</sup> Read "साक्षादिव

<sup>47</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

<sup>48</sup> Read "पारि

<sup>49</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

- L. [4.] दारतरप्रतापसमितशेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमन्नाधिपुराधिरायमसमन्दोर्विक्रमेणाजितं<sup>44</sup> ॥ (4).<sup>45</sup>  
 तीर्थानि काशिकुशिकोत्तरकोशलेन्द्रस्थानी-
- [5.] यकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य । हेमात्मतुल्यमनिसन्ददता द्विजेभ्यो येनाङ्किता वसुमती  
 सतशस्तुलाभिः<sup>46</sup> ॥ (5).<sup>47</sup> तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रचू-
- [6.] डामणिर्विजयते निजगोत्रचन्द्रः । यस्याभिषेककालसोत्तसितैः पयोभिः प्रक्षालितं कलिरजः  
 पटलं धरित्वा ॥ (6) यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणस-
- [7.] मये सुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चलेन्माद्यत्कुम्भिपदक्रमासमभरभक्ष्यन्महीमण्डले । चडारत्नविभ्रतालु-  
 गलितः स्नानासृगुद्भासितः<sup>48</sup> शेषः पेषवभा-
- [8.] दिव<sup>49</sup> क्षणमसौ क्रोडे निलीनाननः ॥ (7).<sup>50</sup> तस्मादजायत निजायतबाहुवह्निवधवरुद्धनव-  
 रायगजो नरेन्द्रः । सान्द्रासृतद्रवसुचाम्यभवो ग-
- [9.] वां यो गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चन्द्र इवाम्बुरासे<sup>51</sup> ॥ (8).<sup>52</sup> न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षरान्तिस्तस्य  
 दिक्षु गजानय वज्रिणः । ककुभि वस्त्रमुरञ्जमुवल्लभप्रति-
- [10.] भटा<sup>53</sup> इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ (9).<sup>54</sup> सोयं समस्तराजचक्रसंसेवितचरणः स च परमभट्टारक-  
 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरनिजमुजो-
- [11.] पार्जितश्रीकान्यकुलाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-  
 परममाहेश्वर श्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यात-
- [12.] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वराश्वपतिगजपतिनरपतिराजत्रयाधिप-  
 तिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमहो-
- [13.] विन्दुचन्द्रदेवो विजयी ॥ रानपत्तलायां<sup>55</sup> । जनकदेविपुरग्रामनिवासिनो निखिलजनपदा-  
 नुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुराजमन्त्रिपुरोहि-
- [14.] तप्रतीहारसेनापतिभण्डागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिषग्नैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकारितुरगपत्तनाक-  
 रस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषान् समा-
- [15.] ज्ञापयति बोधयत्यादिशति च यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थलः  
 सलोहलवणाकरः समत्स्याकरः सगर्तो-
- [16.] परः समधूकाम्बवनवाटिकाविटपतृण्यतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सोर्द्धाधश्चतुराघाटविसुद्धः स्वसो-  
 मापर्यन्तः संवत् ११६६ आस्विनसुदि १५ सो-
- [17.] मदिने<sup>56</sup> श्रीमहाराणस्यां राहुग्रस्तचन्द्रमसि गङ्गायां स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवमुनिमनुजभूत-  
 पितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहस-
- [18.] सुष्णरोचिषमुपस्थायौषधिपतिसकलसेपरं ममभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्व्वासुदेवस्य पूजास्विधाय<sup>57</sup>  
 प्रचुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं हुत्वा माता-
- [19.] पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिवृद्धयेऽस्माभिर्गोकर्णैर्कुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वम् वधुलगोत्राय  
 वधुल । अघमर्षण । विश्वामित्रप्रवराय दीक्षितपु-

<sup>44</sup> Read नृपः । 'प्रतापशमिता' नाधिपुराधिरान्मसमन् 'तम्

<sup>45</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>46</sup> Read 'तुल्यमनिश' . . . शतशं

<sup>47</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā, and in the next verse.

<sup>48</sup> Read 'गलितस्या'

<sup>49</sup> Read according to Kielhorn शेषः शेषवशादिष and see Ind Antiq., vol. XV., p. 12, note 97.

<sup>50</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>51</sup> This verse is found in Ben. Coll. grant of Jayachchhan-

dia : see Kielhorn, Ind. Antiq., vol. XVII., p. 129 ; and read 'वाहु' . . . 'वशा' . . . नवरान्य' 'प्रभवो' 'राशे

<sup>52</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>53</sup> Read 'समान् ति' वधसुं

<sup>54</sup> Metre: Drutavilambita.

<sup>55</sup> रान 'doubtful.

<sup>56</sup> Read सोर्द्धाध' 'विशुद्धः' 'शशिन'

<sup>57</sup> Read 'शेखरम्' . . . पूजां विधाय

- L. [20.] रासपौत्राय दीक्षितवील्हापुत्राय दीक्षितपुरोहितश्रीजागूसर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय आदन्द्राक्कं यावत्  
शासनीकत्वं प्रदत्तं<sup>68</sup> मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभो-
- [21.] गकरप्रवणिकरतुरुष्कदण्डप्रभृतिसमस्तादायान आन्नाविधेयीभूय दास्यथेति ॥ \*<sup>69</sup> ॥  
भवन्ति चात्र । श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं
- [22.] प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ (10).<sup>69</sup> संखं भद्रासनं च्छत्र  
वरास्त्रा<sup>61</sup> वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत्परन्दर ॥ (11). सर्वानेता-
- [23.] न् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्ययं धर्मसेतुनृपाणा<sup>62</sup> काले  
काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ (12).<sup>63</sup> बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
- [24.] भिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ (13).<sup>64</sup> सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां  
भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलं हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाहृतसंज्ञ-
- [25.] वं<sup>65</sup> ॥ (14) तडागानां सहस्रेण अस्त्रमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न  
सुध्यति<sup>66</sup> ॥ (15). स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरत वसुधरा<sup>67</sup> । स विद्यायां क्षमिर्भूत्वा  
पितृ-
- [26.] भिः सह मज्जति ॥ (16).

## XXX.—PALI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

DATED SAMVAT 158.

BY A. FÜHRER, PH.D.

The original plate containing the inscription now published was found, in May 1891, buried underground in the house of a goldsmith at the village of Pālī,<sup>1</sup> close to Kosām, the ancient Kauśāmbī, the chief town of the Karārī pargana in the Mānjhanpur tahsil of the Allahābād district. It was obtained by me from the Magistrate of Allahābād, and is now in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

The plate, which is inscribed on both sides, measures about 7¼" by 6¼". It is quite smooth, the edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims to protect the writing. The average size of the letters is about ¼"; they are cut neatly and deeply, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and are of the peculiar "nail-headed" type current in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The language is Samskrit, and with the exception of the benediction and imprecatory verses in lines 9

<sup>68</sup> Read °तवीदकपूर्वम् . . . °पुरवासपौत्राय  
°शर्मणे . . . पापन्द्राक्कं . . . प्रदत्तः । . . and remove unnecessary  
signs of punctuation.

<sup>69</sup> Read °दायानाश°—The asterisk is represented in the  
plate by a character like ॐ. (cf. *Ind. Antig.*, vol. XVIII., p. 12).

<sup>60</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the following verse.

<sup>61</sup> Read शङ्खं . . . हस्त वराया ।

<sup>62</sup> Read °नृपाणां

<sup>63</sup> Metre: Śālinī.

<sup>64</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and in the three following  
verses.

<sup>65</sup> Read °हृग्वम् । °चञ्चम्

<sup>66</sup> Read चय° . . . सुध्यति

<sup>67</sup> Read स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा . . . वसुधराम्

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. II, page 240

to 14, the inscription itself is in prose throughout. In respect of orthography we have to notice: (1) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* in *māddhyandināya*, line 5; (2) the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a following *r* in *pitr̥r*, line 4, and in *gottrāya*, line 5; (3) the doubling of *ṇ*, *g*, *th*, *bh*, *v*, and *sh* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *paur̥ṇamāsyām*, line 15; in *svargge*, line 13; in *art̥the*, line 8; in *vidheyair bhbhavitanyam*, line 7, and *kṛimir bhbhutvā*, line 10; in *parvatikā*, line 2, and *bahubhir vvasudhā*, line 11; in *varshsha*, line 12; (4) the doubling of *v* after the *anusvāra* in *samvatsara*, line 15; (5) the use of *v* for *b* in *kuṭumvinaḥ*, line 3.

Towards the proper right side of the plate, about the centre, a circular copper ring is fastened through a hole to an oval brass seal, about 2½" by 2". In the upper part it bears a rather good figure of a lion, squatting on its haunches and brandishing its tail, facing to the right; below it, separated by two lines, is in relief the legend *śrī-mahārāja-lakṣhmaṇasya*, "of the illustrious Mahārāja Lakṣhmaṇa." The seal itself rests on two low leg-fashioned supports. The weight of the plate is 37½ *tolas*, and of the ring and seal 27½ *tolas*; total 65 *tolas*.

The inscription is one of the Mahārāja Lakṣhmaṇa, and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city Jayapura. The date of the writing of the charter is given in words as the year one hundred and fifty-eight, and the full-moon day of the month Jyāishṭha. There is no indication as to the era; but in all probability it refers to the Gupta era. The corresponding European date can, however, not be calculated as the week-day, *nakṣatra*, or other astronomical details are not given, which could be utilized in checking the calculation. The object of the charter is to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Lakṣhmaṇa, of an *agrāhāra* in the village Phelā-parvvatikā,—undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern village Pāli,—to the Brāhmaṇa Revatisvāmin of the Kautsagotra. The *dūtaka* is the Mahārāja Naravāhanadatta. Neither the capital Jayapura nor the names of the two feudatory princes are known to us from earlier or contemporaneous inscriptions.

### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

#### Obverse.

- L. [1.] श्री स्वास्ति जयपुरात्परममाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराज-
- [2.] लक्ष्मणः कुशली फेलापर्वतिकाग्रामे ब्राह्मणादी-
- [3.] न्प्रतिवासिकुटुम्बिनः समाज्ञापयति विदितं वोस्तु य-
- [4.] येष ग्रामो मया मातापित्रीरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिहृदये
- [5.] कौत्ससगोत्राय वाजसनेयिसब्रह्मचारिणे माह्वान्दिनाय
- [6.] ब्राह्मणरेवतिस्वामिनेयाहारीतिसृष्टस्तुष्ट्युष्माभिर-
- [7.] स्यान्नाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूवितव्यं समुचिताश्च प्रत्यायाः
- [8.] मेयहिरण्यादयो देयाः[॥]अपि चास्मिन्नर्थे व्यासकृताः
- [9.] श्लोका भवन्ति[॥]स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [॥]
- [10.] स विद्यायां कृमिर्भुत्वा<sup>3</sup> पितृभिः सह मज्जति [॥]

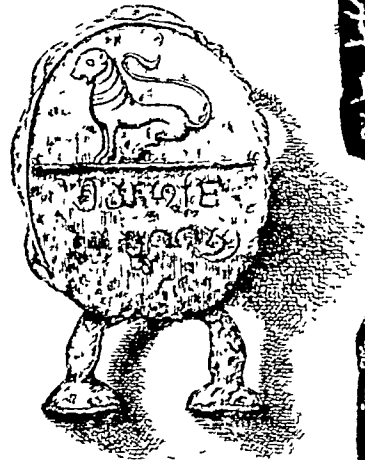
<sup>2</sup> From the original plate.

<sup>3</sup> Read \*rbbhavītiayam.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh, and the following two verses.

<sup>5</sup> Read \*rbbhavīti.

GRANT OF MAHARAJA LAKSHMANA.

[illegible]

**Scale : 3-4hrs**

[illegible]

Scale: 4-5ths of original.



*Reverse.*

- L. [11.] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजमिस्रगरादिभिः [1] यस्य यस्य  
 [12.] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [11] षष्टिं वर्ष्यसह-  
 [13.] साणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदिः[1] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव  
 [14.] नरके वसेत्[11] दूतकथाञ्च श्रीमहाराजनराजनाहनदत्तः  
 [15.] संवत्सरयतेष्टपंचाशदुत्तरे ज्येष्ठमासे पौर्ण्य-  
 [16.] मास्यां लिखितं बलदेवेनेति १५८ [11]

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail from Jayapura! A most devout worshipper of the god Mâhesvara, the illustrious Mahârâja Lakshmana, being in good health, issues a command to the residents, beginning with the Brâhmanas, and to the cultivators, at the village of Phelâ-parvaticâ:—"Be it known to you that, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of my parents and of myself, this village is granted by me as an *agrâhâra* to the Brâhmana Revatisvâmin, of the Kautsagotra, a student of the Vâjasaneya-Mâddhyandina (*śâkha*). You shall be obedient to his commands, and you shall render to him the customary taxes. that which is to be measured out, gold, etc." And on the same subject there are also the following verses by Vyâsa:—"He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, and sinks into hell together with his ancestors. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!" The *dûtaka* (*is*) the illustrious Mahârâja Naravâhanadatta. This charter has been written by Baladeva in a century of years, increased by fifty-eight, on the full-moon day of the month Jyaishtâ, 158.

XXXI.—FURTHER INSCRIPTIONS FROM SĀNCĪ.<sup>1</sup>

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.LE.

In the course of a tour through Eastern Rajputāna and the Central India Agency in March 1893, Dr. A. Führer again visited the famous Stūpas of Sāncī, *rectē* in Sanskrit Kākāṇāda or in Prakrit Kākāṇāva (see I, No. 378) and took impressions of those inscriptions which had not been found on his former visit. He also used the opportunity to clear away the rubbish round the two Stūpas and to make a few excavations. As in all former cases, his operations have yielded highly satisfactory results. The fragment of the Aśoka inscription has been recovered;<sup>2</sup> the number of the small donative inscriptions has risen, if all the fragments and almost effaced pieces are counted, to nearly 500, against Sir A. Cunningham's 240. Finally, a valuable Indo-Skythian inscription has turned up on the base of a statue of Buddha, and in a similar position have been found two inscriptions in later characters,<sup>3</sup> the latest of which shows the Nāgarī of the 9th or 10th century A.D. These new finds prove that the Stūpas were visited by Buddhist pilgrims both during the interval between the times of the early Andhras and of the Guptas, and long after the latter had passed away. Moreover, the late Nāgarī inscription may also be considered to furnish additional evidence for the fact that Buddhism survived in India until very late times, long after the period when the stupid legends allege it to have been drowned in a deluge of blood. The recovery of the fragment of the Aśoka edict does not quite fulfil the expectations which I thought might be reasonably entertained. I am not able to decipher the whole or even to suggest a complete plausible restoration of the portion with which I declined to meddle in my former article. But I am able to settle two points. First, the two signs indistinctly visible in the beginning cannot have formed part of the word *devānam*, nor can the word *piya* have followed. The first sign of the line, which, counting from below, I number as line 7, has been lost, the second is illegible, and the third is either *yaṁ* or *yām*. The *ya* is plain and certain, and so is the Anusvāra, but the vowel is doubtful. The next consonant is certainly *bha*, and the syllable probably was *bhe*. This is sufficient to prove that line 7 does not contain the beginning of the edict, but that a probably not inconsiderable piece has been lost at the top.

Secondly, at the end of line 7 stand not only, as Sir A. Cunningham has stated (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 260), the letters *mag*, but *mage*, and after it quite distinctly *kaṭe*. This new reading removes the possibility that the Saṁgha of Magadha can be mentioned or addressed. The words mean, without a doubt, "a road has been made." The next line 6 tells us for whom this road was intended. The first sign has again been lost. Next follows a fairly distinct *khu*, and after two indistinct signs the syllable *bhi*. The two following consonants have been lost in a large abrasion, to the right of which the vowel *i* appears and immediately after it *nam*. Then comes an indistinct sign and next *ti*. Thus, we obtain—*.khu . . bhi . . inam . ti*. It is almost certain that the reading was *bhikkhunaṁ vā bhikkhunīnaṁ vā ti*, and that the road was prepared for the monks and the nuns of the Buddhist order. A comparison of the phrase at the end

<sup>1</sup> Continued from *ante*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> In his letter Dr. Führer states that it is now lying in the jungle. It is on a frustum of a *stambha* or pillar which probably stood near the Southern gate, and might be placed in

some museum in order to keep it safe. See place of facsimiles.

<sup>3</sup> About thirty very small fragments and illegible inscriptions have not been transcribed.

of the edict (ll. 2-3) "for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the Saṃgha may last a long time" removes even the possibility of a doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted, with which the shape of the remnants of the third, fourth and ninth signs of the line agrees. Though at the end of line 6 the letters *ta pa* are quite plain and again in line 5 towards the end the letters *ka* or *ke*, *ye*, as well as the word *saṃghaṃ*, I do not dare to propose a restoration. I must content myself with putting down the few signs I believe to recognise. The better preserved remainder of the inscription, as I have stated formerly, indeed corresponds in part with the middle of the Kosambī edict on the Allahābād Pillar, and there is very little to alter in the readings which I have given in my former article.

TRANSCRIPT.

Allahābād.

Sānchi.

• • • • • saṃghaṃ  
bhokhati bhikhu-va bhikhu-nī vā •  
[pi chā]o—(2) dātā—ni [d]-usāni • nam dhāpa  
yitu anāpe-  
sa • v • s • y • y •

• • y[am] bh[e?] • • mage kaṭe [7]  
khu[naṃ vā] bhi • inam [vā] ti [.] . ta pa [6]  
• [ . ikhi(?)taṃ] • m. • ri (?) • [ke ?] ye  
saṃghaṃ [5] bhokhati bhiku vā bhikhuni vā odātā-  
ni du[s .] . i sanam • • yitu anā • [3]  
sasi v[i]s . petaviy . [.] Ichhā hi me kim- [2]  
ti saṃghasa mage chilathitike siyā ti [1]

TRANSLATION.

• • • "A road was made both for the monks and the nuns<sup>4</sup> • • • • the community<sup>5</sup> will dine, both monk and nun, (*and*), causing white cloth to be put down (*for them*), you will order it to be spread; for my wish is,—what?—that the road of the community (*of the Buddhist monks*) may endure for a long time."

It is now evident that the road (*mage*) is something material. Possibly the expression refers to the procession path or "terrace for circumambulation"<sup>6</sup> which surrounds the Stūpa (see *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 184). But the road may also be one which made the Stūpas more conveniently accessible.

The characters of the small donative inscriptions offer various points of interest. Among those the alphabet of which in general agrees with that of Aśoka's Edicts we find—

(1) Some like I, Nos. 172, 174, 185, 203, the letters of which are very small, with short vertical strokes, giving one the impression of an attempt at reproducing the Maurya characters, used for literary purposes;

(2) Two,—II, No. 61 and another,—illegible with the exception of the word *dānaṃ*, in which throughout thin double lines are employed instead of single ones;

(3) Many, which present cursive forms for one or two consonants, or even only for some medial vowel marks. Thus, *da* has frequently (see, *e.g.*, I, Nos. 129, 177, 186 and 188) a very shallow curve open to the left and otherwise abnormally bent strokes. Here and there *ja*, too, is irregular. In *Ujjeniyā* (No. 159) it has the angular shape, which is the usual one in the Andhra inscriptions, but occurs once in the Gīrnār version of Aśoka's Rock-Edicts. In *Rājuka* (I, No. 177), and sometimes in the word *pajāvatī*, *ja* looks

<sup>4</sup> The word *ti* indicates that the sentence is at an end.

<sup>5</sup> I am inclined to take *saṃghaṃ* as a neuter nominative with the *līṅgavyatya-ya*, so common in the Aśoka inscriptions, and as the subject of the sentence. As long as the text

has not been restored completely, this is, of course, merely tentative.

<sup>6</sup> Usually called *Pradakṣiṇā* by the Brahmans and *Bhṛvatī* (*Bhramantī*) by the Jāinas.

almost like *ṭā*. In *Yakkhādāsīyā* (I, No. 194) the letter *sa* has been made with a single stroke, the left-hand limb being formed by drawing from the right hand upstroke a continuous line across the letter. Among the vowels *ā* and *e* often slant upwards, as in the Kālsī version of the Rock-Edicts and in the later inscriptions. The vowel *i* very commonly consists, as in the Gīrnār version, of a small semi-circle and occasionally (see, e.g., I, Nos. 141, 285) of a long stroke, rising straight upwards. I may add that the vowel *ā* is attached against the usual practice to the inner side of the left prong of *ma* in the word *Māhisatiya*, I, Nos. 313-14, and that the vowel *i* occupies a similar position in *Sirimilāyā* (I, No. 355).

The unusual *cha*, with a little tail, known from Mr. Rea's Bhaṭṭiprolu Stūpa inscriptions, appears in I, Nos. 269 and 284. A *ḷa*, intermediate between the form of the Bhaṭṭiprolu Stūpa and that of the Andhra cave inscriptions, is used in the name *Vāḷṭivahana*, a vicarious form for *Vāḍivahana* in I, No. 199. This is one of the few certain instances of the occurrence of *ḷa* north of the Narmadā before the times of the Guptas.

There are also, just as in Sir A. Cunningham's collection, a certain number of inscriptions, showing later characters than those of the Aśoka Edicts. To these belong—

(1) the long imprecatory document, I, No. 377, which shows the dagger-like *ka*, the angular *gha* and a peculiar short *da*, with a shallow curve, but has no *serifs* or nail-heads;

(2) a few inscriptions with short vertical strokes and nail-heads, but otherwise with archaic forms, like I, Nos. 288, 334, 377;

(3) likewise a small number of inscriptions with still more advanced forms, like I, No. 237; II, Nos. 25, 59, 66, among which the first shows curves to the left attached to *ka* and *ra*, while the third offers an almost circular *ba* and the looped *ta*, common in the southern inscriptions of the second century A.D. and of later times. It seems to me that these facts confirm the remarks made in my former article regarding the age of the Stūpas, and show that the bulk of the work belongs to the 3rd century B.C. and to the beginning of the 2nd, as well as that some additions and repairs were made in later times.

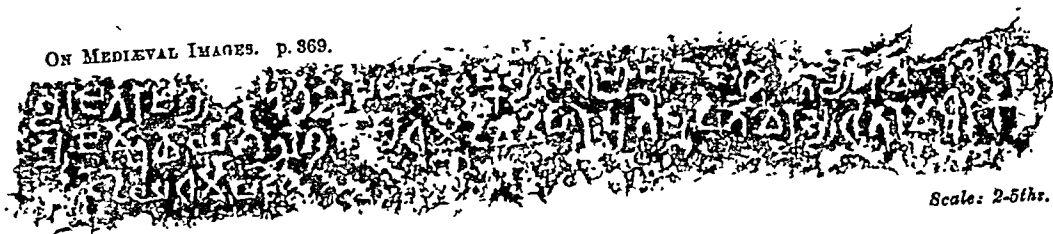
With respect to the language I have not to add anything to the notes given in my former article. The type is that of the Pāli of the Aśoka inscriptions and of the Buddhist scriptures. Anomalous forms of the kinds noticed before are also numerous. If my reading of the second word of I, No. 263, is right, there is one instance of the use of a double consonant.

As regards the contents I may state that the new inscriptions mention also a number of the collective donations.

Thus, I, No. 214 registers a gift of the village of Asvavatī; No. 124 one by the nuns of Vāḍivahana; Nos. 147 and 231 those of the female lay worshippers of Nava-gāma and of Ejāvatī; No. 276 one by the family of Dhamu [tara] and No. 366 one by the family of Ajitiguta. The number of single monks making donations now amounts to more than eighty. Among them there is (II, No. 59) another *sulātika* or teacher of the Sūtras, a *thera* (I, No. 266), and, it would seem, a *tāpasa* or ascetic (I, No. 260). This designation is usually not adopted by Buddhists, who despise the performance of austerities. Possibly this person may have belonged to some other sect. One of the most prominent personages among the monks apparently was Gotiputa Bhamḍuka, who occurs twice (I, Nos. 16, 256) and had four pupils . . . ka, Budharakhita, Aya-Kana and Dhamadata. The names of nuns making donations

# SANCHI INSCRIPTIONS.

ON MEDIEVAL IMAGES. p. 369.



Scale: 2-5ths.

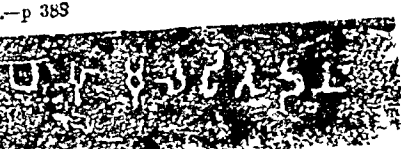
p. 370.



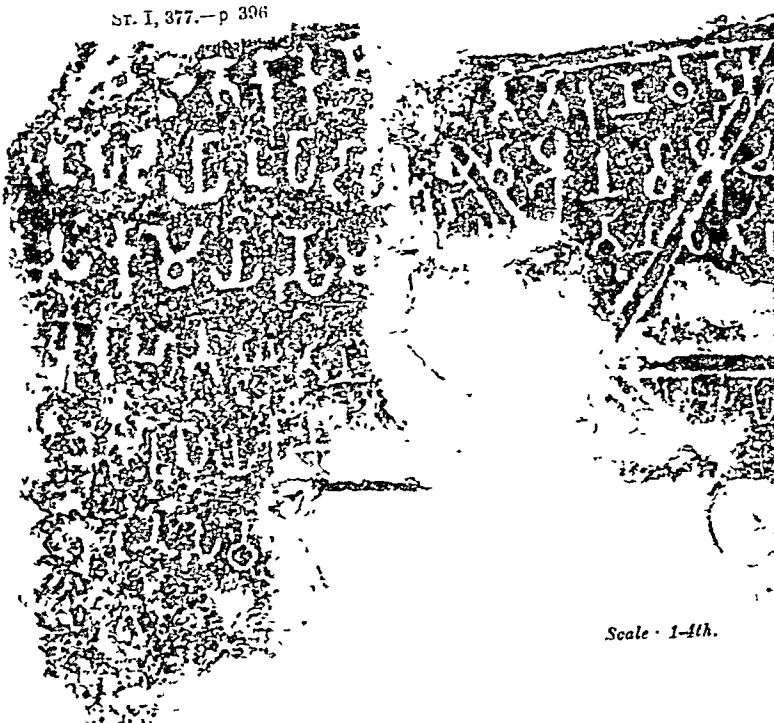
Scale: 1-3rd.

ST. I, 377.—p 396

—p 388

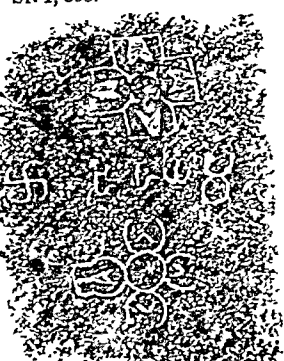


Scale: 1-5th.



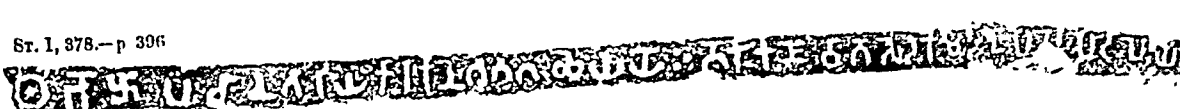
Scale: 1-4th.

ST. I, 358.



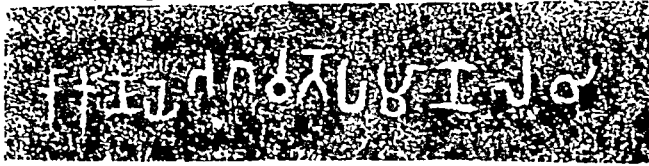
Scale: 1-5th.

ST. I, 378.—p 396



Scale: 1-6th.

STUPA I, 21.—p. 99.



J. Burgess, impress

Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 230.—p. 381.



Scale: 1-4th.

St. I, 50.—p. 102.



A. Fuhrer, impress

Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 256.—p. 384.



Scale: 1-5th.

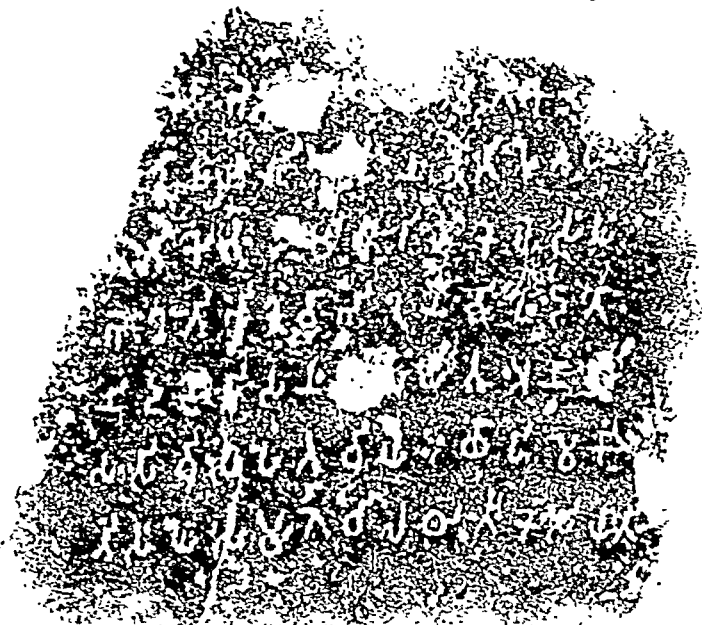
St. II, 1.—p. 110.



Scale: 1-4th.

ASOKA FRAGMENT

p. 367.



A. Fuhrer, impress

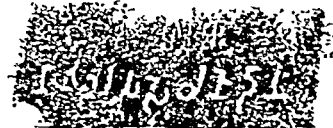
Scale: 1-4th.

St. I, 257.



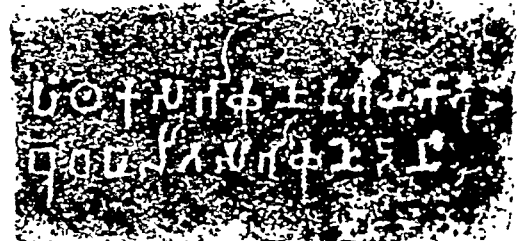
Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 285.—p. 387.



Scale: 1-5th.

St. I, 288.



Scale: 1-5th.

now rise from thirty-seven to nearly seventy. One or two among them mention their children, and must have been married before they entered the Śaṃgha, see, *e.g.*, I, No. 234 and II, No. 29.

Among the lay donors the Sheths and their relatives now take a still more prominent position than in the smaller collection formerly accessible, and it may be pointed out that in several instances the Sheth of a village is mentioned without the addition of his proper name. Thus, I, No. 140, records the gift of "Nāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kaṃda-digāma," and No. 167 that "of the mother of the Sheth." Among the other professions of the donors there are some new ones. Thus, we have a *soṭika*, i.e., *sautrika*, "weaver," in I, No. 195; *vaḍaki*, i.e., probably *varāhakin*, "carpenter" in No. 311, and a *rajuka* in No. 229. The term *rajuka* or *rājuka* is known from the Aśoka edicts and from the *Kalpasūtra* of the Jainas, where, as Professor Jacobi has shown, it occurs in the form *rajjuya*, and is explained to mean 'a clerk or accountant,' what is now called in India a *karkun*.<sup>7</sup> The word is an abbreviation of *rajjugāhaka*, literally, a ropeholder and is an ancient name for a Revenue Settlement officer. *Rājālipikara* "a royal scribe" (I, Nos. 48, 49), apparently differs in meaning from *lekḥaka* (I, No. 143), which latter means "a writer who copies manuscripts or copyist." Among the proper names there are various new ones, pointing to the worship of the *Nakṣatras*, and a few like *Ajarāni*, i.e., *Ajirā* or *Durgā*, indicating the existence of Paurāṇik worship.

There are fifteen new names of towns or villages mentioned as the homes of donors, but none of them occurs more than a few times. It would seem that the inhabitants of Arāpāna, Bhogavaḍhana, Kuraghara, Kurara, Madhuvana, Nandinagara Navagāma, Pokhara, Tumbavana, Ujjain and Vedisa defrayed nearly the whole expense of the ornaments of the two Stūpas, the lion's share falling to Ujjain, which is mentioned thirty-five times.

If we now turn to the three later inscriptions incised on the bases of statues which Dr. Führer has discovered, the first records the dedication of a statue of Buddha by Madhurikā, daughter of Khara or Vera in the Vihāra of Dharmadeva during the reign of the [mahārāja] rājātirāja [deva]putra Shāhi Vāsushka. The name Vāsushka is new. But it looks as if it were formed of the first part of Vāsudeva and the last syllable of the names Kanishka and Huvishka, and one feels tempted to consider it as another name of the third Kushana king. If the first sign of the date is read, as Sir A. Cunningham, I think, correctly proposes, as 70, the identification of Vāsushka with Vāsudeva becomes quite unobjectionable; for the year 78 certainly falls within Vāsudeva's reign and the characters of the document fully agree with those of the inscriptions which bear his name. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated in the beginning of each line and the third line has almost entirely disappeared. What remains may be read as follows:—

L. 1. . . . . syā<sup>8</sup> rājātirājasya . . putrasya<sup>9</sup> Shāh[i] Vāsushkasya<sup>10</sup>  
sam [70]<sup>11</sup> 8 he l [di 5] [e]tasy[ām] [p]u[rv]v[āyām] bhagava—

<sup>7</sup> See my notes on the Pillar Edict IV, and the Rock Edict III, *infra*, and my article in the *Deutschen Morgenländischen Zeitschrift*, vol. XLVII, p. 466.

<sup>8</sup> Restore, as Sir A. Cunningham suggests, *Mahārāja*, or perhaps *Siddham mahārājasya*.

<sup>9</sup> Restore *deraputrasya*.

<sup>10</sup> I read this sign first as 20; Sir A. Cunningham, whom I consulted, suggested that it is a looped sign for 70. I agree to this, as the Mathurā Inscr. No. XX (*Epigr. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 214), which belongs to the same period, has a very similar sign. (See facsimile on the plate.)

- L. 2. . . . . sya<sup>12</sup> jambuclhâyâsailâgra . sya Dharmadevavilhare  
 pratishṭâpitâ<sup>o</sup> Kharasya<sup>13</sup> dhitare<sup>14</sup> Madhurikâ.  
 L. 3. . . . . [ṇa]m deyadharmā . . i. . . . .

The second novelty, which shows letters of the 8th or 9th century need not be transcribed, as it contains nothing but the Buddhist creed. The third inscription, which, as already stated, is in Nāgarī characters of the 9th or 10th century, originally consisted of a Sragdharā verse, of which only two Pâdas are at present completely legible :—

- L. 1. Om Prâ—. âyushy ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ —  
 — ◡ — — [Ta]syâkhyâyâḥ kilānte Sugatagunavṛitaḥ samsthito  
 bhadra. . . . .  
 L. 2. śavdaḥ [l]  
 o rā o ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — sam  
 sam— — dedharmoyam<sup>15</sup> k[ri]tasya pravarasukhakaraññânasam—  
 L. 3. . . . . prâptaye saḥ [ll]

#### DONATIVE INSCRIPTIONS FROM SANCHI.

##### TOPE I.

No. 124 = C. 2.

[वाडि\*]वहना भिक्षुनिना दानं [॥\*]<sup>16</sup>

The gift of the nuns from [Vâḍi]vahana.

No. 125 = C. 6.

वज्रिगुतस दानं [॥\*]<sup>17</sup>

The gift of Vajriguta (*Vajrigupta*).

No. 126 = C. 7.

देवभागाय [म]धुबनिक[रि य] भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Devabhâgâ, inhabitant of Madhuvana.

No. 127 = C. 8.

वाकलाये देविये अहिमितम[तु\* ॥\*]<sup>18</sup>

(*The gift*) of the Vâkalâ queen, the mother of Ahimita (*Ahimitra*).

<sup>11</sup> Probably to *sâkyamunisya* to be restored.

<sup>12</sup> Read *pratishṭhâpitâ*.

<sup>13</sup> Or *Verasya*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *dhitard*.

<sup>15</sup> This seems to be a contraction of *deyadharmo*, made for the sake of the metre.

<sup>16</sup> Sir A. Cunningham has only *Hanâ bhichhuniya*. Dr.

Führer's impression shows a faint *va* before *hand*. The restoration is not doubtful, as *Vâḍivahana* is mentioned in Nos. 101, 116, and so forth.

<sup>17</sup> The letters are beautifully carved and about half a foot high. *Vajrin* may be,—Indra, a Buddha, or one of the *Vīśve Devas*.

<sup>18</sup> Possibly वाकिषाये.



No. 128 = C. 10.

नगदिनस भिक्कुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nagadina (*Nagadatta* or *Nāgadatta*), the monk.

No. 129 = C. 17.

सोणदेवाय [प]रिजय अग्निदेवा[य च दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of Soṇadevâ (*Suvarṇadevâ*),<sup>19</sup> Parijâ (?) and Agidevâ (*Agnidevâ*).

No. 130 = C. 18.

सुभगाय सभगिनीकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Subhagâ and her sister.

No. 131 = C. 21(?).

पुसगिरिनी नाव[गा]मकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Pusagiri (*Pushyagiri*), inhabitant of Navagâma (*Navagrâma*).

No. 132 = C. 26.

ओद[र]ितिकाये भिक्कुनि वेदिसिकया<sup>20</sup> दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Odâtikâ (*Avadâtikâ*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 133 = C. 27.

यसोपालस दानं भद[त]कड़ि[य स] (?) [॥\*]

(*The gift*) of Yasopâla (*Yasahpâla*), pupil of the venerable Kaḍa (?).

No. 134 = C. 28.

माहम[र]रिगिह्वा सीहगिरिनी दन [॥\*]

The gift of Sîhagiri (*Simhagiri*) from Mâhamoragi.<sup>21</sup>

No. 135 = C. 29.

पुसस चहटियस भिक्कुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Pusa (*Pushya*) the Chahaṭiya<sup>22</sup> monk.

No. 136 = C. 32.

[ग]हपतिनी बुधिलस दा[नं\* ॥\*]

The gift of the *gahapati* Buddhila (*Buddhila*).

No. 137 = C. 37.

अय[र]हिलस साफिनेयकस<sup>23</sup> मातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of the venerable Rahila (?), the Sâphineyaka.

<sup>19</sup> *Suvarṇa*, i.e. the Gandharva of that name.

<sup>20</sup> Compare the note to II, No. 33.

<sup>21</sup> See *ante*, No. 77.

<sup>22</sup> Possibly "inhabitant of Chahaṭa."

<sup>23</sup> This might be read साढनेयकस, but below (in No. 161), the णि is distinct.

No. 138 = C. 42.

L. 1. नवगामका दिसारखि-

L. 2. तस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Disārakhita<sup>24</sup> (*Disārakhita*) from Navagāmaka (*Navagrāma*).

No. 139 = C. 44.

पोठदेवाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Pothadevâ (*Prosthadevâ*).No. 140 = C. 45 (?)<sup>25</sup>.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेधिनी

L. 2. पजावतिया नागाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nâgâ, the wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigâma (*grāma*).

No. 141 = C. 46.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेधिनी

L. 2. पजावतिय पुसाय दानं [॥]

The gift of Pusâ (*Pushyâ*), wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigâma.

No. 142 = C. 47.

कंदडिगामा वढस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vadhâ (*Vṛiddha*) from Kamdaḍigrâma.

No. 143 = C. 48.

मुलगिरिनी दानं लेखकस [॥\*]

The gift of Mulagiri (*Mūlagiri*), the copyist.

No. 144 = C. 49.

उजेनिय — — — —

From Ujjain . . . .

No. 145 = C. 50.

यखदिनस भिखुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Yakhadina (*Yakshadatta*), the monk.

No. 146 = C. 51.

उजेनिया उपासिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of a female lay worshipper from Ujjain.

No. 147 = C. 53.

नावगामिकाना उपासिकाना दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the female lay worshippers of Navagâma (*grāma*).<sup>24</sup> The deities meant here are the *disah*, the nymphs of the quarters of the horizon<sup>25</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is in one line. Hence this may be a different one.

No. 148 = C. 55.

उज्जेनिया रो[ह]णिय दानं [॥\*]<sup>25</sup>

The gift of Rohaṇi (*Rohiṇī*) from Ujjain.

No. 149 = C. 56.

उज्जेनिया धम्मगिरिणी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamagiri (*Dharma*<sup>26</sup>) from Ujjain.

No. 150 = C. 57.

उज्जेनिया सोनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sona (*Suvarṇa*) from Ujjain.

No. 151 = C. 58.

उज्जेनिया तापसियानं [हृ]सानजाय<sup>27</sup> दानं [॥]

The gift of Najā, the daughter-in-law of the Tāpasīyas, from Ujjain.

No. 152 = C. 59.

उज्जेया तापसियना इस्मितस दानं [॥\*]<sup>28</sup>

The gift of Isimita (*Rishimitra*) of the Tāpasīyas from Ujjain.

No. 153 = C. 60.

उज्जेनिया मुलदतये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Muladatā (*Mūladattā*) from Ujjain.

No. 154 = C. 61.

उज्जेनिय बलकय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Balakā from Ujjain.

No. 155 = C. 62.

[उज्जे]निया ओपेददतस पजावतिय वयुदतय दानं [॥]

The gift of Vayudatā (*Vāyudattā*), wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 156 = C. 63.

उज्जेनिय उपेददतस भगिनिय हिमदताये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Himadatā (*Himadattā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

No. 157 = C. 64.

[उज्जे]निया उपेददतस भगिनिय बुधायै दानं [॥\*]<sup>29</sup>

The gift of Budhā (*Buddhā*), sister of Upedadata (*Upendradatta*), from Ujjain.

<sup>25</sup> The reverse shows clearly that the apparent u-stroke under हृ is due to an accidental scratch.

<sup>27</sup> The little horizontal stroke, denoting the हृ is placed rather high up and detached from the vertical line.

Read उज्जेनिया.

Possibly बुधायै to be read.

No. 158 = C. 65.

उजेनिया काडिये भिहुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Kādī (*Kāṇḍī*), from Ujjain.

No. 159 = C. 66.

उजेनिया छेतमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of Ohheta (*Kshetra*), from Ujjain.

No. 160 = C. 67.

उजेनिया तापसियना सिंहदतये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Simhadatā<sup>30</sup> (*°dattā*) of the Tāpasiyas from Ujjain.

No. 161 = 68.

उजेनिया सफिनियकाना इसिकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isika (*Rishika*) of the Saphineyakas from Ujjain.

No. 162 = C. 69.

कुरघर इसिमितय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isimita (*Rishimitrā*) from Kuraghara.

No. 163 = C. 70.

उजेनिया वा[सु]लाया दानं [॥\*]<sup>31</sup>

The gift of Vāsulā (?), from Ujjain.

No. 164 = C. 71.

कुरघरा नरय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Narā<sup>32</sup> from Kuraghara.

No. 165 = C. 72.

कुरघरा नगमितया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga°* or *Nāgamitrā*), from Kuraghara.

No. 166 = C. 83.

अस्वदेवाय समिकस मातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Aśvadevā<sup>33</sup> (*Aśvadevā*), mother of Samika (*Svāmika*).

No. 167 = C. 85.

सेथिनी मतु कनिय[सि]ये<sup>34</sup> —

(The gift) of Kaniyasī (*Kanīyasī*), the mother of the Sheth.

<sup>30</sup> In this and similar compounds *Simha* may possibly stand for नरसिंह, shortened *bhāmavat*.

<sup>31</sup> Possibly विपुलाय to be read.

<sup>32</sup> i. e. probably *Neradattā*.

<sup>33</sup> In this and similar compounds अस्व probably stands *bhāmavat* for अश्वयुज-

<sup>34</sup> The vowel of सि is indistinct.

No. 168 = C. 88.

वसुलाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vasulā.

No. 169 = C. 89.

इददतस पाविडक्स दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Idadata (*Indradatta*), inhabitant of Pavidā.

No. 170 = C. 94.

कुजरस सेयिभात् दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Kujara (*Kuñjara*), the brother of the Sheth.

No. 171 = C. 96.

L. 1. —[सि]दताय सकदिन पजाव—

L. 2. —य दानं [॥\*]<sup>35</sup>

The gift of Isidatā (*Iśhidattā*), wife of Sakadina (*Sakradatta*).

No. 172 = C. 97.

भदगुतस सानुकगामीनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bhadaguta (*Bhadragupta*), inhabitant of Sānukagāma (*°grāma*).

No. 173 = C. 98.

धरकिना सातिलस दानं [॥\*<sup>36</sup>]

The gift of Sātīla (*Sāntīla* or *Svātīla*)<sup>37</sup> from Dharakinā (*Erakina* or *Erān*).

No. 174 = C. 106.

स[घा]य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saghā (*Saṅghā*).

No. 175 = C. 118.<sup>38</sup>

वाघुमता काचा— —

(*The gift of*) Kāchā . . . . from Vāghumatu.

No. 176 = C. 119—21.

L. 1. समिक्स वानिक्स

L. 2. पुतस चस सिरिपालस

L. 3. दानं ३ [॥\*]

Three (*rails*)<sup>39</sup>, the gift of Samik a (*Svāmika*), the trader, and of his son Siripāla (*Śrīpāla*).

<sup>35</sup> Restore इसिदताय and पजावतिय.

<sup>36</sup> Probably धरकिना to be read.

<sup>37</sup> Diminutive from *Sāntideva*, *Sāntivarman*, or *Svātīdatta*.

<sup>38</sup> As the inscription is mutilated, its identity with C. 118 is not absolutely certain.

<sup>39</sup> As Sir A. Cunningham (*The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 252) states, the three lines are carved on three different rails, which probably were given by the two persons named.

No. 177 = C. 122.

भादतराजुकस [दा]ना [॥\*]

The gift of Bhādāta-Rājuka (the venerable *Rājuka*)

No. 178 = C. 123.

विसाखस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Visākha (*Viśākha*).

No. 179 = C. 130.

नंदस कुररती—

(The gift) of Nānda from Kurara.

No. 180 = C. 132.

मधुव[ना] इ[सि]दतये भिक्षुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidatā (*Rishidattā*) from Madhuvana

No. 181 = C. 133.

[इ]सिदताये भिक्षुनिये कुररिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidatā (*Rishidattā*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 182 = C. 134.

धमपालस कौथुकपदियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamapāla (*Dharmapāla*), inhabitant of Kuthukapada.

No. 183 = C. 147.

नंदिनागारिकय इसिदिनाये भिक्षुनिये [॥\*]<sup>41</sup>(The gift) of the nun Isidinā (*Rishidattā*), inhabitant of Nandīnagara.

No. 184 = C. 151.

अयधनकस भिक्षुनी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Dhanaka.

No. 185 = C. 157.

धनगिरिगी दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhanagiri.

No. 186 = C. 159.

L. 1. बलिकाये भिक्षुनिया सडलाहिक-

L. 2. टिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Balikā, inhabitant of Maḍalāchhikata.

<sup>40</sup> Or *Kothukapada*, i.e. either *Kunthuka* or *Kośhukapada* or *padra*.<sup>41</sup> Read नंदिनागरिक

No. 187 = C. 163.<sup>42</sup>

L. 1. भडिकियस

संघिलस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃghila, a pupil of Bhāḍika.<sup>43</sup>

No. 188 = C. 164.

अरहतपालितस भि— — — [॥\*]

(The gift) of the monk Arahatapālita (*Arhatpālita*).No. 189 = C. 165.<sup>44</sup>

L. 1. अरहकस परि-

L. 2. पनकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arhaka (*Arhaka*), the Paripanaka.<sup>45</sup>

No. 190 = C. 166.

धमगिरिकमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of Dhamagiri (*Dharmagiri*).

No. 191 = C. 168.

सिधयस वि— — —

. . . . of Sidhatha (*Siddhārtha*) . . . .

No. 192 = C. 169.

इसिदासिये नादिनागरिकाय भिक्षुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidāsi (*Ṛishidāsi*), inhabitant of Nāmdinagara.

No. 193 = C. 170.

नंदिनगरा दुपसहभिक्षुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Dupasahā (*Dushprasahā* ?) from Nāmdinagara.

No. 194 = C. 171.

यखदासिया दानं [भिक्षुनिया] [॥\*]

The gift of Yakhadāsi (*Yakshadāsi*), the nun.

No. 195 = C. 172.

दतकलिवतस दानं [॥\*]<sup>46</sup>

The gift of Datakalivata (P)

<sup>42</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription has only one line and may be different.<sup>43</sup> Compare No. 306.<sup>44</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.<sup>45</sup> This possibly means an inhabitant of *Paripana*, i.e., *Pariparna* or *Paripāna* ?<sup>46</sup> The inscription may be mutilated in the beginning.

No. 196 = C. 174.<sup>47</sup>

L. 1. दमकस सोति-

L. 2. कस कुसुकपितु

L. 3. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the weaver Damaka, father of Kusuka.

No. 197 = C. 179.<sup>48</sup>

L. 1. इसिपालीतस च

L. 2. समणस च दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Isipālita (*Rishipālita*) and of Samaṇa (*Śramaṇa*).

No. 198 = C. 186.

𑀅 वीरस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Vīra.

No. 199 = C. 187=88.

L. 1. यखिय भिखुनिया वाळीव =

L. 2. 𑀅 हनिकाया दानं 𑀅

The gift of the nun Yakhî (*Yakshî*), inhabitant of Vāḷivahana.

No. 200 = C. 189.

वेदिसकेहि दंतकारेहि रुपकंसं कतं [॥\*]

The workers in ivory of Vedisa have done the carving.

No. 201 = C. 192.

कुरराय नागपायस अछावडे सेधिस पुतस च संघस [दा]नं [॥\*]<sup>49</sup>The gift of Nāgapiya (*°priya*) in Kurara, Sheth in Achhâvâḍa, and of (*his*) son Saṅgha.No. 202.<sup>50</sup>

अछावाटा चिरातिमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Chirâtî (*Kirdâtî*) from Achhâvâṭa (? *Ma°*).

No. 203.

अज[रा]निय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Ajarûnî (*Ajird*).

No. 204.

[अ]ठकनगरम गगं[द]तस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Gagandata (*Gaṅgadatta*), the monk, inhabitant of Aṭhakanagara.<sup>47</sup> There are four impressions bearing these letters. Though perfectly identical, they may yet belong to two different inscriptions.<sup>48</sup> Sir A. Cunningham's identical inscription is given in one line and may be different.<sup>49</sup> Read कुररिय नागपियस.<sup>50</sup> As there are four impressions with these letters, it is possible that they refer to two separate inscriptions.



No. 205.<sup>11</sup>

अप — यद् दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Apa-yaha (?)

No. 206.

अपा[का]निया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Apákāñi.

No. 207.

अयकनस भिङ्गुनो दानं अयमंडुकियस [॥\*]

The gift of the venerable Kana, pupil of the venerable Bhaṃḍuka.<sup>12</sup>

No. 208.

अयजे[त]स भिङ्गुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk, the venerable Jeta (*Jayanta*).

No. 209.

L. 1. अयफगुनस माधिविहारिनो

L. 2. खेमकस भिङ्गुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Khemaka (*Kshemaka*), the fellow-wanderer of the venerable Phaguna (*Phalguna*).

No. 210.

अरपना असाडस दा[नं]व — —

The gift of Asāḍa (*Aśhāḍha*) . . . from Arapana.

No. 211.

अरपना पदा — — —

From Arapana . . . .

No. 212.

[अ]रपानिया सिह्य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*), inhabitant of Arapāna.

No. 213.

असगुनस दानं [॥ ]

The gift of Asaguta (*Āśvagupta*).

No. 214.

असमये उज्जेनिकाये भिङ्गुनिये दान [॥\*]

The gift of Asabhā, a nun of Ujjain.

No. 215.

[अ]स्ववतिय गावस — —

(The gift) of the village of Asvavati (*Āśvavati*).<sup>11</sup> Incised on the procession path.<sup>12</sup> See *ante*, p. 38, No. 16, and below No. 216.

No. 216.

L. 1. इसिदसिये नादिनागरिकाये भिक्षु[निये]

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>53</sup>The gift of Isidasî (*Rishiddsî*), a nun of Nandinagara.

No. 217.

L. 1. इसिनदनस दानं [॥\*]

L. 2. [पु]जवदनियस [॥\*]

The gift of Isinadana (*Rishinandana*), inhabitant of Puṇavaḍhana (*Punyavar-dhana*).

No. 218.

इसिरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isirakhita (*Rishirakshita*).

No. 219.

उजेनिये अस्वरखिताये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Asvarakhitâ (*Āsvarakshitâ*) in Ujjain.

No. 220.

उजेनाया उपसिकाये सिरिकाये दानं [॥\*]<sup>54</sup>The gift of the lay worshipper Sirikâ (*Śrīkā*) from Ujjain.No. 221.<sup>55</sup>

उजेनिया ओपेददतस पजावतिय वा[यु]दताय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vâyudatâ, wife of Opedadata (*Upendradatta*) from Ujjain.

No. 222.

L. 1. [\*उ]जेनिय कलुरप-

L. 2. तस बुमुस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bumu, son of Kalura, from Ujjain. \*

No. 223.

L. 1. डजेनिया तापसिया-

L. 2. नं — — — धम

L. 3. [दता]य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamadatâ (*Dharmadattâ*) . . . of the Tâpasīyas from Ujjain.

No. 224.

[उ\*]जेनिया धमयसाया मत्तु भिक्षुनिया दा[नं\* ॥\*]

The gift of the mother of the nun Dhamayasâ (*Dharmayasâs*) from Ujjain.<sup>53</sup> This is identical in words with No. 192 (C. 169), which however is in one line.<sup>54</sup> Read उजेनिया.<sup>55</sup> This is identical in words, but not in spelling, with No. 155 (C. 62).

No. 225.

L. 1. उजेनिया बलिकाया

L. 2. मातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the mother of Balikâ from Ujjain.

No. 226.

उजेनिये मितये भिक्षु — — — —

(The gift) of the nun Mitâ (*Mitrâ*) in Ujjain.

No. 227.

उजेनिया वसुलय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vasulâ from Ujjain.

No. 228.

उजेनिया सङ्घदत्तस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃghadatta (°*datta*) from Ujjain.

No. 229.

उजेनिया सुलासस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sulâsa from Ujjain.

No. 230.

उतरस रजुकस दानं [॥\*]<sup>66</sup>The gift of Utara (*Uttara*), the *Rajuka*.

No. 231.

एजावतिय उ[पा]सिकाना — —

(The gift) of the female lay worshippers from Ejâvatî.

No. 232.

एजावतिया वाहिलस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vâhila from Ejâvatî.

No. 233.

कटकलु[य]कस [ई\*]ददेवस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Îdadeva (*Indradeva*), inhabitant of Kaṭakañu.

No. 234.

कटकलुया अरहस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Araha (*Arhat*) from Kaṭakañu.

No. 235.

कटकलुया ध — — —

From Kaṭakañu . . . . .

<sup>66</sup> See facsimile on the plate.

No. 236.

कंदडिगामा सेथि — —

From Kamdaḍigāma (*grāma*), of the Sheth . . . .

No. 237.

L. 1. कंदडिगामियस सेठिनो

L. 2. पञ्जावतिया देवभागाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Devabhāgā, wife of the Sheth of Kamdaḍigāma (*grāma*).

No. 238.

L. 1. काणस भिक्कुनो

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Kāṇa.

No. 239.<sup>57</sup>

कुरघरा घोसकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Ghosaka (*Ghoshaka*) from Kuraghara.

No. 240.

कुरघरा नगमिताय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nagamitā (*Naga* or *Nāgamitrā*) from Kuraghara.

No. 241.

L. 1. [कु]र घरिय स[रि ति]सिरिय

L. 2. —खुनि — — —<sup>58</sup>(The gift) of the nun Sātisiri (*Sāntisīrī* or *Svātisīrī*), inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 242.

L. 1. कुररातो अरहगुतस

L. 2. दन [॥\*]

The gift of Arahaguta (*Arhadgupta*) from Kurara.No. 243.<sup>59</sup>

L. 1. कुररातो अरह[गु]तस

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

No. 244.

L. 1. कुरराय अक्कावतिय

L. 2. भिखुनिय दानं [॥\*]<sup>60</sup>The gift of the nun Achhāvati (*Bikshavati*) in Kurara.<sup>57</sup> There are two illegible lines above that given here.<sup>58</sup> Restore भिखुनिय दानं.<sup>59</sup> The inscription is identical in words with the preceding, but the last three letters of line 1 are almost destroyed and the spelling differs.<sup>60</sup> It is not impossible that the कुरराय in this inscription and in Nos. 241 and 244 is meant for कुररिय.

No. 245.

कुरराय णागादिनाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>61</sup>

The gift of Nāgādīnā (*Nāgadattā*) in Kurara.

No. 246.

कुरराय धमकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dharmaka*) in Kurara.

No. 247.

कुरराय वल — — — —

No. 248.

L. 1. कुरराय सघारखिताया<sup>62</sup>

L. 2. भिखुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Saghārahita (*Samgharakshitā*) in Kurara.

No. 249.

कुररिय अरहगुता [य दा]—

The gift of Arahagutā (*Arhadguptā*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 250.

कुर[रि]य [अर]हदिनाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arahadīnā (*Arhaddattā*), inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 251.

[कु]ररियस सघा — — — —

No. 252.

L. 1. गडाय भिखन-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Gaḍā (*Gaṇḍā*?).

No. 253.

गड[रि]या भिखनिया वेदिसकाया दा[नं\* ॥\*]

The gift of the nun Gaḍā (*Gaṇḍā*?), inhabitant of Vedisa.

No. 254.

. . गिरिकस पजावतिया—लिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of . . tī, wife of Girika.

No. 255.

गोतमिये इसिनिका — — — —<sup>63</sup>

(The gift) of Isinikā (*Rishikā*), the Gotamī (*Gautamī*).

<sup>61</sup> Read णाग.

<sup>62</sup> Read सघर.

<sup>63</sup> There are four impressions, which seem to refer to the same inscription.

No. 256.

गोतिपुतस भडुकस भिडुनो दानं [॥\*]<sup>64</sup>The gift of the monk Bhaḍuka, son of the Goti (*Gauṭī* mother).No. 257.<sup>65</sup>

जितमितय दनं [॥]

The gift of Jitamitā (*Jitāmitra*).No. 258.<sup>66</sup>

जोङ्कस भिडुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Jonhaka (*Jyotsnakā*).

No. 259.

ताकारापदा संघरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃgharakhita (*°rakshita*) from Tākārāpada.

No. 260.

तापसस गोनंदकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the ascetic Gonamḍaka.

No. 261.

तिरिडिपदा नागाया उपासिकाय [द]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the female lay worshipper Nāgā from Tirīḍapada.

No. 262.

तिसस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Tisa (*Tishya*).

No. 263.

तुडस फुजाकप[लि]यस दानं [॥\*]<sup>67</sup>The gift of Tuḍa (*Tuṇḍa*), inhabitant of Phujākapallī (?).No. 264.<sup>68</sup>

तुंबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Gahapati* Patīṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*) from Tumbavana.<sup>2</sup>

No. 265.

तुंबवना गहपतिनो पतिठियस भातु [जा]याय ध[जा]य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhañā (*Dhanyā*), wife of the brother of the *gahapati* Patīṭhiya (*Pratishṭhita*) from Tumbavana.<sup>69</sup><sup>64</sup> This is identical in words with the inscription No. 16 (*ante*, p. 98), which however has three lines, see facsimile.<sup>65</sup> See facsimile.<sup>66</sup> Identical in words (but not in the size of the letters) with No. 75, *ante*, p. 105.<sup>67</sup> The consonant of the bracketed syllable is very doubtful.<sup>68</sup> Identical in words with No. 23, *ante*, p. 99.<sup>69</sup> *Tumbavana* occurs in Hemachandra's *Parīśiṣṭa Parvan*. (see Professor Jacobi's Introduction, p. 71).

No. 266.

धेरस अयनागस भिक्कुनो उज्जेनिकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the *Thera*, the venerable Nāga, a monk of Ujjain.

No. 267.

L. 1. दताये भिक्कुनिया म — — िकटिकाये<sup>70</sup>

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Datā (*Dattā*), inhabitant of [Maḍalachh]ikaṭa.

No. 268.

देवरखितस मोरजहकटियस भिक्कुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Devarakhita (*°rakshita*), inhabitant of Morajahakaṭa.

No. 269.

धनगिरिनो [चडि]पियस<sup>71</sup> च भिक्कुनं दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monks Dhanagiri and Chaḍīpiya (*Chaḍīpriya*?).

No. 270.

L. 1. धमकस वेजजक-

L. 2. स दन [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamaka (*Dharmaka*), inhabitant of Vejaja.

No. 271.

धमगिरिनो च धमसेनस च दा[नं] [॥\*]

The gift both of Dhamagiri (*Dharma*<sup>o</sup>) and of Dhamasena (*Dharma*<sup>o</sup>).

No. 272.

धमदिनाये दान [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamadinā (*Dharmadattā*).

No. 273.

L. 1. धमपालस

L. 2. म[हि]पालस<sup>72</sup> दान [॥\*]

The gift of Dhammapāla (*Dharma*<sup>o</sup> and) of Mahipāla.

No. 274.

L. 1. धमरखितस

L. 2. — रकरकस दानं [॥\*]

The Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), inhabitant of —rakara(?).

No. 275.

धमरखिताय मधुवनिकाये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (*Dharmarakshitā*), inhabitant of Madhuvana.

<sup>70</sup> Restore मडलहिकटिकाये

<sup>71</sup> This may also be intended for चडिपियस or चडि

<sup>72</sup> The second vowel has been obliterated.

No. 276.

L. 1. धसु — — —

L. 2. कुलस द[न ॥\*]<sup>73</sup>The gift of the family of Dhamu[tara] (*Dharmottara*).

No. 277.

L. 1. नदिनगर अचल—

L. 2. भिङ्गुनिय दा[नं ॥\*]

The gift of the nun Achalâ from Nadinagara (*Nandī*°).

No. 278.

L. 1. नंदिनगरा अम[ग य]

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>74</sup>The gift of Amagâ (*Amatâ*, i.e., *Amṛitâ* ?) from Namdinagara.

No. 279.

L. 1. नंदिनगर[र] उत्तरदत्तय

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>75</sup>The gift of Utaradatâ (*Uttaradattâ*) from Namdinagara.

No. 280.

नंदिनगर [उतर]मितय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Utaramitâ (*Uttaramitrâ*) from Namdinagara.

No. 281.

L. 1. [नं]दिनगर उपास-

L. 2. [कस] यमदस दन [॥\*]<sup>76</sup>The gift of the lay worshipper Yamada[ta] (*°datta*) from Namdinagara.

No. 282.

L. 1. नदिनगर रोहणदेव-

L. 2. य [दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of Rohaṇadevâ (*Rohinīdevâ*) from Nadinagara (*Nandinagara*).

No. 283.

नं[दु]तरय दनं वे[दि]सिकय भिङ्गुनिय

The gift of Namdutarâ (? *Nandottarâ*), a nun of Vedisa.

No. 284.

L. 1. नागदत्तस सघरखितस च कोरघरानं

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]<sup>76</sup>The gift of Nāgadatta (*°datta*) and Sagharakhita (*Samgharakshita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.<sup>73</sup> Probably धसुतरस to be restored.<sup>74</sup> Above the first syllable stands another न.<sup>75</sup> Read यमदत्तस<sup>76</sup> This inscription has to be read from below, see *ante*, p. 107, No. 93.



No. 285.<sup>77</sup>

ना[गिल]स सेठिनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Sheth Nágila*.

No. 286.

नाटिय भिक्षुनिय [की]रवरिय द[नं ॥\*]

The gift of the nun *Nâṭī*, inhabitant of *Kuraghara*.

No. 287

नादिनगर काबीज -

स भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk *Kâboja (Kâamboja)* from *Nâdinagara (Nandi?)*.No. 288.<sup>78</sup>

L. 1. पंयकस भिक्षुनो उ[मि]यंका — —

L. 2. बृधपालीतस भिक्षुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk *Pamthaka (Panthaka)* . . . . (and) of the monk *Bûdhapâlita (Buddhapâlita)*.

No. 289.

[पा]तिठानस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Pâtithâna*.

No. 290.

पुरुविडा दिसागिरिपुतानं दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the sons of *Disâgiri<sup>79</sup> (Disâgiri)* from *Puruviḍa*.

No. 291.

पुसकस दन [॥\*]

The gift of *Pasaka (Pushyako)*.

No. 292.

पुसदत्तस नवगमकियस दन [॥]

The gift of *Pusadata (Pushyadatta)*, inhabitant of *Navagâma (grâma)*.

No. 293.

पेमुत्तिकाय सुपठासाये भिक्षुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun *Supaṭhâmâ (Suprasthâmâ ?)*, inhabitant of *Pemuta*.

No. 294.

[पो\*]खरातो इसिदताय लेवस पञ्चावतिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Isidatâ (Rishidattâ)*, the wife of *Leva* from *Pokhara (Pushkara)*.<sup>77</sup> See facsimile.<sup>78</sup> Given among the facsimiles.<sup>79</sup> See above, note 24 to No. 138.

No. 295.

पोखरातो इसिदताय दानं — — — — —

The gift of Isidatâ from Pokhara . . . . .

No. 296.

[\*पी]खरातो तुडाया तुडस च दानं ले — — — — —

The gift of Tudâ and Tuda (*Tuṇḍa*) . . . from Pokhara.

No. 297.

पोखरा संघ[खि]स<sup>50</sup> दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃgha[ra]khi[ta] from Pokhara.

No. 298.

पोडविष्कस इसिदिनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Isidina (*Rishidatta*), inhabitant of Poḍavijha.<sup>51</sup>

No. 299.

बधकस भिक्षुनो को[डि]जिलकस — —

(The gift) of the monk Badhaka (*Baddhaka*),<sup>52</sup> inhabitant of Koḍijila.

No. 300.

L. 1. बलदताया चुड[फ]

L. 2. लगरियाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Baladatâ (*°dattâ*), inhabitant of Chudaphalagiri (*Kshudra*°).

No. 301.

[बो]हु मुलपितु<sup>53</sup> दनं [॥\*]The gift of Bohu (*Bhoddhi* ?), the father of Mula (*Mûla*).

No. 302.

बुधरखितस [दानं] [॥\*]

The gift of Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*).

No. 303.

बुधरखितस [भिक्षुनो अ]य भंडुकियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*pupil*) of the venerable Bhaṇḍuka.

No. 304.

L. 1. बुधरखताय भिक्षु —

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Budharakhatâ (*Buddharakshita*).<sup>50</sup> Read संयरखितस.<sup>51</sup> Professor Jacobi suggests that this may be derived from a Sanskrit compound पुराडविश्या.<sup>52</sup> This may be a misspelling for बोधक or बधक.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps meant for बहुमूलपित. See the facsimile.

No. 305.

बोधिया दान [॥\*]

The gift of Bodhi.

No. 306.

L. 1. भडिकस भिखुनो

L. 2. कुरघरा-

L. 3. स दानं ]॥\*]⁶⁴

The gift of the monk Bhaḍika, inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 307.

भड — — — खुनो कोरघरस दन [॥\*]⁶⁵

The gift of [the monk] Bhaḍ[ika], inhabitant of Kuraghara.

No. 308.

भडुनो पजावतिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the wife of Bhaḍu (Bhaṇḍu).

No. 309.

[भो]गवढना धजिकाय — —

(The gift) of Dhaññikā (Dhanyakā) from Bhogavaḍhana (°vardhana).

No. 310.

मछवटा नादिनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Nādinī (Nandini) from Machhavaṭa (Matsyavarta).

No. 311.

मनोरमस वडकिनी ओ — — — —

(The gift) of the carpenter⁶⁶ Manorama . . . . .

No. 312.

महानामस

Of Mahānāman.

No. 313.

माहसतिय अरिहदताये दानं [॥\*]⁶⁷

The gift of Arihadatā (Arhaddattā) from Māhasati (Māhishmatī).

No. 314.

माहिसतिय जि — — — स दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Ji . . . . from Māhishmatī (Māhishmatī).

⁶⁴ Probably कुरघरियस to be read.

⁶⁵ Restore भडिकस भिखुनो.

⁶⁶ I take vadaḍakino to stand for vaddhakino, just as we have in No. 210 Aḍḍasa for Aḍḍha.

⁶⁷ Meant for माहिसतिय; the blurred letters of the inscription might be taken to represent माहिसतिय.

No. 315.

मितसिरिया दानं भिखुनिया कौररिया [॥\*]

The gift of Mitasiri (*Mitraśri*), a nun of Kurara.

No. 316.

यखिय भिखुनिये वेदिसा दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Yakhi (*Yakshi*) from Vedisa.

No. 317.

रतिनय<sup>89</sup> माहिसतिय दानं [॥\*]The gift of Ratina from Mâhisati (*Mâhishmatî*).

No. 318.

L. 1. रेबिलस नंदिनगारक्स<sup>90</sup>

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Rebila,<sup>90</sup> inhabitant of Namdinagara.

No. 319.

L. 1. रेवतिसिताय बलक-

L. 2. म पजावति[या दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of Revatimitâ (*Revatîmitrâ*), wife of Balaka.

No. 320.

L. 1. वजिनिय भिखुनिया

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Vajinî (*Vajrinî*).

Nos. 321-22.

L. 1. वरदत्तस दानं

L. 2. भगिनिया वरसेजाय

L. 3. दानं

The gift of Varadata (*°datta*); the gift of (*his*) sister Varasenâ.

No. 323.

L. 1. वरदत्तस पजावतिय

L. 2. इसलय<sup>91</sup> दानं [॥\*]The gift of Isalâ (*Rishilâ*), wife of Varadata (*Varadatta*).<sup>89</sup> Meant for रतिनिय, diminutive from रति or रक्त.<sup>90</sup> Probably meant for नदिनगारक्स;<sup>90</sup> This probably stands for *Rebhila*, like *Asâda* (No. 210) for *Asâḍha*.<sup>91</sup> Meant for इसलाय.

No. 324.

L. 1. वरदत्तस पञ्चवत्या

L. 2. रोहाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Rohâ, wife of Varadata (*°datta*).

No. 325.

वरुणस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Varuṇa.

No. 326.

L. 1. [व]सुमिताय मि-

L. 2. ङ्गुनिय [दानं]

L. 3. उज्जैनिकय

The gift of Vasumitâ (*°mitrâ*), a nun of Ujjain.

No. 327.

वसुलाय दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Vasulâ.

No. 328.

वाडीवहनातो ओडकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Oḍaka (*Âḍraka*) from Vâḍîvahana.

No. 329.

वासवये नंदिनगरा भिङ्गुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vâsavâ, a nun from Nandînagara.

No. 330.

L. 1. [वि]तिरिञ्चय भुत-

L. 2. रखितस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Bhutarakhita (*Bhûtâraḥshita*) from Vitiriṇṇahâ(?).

No. 331.

L. 1. वितिरिञ्चय महि-

L. 2. रखितस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Mahirakhita (*Mahîraḥshita*) from Vitirinahî(?).

No. 332.

L. 1. विपुलाय कापासिगा—

L. 2. मवू भिङ्गुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Vipulâ, a nun from Kâpâsigâma (*°grâma*).

No. 333.

विरोहकट घरिनिये [सि]भाये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sijhâ (*Saikhsâ*), a house-wife from Virohakata.

No. 334.

विसाखरखितस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Visâkharakhita (*Viśākharakshita*).

No. 335.

विसखरखितस भिक्कुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Visakharakhita (*Viśākharakshita*).

No. 336.

वीरसेनाये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Virasenâ.

No. 337.

वी[राये] भिक्कुनिया तीववनिकाय दानं

The gift of Vîrâ(?), a nun of Tumbavana.

No. 338.

वेदिसा अरहतरखित — दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Arahatarakhita (*Arhadrakshita*) from Vedisa.

No. 339.

वेदस<sup>९३</sup> दतस कलवडस दानं [॥\*]

No. 340.

वेदिस दतस कलवडस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Data (*Datta*) Kalavaḍa from Vedisa.

No. 341.

वेदिसा मोहिकाये भिक्कुनिये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Mohikâ from Vedisa.

No. 342.

सकरखितस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Sakarakhita (*Sakrarakshita*).

No. 343.

संघरखिताय कोरमिकाय भिक्कुनिया [दने] [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃgharakhitâ (*ṛakshitâ*), a nun of Kurama.<sup>९३</sup> Meant for वेदिसा.

No. 344.

संघायै — — — —

Of Saṃghā.

No. 345.

संघायदासकमातु दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Saṃghā, mother of Dāsaka.

No. 346.

सतिगुप्तस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Satiguta (*Śaktigupta* or *Svātigupta*).

No. 347.

L. 1. समणस भिक्कुनो अयुतरस अवेवसिना

L. 2. दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Samaṇa (*Sramaṇa*), pupil of the venerable Utara (*Uttara*).

No. 348.

समिकस अयनगस अवेवसिना दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Samika (*Svāmika*), pupil of the venerable Naḡa (*Nāga*).

No. 349.

L. 1. समिकस वनि[क]स

L. 2. पुतस च सी[हदे]व-

L. 3. स [दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the trader Samika (*Svāmika*) and of (his) son Sīhadeva (*Sīmha*°)

No. 350.

समिकया भिक्खुनि-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Samikā (*Svāmikā*).

No. 351.

सामिकाय भिक्खुनिया दानं

The gift of the nun Sāmikā (*Svāmikā*)

No. 352.

[सा\*]मिदतस भिक्कुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk [Sā]midata (*Svāmidatta*).

No. 353.

सिरिदिनाय भिक्खुनया नादिनागरिकाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Siridinā (*Śrīdattā*) of Nandinagara.

No. 354.

सिरिभागस संबु — — —

Of Siribhāga (*Śrībhāga*) . . . . .

No. 355.

सिरिमिताया नादिना[ग]रिकाय भिक्षुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Sirimitā (*Śrimitrā*) of Nandinagara.

No. 356.

सिरिया भिक्षुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Siri (*Śrī*).

No. 357.

सिवतिये

Of Sivati.

No. 358.

सिहय<sup>93</sup>Of Sihā (*Simhā*).

No. 359.

L. 1. सिहाय देवदताय

L. 2. च दानं [कु]रघरा भिक्षु-

L. 3. निनं [॥\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*) and Devadatā (*°dattā*), nuns from Kuraghara.

No. 360.

सिहाय समातिकय वजिनिकय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sihā (*Simhā*), *Samāṭikā*<sup>94</sup> (*Samāptikā* ?) (and) Vajinikā (*Vajrinikā*).

No. 361.

सुबाहितस पजाव[तिय]<sup>95</sup> — — —

Of the wife of Subāhita . . . . .

No. 362.

L. 1. सुरियय बुधदेवय पेमतिक-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Suriya (*Sūryā* and) Budhadevā (*Buddha*<sup>96</sup>) of Pemata.

<sup>93</sup> Incised on the procession path and surrounded by four sacred symbols, among which that on the right hand looks like a large स. See facsimile on the plate.

<sup>94</sup> Possibly *samāṭikāya* may stand for *samāṭrikāya* and be intended to indicate that *Vajinika* was the mother of *Sihā*. If so, the construction is of course ungrammatical.

<sup>95</sup> Compare No. 48, *ante* p. 102.



No. 363.

L. 1. सुरियाय भिखु-

L. 2. निया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Suriya (*Sāryā*).

No. 364.

L. 1. सेतपथियस

L. 2. योनस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Yona (*Yavana*), inhabitant of Setapatha (*Śveta*°).

No. 365.

L. 1. हालाय दखिणाजि-

L. 2. य दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Hālā, the Southern (?).<sup>96</sup>

No. 366.

— — — — कस अजितिगुतकुलस — —<sup>97</sup>

No. 367.

[स]ककक् अस्सदे[वाय\*] — —

No. 368.

लेवस [भि ?] — — —

No. 369.

— — — — [सतिनो] [?] कुररस दानं [॥\*]

No. 370.

— — — — नागिलस दानं [॥\*]

No. 371.

L. 1. — — — — तय एजावति[य]

L. 2. पू — न

No. 372.

— — डस दान सपजावतिकस [॥\*]

No. 373.

— — — स कुयुपदकस [दानं]? [॥\*]

No. 374.

L. 1. — — — — रा संघपालि[ताय\*]

L. 2. भिखुनिय दा[नं] [॥\*]

<sup>96</sup> The explanation of दखिणाजि by दाखिणाया is, of course, merely tentative.<sup>97</sup> On the analogy of Gujarāṭi *Vikamājī* for *Vikramāditya*, *Ajitiguta* may stand for *Aditigupta*.

No. 375.

L. 2. — — — य सुभगाय पुसाय नागदतस सघरखितस कोरघ[रका][नां?]

L. 1. दानं [॥\*]<sup>98</sup>

The gift of . . . Subhagâ, Pusâ (*Pushyâ*) Nâgadatta (*°datta*) Sagharakhita (*Samgharakshita*), inhabitants of Kuraghara.

No. 376.

— — — — उत्तराय ट — — —

No. 377.<sup>99</sup>

L. 1. [यो] इतो काकणा — तो तोरण वा वेदिक वा

L. 2. उपादेया उपादा — — या वा आनं वा (vâ) आचरियकु —

L. 3. संकामय सो म — — — तिन पितिघा — न

L. 4. अरहंतघातिन — — — — — [स मो]

L. 5. [कम] उपायकान — — — — — [स पापा]

L. 6. [कर] न सेव — — — — —

He who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkanâ[va] an ornamental arch or rail, or causes it to be transferred<sup>1</sup> to another temple of the teacher [shall incur the guilt] of murderers of mothers, of murderers of fathers, of murderers of Arhats . . . . .

No. 378.<sup>2</sup>

यमो ऋ पं[चा]नगरियकारकान [ग]त गच्छेय यो इतो काकणावातो से[ल]कमे उपादे[य]\*]

[उपा]दापेय वा

अनं वा आचरियकुलं संकामेया तस ते पातका भवेयु [॥]

A pillar (*the gift*) of the workmen, inhabitants of Pañchânagara (?) . . . . on him who takes away or causes to be taken away from this Kâkanâva the stonework or causes it to be transferred to another temple of the teacher, shall fall (*the guilt*) of those mortal sins.

TOPE II.

No. 22 = C. 1.

नागिलस दानं अयस अंतेवासिनी [॥\*]

The gift of Nâgila, the pupil of Aya (*Arya*).

No. 23 = C. 2

धमरखितस सेभस जु — —

. . . of Dhamarakhita (*Dharmarakshita*), the pupil.<sup>98</sup> The inscriptions must be read from below<sup>99</sup> Identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 183. There is a large abrasion in the centre, and the right sides of lines 1-4 have been somewhat defaced by a large diagram which has been carved over them. Restore l. 1 काकणावादी; l. 2 उपादापेया आचरियकुल, l. 3 माताघातिन पितिघातिन. All the bracketed signs are indistinct and their vowels doubtful. See facsimile on the plate.<sup>1</sup> This explanation, which requires संकामेया to be taken in the sense of संकामयेया, has been suggested to me by Professor Jacobi. With आचरियकुल in the sense of 'temple of the teacher,' compare देवकुल.<sup>2</sup> This inscription, which may be identical with Sir A. Cunningham's No. 195, is incised on a long band. See facsimile.

No. 24 = C. 7.

सघमितस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Saghāmīta (*Samghamītra*)

No. 25 = C. 8.

बुधपालितस सेठिनो पडकुलिकियस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Sheth Budhapālita (*Buddha*<sup>2</sup>), inhabitant of Paḍukulikā (*Pāṇḍu-kulikā*).<sup>3</sup>

No. 26 = C. 15.

L. 1. वलाय कोररिये भिखु-

L. 2. निये दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Valā, inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 27 = C. 19.

L. 1. बलकस अयस अरहगुतस सासा-

दकस अतेवासिनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Balaka, the pupil of the venerable Arahagṛta (*Arhadgupta*), inhabitant of Sāsāda.

No. 28 = C. 21.

मुलाया दान थमो गडाय अतेवासिनिया [॥\*]

A pillar, the gift of Mula (*Mūlā*), the pupil of Gaḍa

No. 29 = C. 22.

L. 1. सघरखिताया मातु — — कडिकाया<sup>4</sup>

L. 2. इसिदासिया भिक्कुनिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidāsī (*Rishidāsī*), inhabitant of — — kaḍa, mother of Sagharakhitā (*Samgharakshitā*).

No. 30 = C. 23.

अयस बुधरखितस पोखरियकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the venerable Budharakhita (*Buddharakhita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*)

No. 31 = C. 26.

सिदकडा टिकिसस दानं [॥\*]<sup>5</sup>

The gift of Tikisa (P) from Sidakaḍa.

No. 32 = C. 27.

— य सिदकाडिया दानं [॥\*]

The gift of . . . ī, inhabitant of Sidakaḍa.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 110, No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *yā* stands in l. 2 after दान.

<sup>5</sup> The letters *ḍa* and *ka* look rather modern, the *ḍa* is of the Andhra type.

No. 33 = C. 28.

बुधपालिता सिदकडियाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>o</sup>The gift of Budhapālītā (*Buddha*<sup>o</sup>), inhabitant of Sidakaḍa.

No. 34 = C. 29

सदकडियाय गोलाय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Golā (*Godāvarī*), inhabitant of Sadakaḍa (*Sidakaḍa*).

No. 35 = C. 31.

बुधगुताय सदकडिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Budhagutā (*Buddhagutā*), inhabitant of Sidakaḍa.

No. 36 = C. 34.

अरहकस भिक्षुनो भाणकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Arahaka (*Arhat*), a preacher.

No. 37 = C. 35.

बहुलस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Bahula.

No. 38 = C. 39.

नागरखितस भिक्षुनो पोखरेयकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Nāgarakhita (*ṛakshita*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 39 = C. 40.

L. 1. सघरखितस भिक्षुनो दानं कोर-

L. 2. स [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Sagharakhita (*Samgharakshita*), an inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 40 = C. 43.

ओडिय भिक्षुनिय धमो दानं [॥\*]

A pillar, the gift of the nun Oḍī.

No. 41.

अयस पोखरेयकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Aya (*Ārya*), inhabitant of Pokhara (*Pushkara*).

No. 42.

असदेवाय भिक्षुनिय द[र]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Asadevā (*Āśvadevā*).

<sup>o</sup> This seems to be one of the cases where only one of two words standing in the same case is inflected—see also above, I, No. 132.

No. 43.

L. 1. आजनावा आवासि-

L. 2. कस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Âvāsika from Âjanāva.

No. 44.

इसिदतय भिखुनिय दन [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Isidata (*Rishidatta*).

No. 45.

ईददतस उपसकस दन [॥\*]<sup>7</sup>The gift of the layman Îdadata (*Indradatta*).

No. 46.

गंधारस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]<sup>8</sup>

The gift of the monk Gamdhâra.

No. 47.

गोतमिया भिखुनिया दनां [॥\*]<sup>9</sup>The gift of the nun Gotamî (*Gautamî*).

No. 48.

चिरतिय भिखुनिय दयं [॥\*]<sup>10</sup>The gift of the nun Chiratî (*Kirâtî*).

No. 49.

चुं[व]मोरगिरिनी गामस द[र]न [॥\*]<sup>11</sup>

The gift of the village of Chumvamoragiri (?)

No. 50.

दानं मोरयहिकटियस [॥\*]

The gift of the inhabitant of Morayahikata.

No. 51.

L. 1. धमरसरिय उपसिक-

L. 2. य दन [॥\*]

The gift of Dhamarasiri (*Dharmaśrī* ?),<sup>12</sup> a lay worshipper.<sup>7</sup> The letters are somewhat blurred.<sup>8</sup> The letters are blurred and only just recognisable.<sup>9</sup> The *u*-stroke of *khu* is very faint, and there is also an *â*-stroke at the top, which seems to have been afterwards obliterated.<sup>10</sup> Read दानं<sup>11</sup> The second sign is abnormal. I suspect that चुंमोरगिरिनी is intended.<sup>12</sup> This is probably intended for धर्मसरिय; compare धम्मपत्ति in the Mathurâ inscriptions,—*ante*, p. 210, No. 37.

No. 52.

[ध]मसेनस भिखुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>13</sup>The gift of the monk *Dhamasena* (*Dharma*°)

No. 53.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. असदवय भिखुय दन [॥\*]<sup>14</sup>The gift of the nun *Asadava* (*Āśvadevā*), from *Nadinagara* (*Nandinagara*).

No. 54.

L. 1. नदिनगरा

L. 2. — िमितय भिखुनय दनं [॥\*]<sup>15</sup>The gift of the nun . . imitā from *Nadinagara* (*Nandinagara*).

No. 55.

नं[दु]कस भिखुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>16</sup>The gift of the monk *Namduka*.

No. 56.

पलस भिखुनो दन [॥\*]<sup>17</sup>The gift of the monk *Pala* (*Pāla*).

No. 57.

L. 1. ब[ध]कस कुररस भिखु—

L. 2. दनं [॥\*]<sup>18</sup>The gift of the *Badhaka* (?) (*Baddhaka*), a monk of *Kurara*.

No. 58.

बु[ध]गु[त]स उदुवरवरियस [दा]न [॥\*]

The gift of *Budhaguta* (*Buddhagupta*), inhabitant of *Uduharaghara* (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 59.

बुधरखितकस सुतातिकस अर[पा]नकस दानं [॥\*]

The gift of *Budharakhitaka* (*Buddharakshitaka*), the *Sutātika* (*Sautrāntika*) inhabitant of *Arapāna*.<sup>13</sup> All the letters are much blurred, and the first is not certain.<sup>14</sup> Meant for असदेवाय भिखुनिय.<sup>15</sup> Restore िमितय.<sup>16</sup> Possibly नंदकस, but compare above, No. 16.<sup>17</sup> All the letters are much blurred, and the first may have been ष.<sup>18</sup> The second letter is not closed at the top and not certain. The name may be intended for *Balaka*,—see above,

No. 60.

बुधरखित [कु]— —<sup>19</sup>

No. 61.

L. 1. बुधरखितय भिहुनि[य]

L. 2. दनं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Budharakhitâ (*Buddharakshitâ*).

No. 62.

बुधरखितस भिखुनो दन [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Budharakhita (*Buddharakshita*).

No. 63.

बोधिया भू— —

(*The gift*) of Bodhi . . . .

No. 64.

भ[र]णभूतिनो भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Bharanabhûti (?) (*Bharanibhuti*).

No. 65.

भिहुनिकाय दानं [॥\*]<sup>20</sup>

The gift of Bhichhunikâ (*the little nun* ?)

No. 66.

रोहणिकस उदुवरघरियस दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Rohanika, inhabitant of Udubaraghara (*Udumbaragriha*).

No. 67.

विपुलस भि[खु]नो [दा]नं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk Vipula.

No. 68.

L. 1. विसकस रोहणिपदियस

L. 2. दनं [॥\*]

The gift of Visaka (*Visvaka*), inhabitant of Rohanipada.

No. 69.

सघय मातु साफिनेयिकाय[॥\*]

(*The gift*) of the Sâphineyikâ, mother of Saghâ (*Samghâ*).

<sup>19</sup> The व is made circular, the त has the looped form of some Andhra and Mathurâ inscriptions. The last letter is uncertain.

<sup>20</sup> All the lines of the letters are double.

No. 70.

सोणसिरिय भिखुनिय दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the nun Soṇasiri (*Suvarṇasīri*),

No. 71.

— — — तय सगिरियिकाय धम — — [सक]सय दानं [॥\*]

No. 72.

L. 1. — — — रस भिखुनो मातु कोडुय

L. 2. — — — या दानं [॥\*]

The gift of Koḍu, mother of the monk . . . ra, . . .

No. 73.

L. 1. — [म]र[खि]ताय<sup>21</sup> — — — —

L. 2. दा[नं] कोर[मि का]य [अते]वासिनिया [॥]

The gift of Dhamarakhitā (?), pupil of Koramikā.

No. 74.

— — — — एस भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

The gift of the monk . . . ṇa.

No. 75.

— — — — कुनय स — — —

No. 76.

L. 1. — — — य भिखुनिय

L. 2. — — [की]र रिय [॥\*]

(The gift) of the nun . . . inhabitant of Kurara.

No. 77.

— — — — भिखुनो दानं [॥\*]

No. 78

— — — तथा धवदेवय दन [॥\*]

The gift of . . . tā, Dhavadēvā (*Dharmadevā*).<sup>21</sup> Restore धमरपिताय.



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<sup>22</sup> This index includes also the names given on that appended to the former paper. The new impressions made it necessary to alter a number of words and to exclude some.

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 Sapaki<sup>23</sup> II, 8.  
 Sāmikā I, 357.  
 Sātisiṇī I, 241.  
 Sihā I, 359.  
 Siri I, 356.  
 Siridinā I, 119, 353.  
 Sirimitā I, 355.  
 Sonasiri II, 70.  
 Supaṭhāmā I, 293.  
 Suriya I, 363.  
 Vajinī I, 320.  
 Valā II, 26.  
 Vāsavā I, 329.  
 Vasumitā I, 326.  
 Vipulā I, 332.  
 Virā I, 337.  
 Yakhadā-ī I, 194.  
 Yakhī I, 38, 199, 316.  
 Yamarakhita, II, C. 20.  
 Yasilā I, 33.

### III.—*Males not marked as clerical.*

Agila II, 13.  
 Abimitā I, 127.  
 Ajitiguta I, 43, 366.  
 Apa-yaba (?) I, 205.  
 Apathaka I, 42.  
 Araha I, 40, 234.  
 Arabadina I, 44, 90.  
 Arabaguta I, 242-43.  
 Arabaka (paripanaka) I, 189.  
 Arabadāsa I, C. 100.  
 Arabarakhita I, 338.  
 Asāḍa I, 72, 210.  
 Asaguta I, 213.  
 Aṭha (kamika) I, 10.  
 Āvāsika II, 43.  
 Bahadata I, 30.  
 Bahula II, 37.  
 Balaka I, 319.  
 Bhadaguta I, 172.

Bhadaka I, 41.  
 Bhaḍu I, 308.  
 Bhichhuka I, 56.  
 Bbutarakhita I, 330.  
 Bohu (?) I, 301.  
 Budhaguta II, 53.  
 Budhapālita (sethi) II, 25.  
 Budharakhita I, 302; II, 60.  
 Budhila II, 2; (gahapati) I, 136.  
 Bulika I, 114.  
 Bumu I, 222.  
 Chbeta I, 159.  
 Damaka (sotika) I, 196.  
 Dāsaka I, 345.  
 Data (-kalivata I, 195); (kalavaḍa 339-40).  
 Devabhaga I, 111.  
 Devaka I, 89.  
 Dhamadata I, C. 173.  
 Dhamagiri I, 149, 271.

<sup>23</sup> This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression.

Dhamagiri I, 2, 190.  
 Dhamaka I, 246, 270.  
 Dhamaguta II, 20.  
 Dhamapāla I, 182, 273.  
 Dhamarakhita I, 274.  
 Dhamasena I, 271.  
 Dhamasiva I, 1, 107.  
 Dhanagiri I, 185.  
 Dhamu[tara] I, 276.  
 Disāgiri I, 290.  
 Disārakhita I, 138.  
 Ghosaka I, 239.  
 Girika I, 254.  
 Gobila I, C. 77.  
 Gonaridaka (tāpasa) I, 260.  
 Gopāla I, C. 12.  
 Gotiputa; see Subāhita.  
 Himagiri I, 106.  
 Īdadata I, 169; II, 45.  
 Īdadeva (?) I, 239.  
 Isidāta (?) I, C. 52.  
 Isidina I, 298.  
 Isiguta (vānija) I, 91.  
 Isika I, 92, 93, 161.  
 Isipālita I, 197.  
 Isimita I, 152.  
 Isinadana I, 217.  
 Isirakhita I, 14, 218.  
 Kalavaḍa I, 339-40.  
 Kalivata I, 195.  
 Kalura I, 222.  
 Kekaṭeyaka I, 1, 3.  
 Kujara I, 60,<sup>21</sup> 170.  
 Kusuka I, 196.  
 Leva I, 294, 368.  
 Mahānāma I, 312.  
 Mahida I, 109.  
 Mah[i]pāla I, 273.  
 Mahirakhita I, 3231.  
 Manorama (vaḍaki) I, 311.  
 Mula I, 301.  
 Mulagiri (lekhaka) I, 143.  
 Nadāvu I, 24.  
 Nādivirohi I, 24.  
 Nāgadāta I, 284, 375.  
 Nāgadina (seṭhi) I, 115.  
 Nāgapāya,—see <sup>c</sup>piya.  
 Nāgapiya (seṭhi) I, 85, 201; II, 7.  
 Nāgila I, 390; (seṭhi) I, 285.  
 Nagadina I, C. 74.  
 Narinda I, 179.

Naridigiri I, 108.  
 Nigadi I, 113.  
 Oḍaka I, 323.  
 Opedadāta I, 155, 221.  
 Patitṭhiya (gahapati) I, 22, 23, 264-65.  
 Pātītṭhāna I, 289,—see L. I, Prā<sup>o</sup>.  
 Phaguna I, 63.  
 Pusadāta I, 292.  
 Pusagiri I, 55, 131.  
 Pusaka I, 291.  
 Pusarakhita<sup>25</sup> I, 117.  
 Rebila I, 318.  
 Rohaṇika II, 66.  
 Sachamita I, 96.  
 Saghadeva I, 81.  
 Saghamita II, 12.  
 Sagharakhita I, 284, 375.  
 Sakadina I, 171.  
 Sakarakhita I, 342.  
 Samāṇa I, 196.  
 Saṁgha I, 201.  
 Saṁghadāta I, 228.  
 Saṁgharakhita I, 259, 297.  
 Samika I, 166; (vānika) I, 176, 349.  
 Samivalita I, 98.  
 Saphineyaka,—see Sā<sup>c</sup>.  
 Satiguta I, 346.  
 Sāmanera I, 11, 57.  
 Sāphineyaka (race) I, 137, 161; II, 69.  
 Sāttila I, 173.  
 Sidatha I, 191.  
 Sihagiri I, 77.  
 Sinbhāga I, 354.  
 Siriguta (vānija) I, 47.  
 Siripāla I, 176.  
 Sivanadi I, 45.  
 Sīha (seṭhi) I, 99.  
 Sīhadeva I, 349.  
 Sīhagiri I, 134.  
 Sīharakhita I, 13.  
 Sona I, 150.  
 Soyasa<sup>26</sup> I, 120.  
 Subāhita (-Gotiputa-rājapikara) I, 48, 49, 361.  
 Subhaga I, 19.  
 Sulāsa I, 229.  
 Svatiguta I, 31.  
 Tāpasīya (race) I, 73, 151-52, 160, 223.  
 Tīkisa (?) II, 31.  
 Tisa I, 262.  
 Tuda I, 263, 296.  
 Upedadāta I, 156-57.  
 Upidadāta I, 36.

<sup>21</sup> This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, —compare *ante* (Note).

<sup>25</sup> This is the reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of Hamsa<sup>o</sup> (?).

<sup>26</sup> According to Dr. Führer's new impression it is possible to read *Seyasa*.

Utara (rajuka) I, 230.  
 Vadha I, 142.  
 Vāhila I, 232.  
 Vākiliya (race) I, 271.  
 Vajiguta I, 125.  
 Varadatta I, 321, 323-24.  
 Varuṇa I, 325.  
 Vijita I, 3.

Vimala, I, C. 138.  
 Visa I, C. 77.  
 Visaka II, 68.  
 Visākha II, 21.  
 Visākharakhita I, 334.  
 Visvadeva I, 95.  
 Yamada[ta] I, 281.  
 Yona I, 364.

*IV.—Females not marked as nuns.*

Agidevā I, 129.  
 Agis[i]mā I, 69.  
 Aja[rā]nī I, 203.  
 Ama[ga] (?) I, 278.  
 Apā[kā]nī I, 206.  
 Arabadinā I, 250.  
 Arabagutā I, 32, 249.  
 Aribadatā I, 313.  
 Asvadevā I, 30, 166, 36.  
 Asvarakhitā I, 219.  
 Baladatā I, 300.  
 Balakā I, 154.  
 Balikā I, 225.  
 Bhichhunikā II, 65.  
 Bodhi I, 305.  
 Budhadevā I, 362.  
 Buddhagutā II, 35.  
 Budhapālītā II, 33.  
 Budhā I, 157.  
 Chirātī I, 202.  
 Devabhāgā I, 237.  
 Dhamadatā I, 223.  
 Dhamadinā I, 272.  
 Dhamarakhitā I, 15, 45, 76, 275.  
 Dhamarasiri II, 56.  
 Dhamatā[datā] I, 102.  
 Dha[nā] I, 265.  
 Dhañikā I, 309.  
 Dhavadevā II, 78.  
 Gaḍā II, 15.  
 Golā II, 34.  
 Gotamī I, 255.  
 Hālā I, 365.  
 Himadatā I, 156.  
 Isalā I, 323.  
 Isidatā I, 171, 234-95.  
 Isimitā I, 162.  
 Isinikā I, 255.  
 Isirakhitā I, 64.  
 Jitamitā I, 257.  
 Kā[ka]nā (?) I, 21.  
 Kaniyasī I, 167.  
 Kouu II, 72.  
 Kurānī I, 39.

Majhimā I, 48.  
 Mitā I, 73.  
 Muladatā I, 153.  
 Mulā I, 95.  
 Nādinī I, 310.  
 Nāgā I, 50, 140, 261.  
 Nāgadātā I, 117.  
 Nagamitā I, 165, 240.  
 Nāgapālītā II, 10.  
 Najā I, 151.  
 Narā I, 164.  
 Nāgādinā [°ga°] I, 245.  
 Oḍī I, 82.  
 Puijā (?) I, 129.  
 Patolā (?) II, C. 28.  
 Poṭhadevā I, 139.  
 Pusā I, 141, 375.  
 Pusinī II, 20.  
 Ratinā[°nī] I, 317.  
 Revatimitā I, 319.  
 Revā I, 121.  
 Rohā I, 324.  
 Rohadevā I, 282.  
 Robaṇī I, 148.  
 Saghā I, 174; II, 69.  
 Saghmarakhitā II, 29.  
 Samātikā (?) I, 360.  
 Sainghā I, 344.  
 Sāmidarā[tā] I, C. 176.  
 Samikā I, 46, 118.  
 Semākā (?) I, C.  
 Sihā I, 212, 358, 360; II, 18.  
 Sijhā I, 333.  
 Simhadatā I, 160.  
 Sirikā I, 220.  
 Sivati I, 357.  
 Sonadevā I, 8, 129.  
 Subhagā I, 130, 375.  
 Suriyā I, 362.  
 Tāpasī I, 39.  
 Tuḍā I, 296.  
 Utarā I, 376.  
 Utaradatā I, 279.  
 Utaramitā I, 280.

Vayudatā I, 155,—*see* Vāyu.  
 Vajinikā I, 360.  
 Vākalādevī I, 127.  
 Varasenā I, 322.  
 Vasulā I, 168, 227, 327.  
 Vāsulā I, 163.

Vāyudatā I, 226,—*see* Vāyu.<sup>o</sup>  
 Vesamanadatā I, 22.  
 Vinhukā II, C. 24.  
 Vīrasenā I, 336.  
 Vudinā I, 20.  
 Yasilā I, 34.

### F.—Geographical Names.

Abheyaka (adj.) I, 11, 57  
 Achhāvada (adj.) II, 7.  
 Achhāvada I, 55, 201.  
 Achhāvāta (?) I, 202.  
 Adhaporika (adj.) II, 13.  
 Ājanāva II, 43.  
 Anammitaka (? adj.) II, C. 10.  
 Arapana I, 210-11.  
 Arapāna I, 59, 72, 89.  
 Arapānaka (adj.) II, 59.  
 Arapāniya (adj.) I, 212.  
 Asvavatī I, 91, 215.  
 Aṭhakanagara I, 204.  
 Bedakara, I, 108.  
 Bhādanakatiya (adj.) I, 120.  
 Bhasikaḍa I, C. 156.  
 Bhogavadhana I, 45.  
 Bhogavadhana, I 64, 309.  
 Bhogavadhanaka (adj.) I, 43, 109; II, 2.  
 Chahatiya (adj.) ? I, 135 (see I. I.)  
 Chuḍaphalagiriya (adj.) I, 300.  
 Chumivamoragiri (?) II, 49.  
 Dhamavadhanana (vadhana) I, 25-26.  
 Dharakina I, 173.  
 Ejāvata (adj.) I, 71.  
 Ejāvati I, 231-32.  
 Erakina,—*see* Dharakina.  
 Gaṁdhāra (n. pr.) II, 46.  
 Kāboja (n. pr.) I, 7, 287.  
 Kāchupatha (adj.) I, 52, 53.  
 Kākaṇāva, I, 377 (?), 378.  
 Kāmadigāma I, 236.  
 —gāmiya (adj.) I, 140-41, 237.  
 Kāpāsīgāma I, 40, 332.  
 Koramikā (adj., n. pr.) I, 343; II, 73.  
 Kaṭakañyaka (adj.) I, 97, 233.  
 Kaṭakañu I, 41, 234-35.  
 Kaṭakameyaka I, C. 100.  
 Kekateyaka (n. pr.) I, 1, 3.  
 Koḍijilaka (adj.) I, 299.  
 Koraghara (adj.) I, 19, 99, 104, 284, 286, 307.  
 Korara . f . ī (adj.); I, 85, 315; II, 8, 9,  
 26, 89 76.  
 Kothukapadiya (adj.) I, 182.

Kuraghara I, 162, 164-65, 239-40, 359  
 Kuraghariya (adj.) I, 241.  
 Kuragharaka I, 375.  
 Kurara, or Kurāra I, 98, 179, 242-48.  
 Kurara, . f . ī . (adj.) I, 39, 181, 249-50, 369;  
 II, 37.  
 Kurariya (adj.) I, 201, 2 6.  
 Kuthupadaka I, 373.  
 Machbavata I, 310.  
 Maḍalachhikaṭika or °lācchi° (adj.) I, 78, 79,  
 80, 186, 267 (?).  
 Madhuvana I, 61, 180.  
 Madhuvanaka . f . ikā I, 15, 76, 110, 126,  
 275.  
 Māhamoragi I, 77, 134.  
 Mahisatī I, 111,—*see* Māhi°.  
 Māhisatī I, 313-14, 317.  
 Morajab'latiya I, 268, and compare below  
*Ramorajahikati* . . .  
 Morasibikata I, 44.  
 Morayahikatiya (adj.) II, 50.  
 Nādinagara I, 7, 287.  
 Nadinagara I, 6, 277, 282, II, 53-54.  
 Nadinagaraka, Nāndi°, Nādi°.  
 Nādinagarika f.-ikā, (adj.) I, 82, 105, 119,  
 183, 192, 216, 318, 353, 355; II, 15.  
 Nāndi° I, 143, 278-81, 329.  
 Navagāmaka I, 138.  
 Navagamaka, °gāmaka, or Nāvagamaka, °gāma-  
 ka f.-ikā (adj.) I, 46, 55, 131, 147.  
 Navagamakiya I, 292.  
 Pādāniya (adj.) I, 56; II, 21.  
 Pāḍukulikā II, 1.  
 Pāḍukulikiya (adj.) II, 25.  
 [Pā]tiṭhāna (adj.) I, 289.  
 Pāvīḍaka I, 169.  
 Pematikā (adj.) I, 362.  
 Pemutikā (adj.) I, 293.  
 Phujākapalliya, I, 263.  
 Poḍavijhaka I, 298.  
 Pokhara I, 106, 294-97.  
 Pokhareyaka I, 93; II, 30, 38, 41.  
 Poravijhaka<sup>27</sup> I, 107,—*see* Poḍavijhaka.  
 Prātiṭhāna (n. pr.) I, 12, 70.

<sup>27</sup> This is the distinct reading of Dr. Führer's new impression, instead of *Poravikkha*. It is confirmed by the form *Poḍavijhaka* in No. 298.

Puñavaḍhaniya (adj.) I, 102, 217.  
 Puruṣa I, 290.  
 Ramorajahikaḍi . . . (?) I, 90,—*see above*  
 Morajahikaḍa.  
 Rohaṇi nadiya (adj.) I, 93.  
 Rohaṇipadiya (adj.) I, 113-15; II, 68.  
 Sadakaḍaya (adj.) II, 34,—*see Sida*°.  
 Sagireyikā (adj.) I, 71.  
 Sakakacbha (?) I, 367.  
 Śānukagāmīna (adj.) I, 172.  
 Śāsādaka (adj.) I, 18; II, 27.  
 Sedakaḍa . f . -i. (adj.) II, 35.  
 Setapathiya (adj.) I, 364.  
 Sidakaḍa, II, 31.  
 Sidakaḍiya (adj.), II, 33.  
 Sidakāḍe (adj.) II, 32.  
 Sonaraka (adj.) II, 12.  
 Tākārāpada I, 259.  
 Tambalamaḍa I, 60.  
 Tiriḍapaḍa I, 50, 261.  
 Tobavanika I, 337.

Tuḥa- or Tumbavana I, 22, 23, 264-65.  
 Udubara- or Udumbaraghariya (adj.) I, 13.  
 96; II, 58, 66.  
 Ugireyaka (adj.) I, 31.  
 Ujenī I, 27, 69, 73, 95, 144, 146, 148-61,  
 163, 219-29.  
 Ujenika (adj.) I, 121, 214, 266, 326.  
 Vāḍi-Vāḍivahana I, 116, 124, 328.  
 Vāḍivahanika (adj.) I, 101.  
 Vāḍya° (adj.) II, C. 24.  
 Vāghumata I, 37, 175.  
 Vāḍivahanikā (adj.) I, 197.  
 Vedisa I, 38, 316, 338-41.  
 Vedisaka, f. ikā (adj.) I, 117, 132, 200, 253,  
 283.  
 Vejaja I, 17.  
 Vejaja (adj.) I, 270.  
 Verohahāṭa (adj.) I, 81.  
 Virohakaṭa I, 333.  
 Vitirīṇahā I, 320.  
 Vitirīṇahī, I, 331.

## XXXII.—CHITORGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF MOKALA OF MEWAD.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1485.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, PH.D., C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Dr. Burgess has furnished me with good impressions, by Dr. A. Führer, of three inscriptions of the Guhila princes of Mewād, which are at Chitorgadh in the Udaypur state of Rājputāna. Of the earliest<sup>1</sup> of them—it is dated in the Vikrama year 1331—I have already given an account<sup>2</sup> in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII, p. 80, from a rubbing of Mr. Garrick's that had been sent to me by the late Sir A. Cunningham. I here publish the text of the second inscription, the only one of the three that is complete, of the Vikrama year 1485.

This inscription is on a slab of black marble, inside a large carved stone temple which according to local information was built by Mokālji.<sup>3</sup> It contains fifty-three lines of writing, which cover a space of about 4' 2" broad by 2' 8" high. In the midst of the writing, causing a break in the lines 21-29, is an ornamental device, 5½" square, enclosing a circle which is about 3¾" in diameter; and inside this circle again is an open flower with eight leaves. Near the periphery of the circle is a verse in the Anuṣṭubh metre, which apparently invokes the blessing of the God Hara (Śiva), but the letters of which are too faint in the impression to be read with confidence. And in the centre, and on the leaves of the flower and around them, seventeen other *akṣharas* are engraved, three of which clearly give the name *Mokala*. The writing of the inscription is generally

<sup>1</sup> A photo-lithograph of it is given in Sir A. Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, plate xxv.

<sup>2</sup> In Dr. Führer's impressions the name of the 14th prince, *Amraprasāda*, is quite distinct. Otherwise, I have nothing to add to my previous account of the inscription,

and I do not think that it would be worth while re-publishing the text of it.

<sup>3</sup> See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, p. 106, and plate xxxiii.

well preserved, so that, with the exception of about a dozen *aksharas*, the actual wording of the text may be made out with certainty. The average size of the letters is between  $\frac{9}{8}$ " and  $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. The language is Saṁskṛit, and, excepting the introductory words *Oṁ Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and a date at the end, the whole is in verse. Considering the great length of the inscription, the historical information conveyed by it is very meagre indeed; and the author has tried to make up for the want of substance by lengthy and exaggerated descriptions of the valour, fame, piety and munificence of the princes of whom he is treating. His language is sometimes obscure, and not free from actual mistakes. The orthography does not differ from that of an ordinary Saṁskṛit manuscript.

The object of the inscription is, to record the erection, at Chitrakūṭa (the modern Chitorgadḥ), of a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhīśa<sup>4</sup>) by the prince Mokala of Medapāṭa (or Mewād). After the words "Oṁ, Oṁ, adoration to Śiva," the inscription has four verses invoking the blessings of Gajāśya (Gaṇeśa), Ekaliṅga (Śiva), the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Śiva's consort Pārvatī) who dwells on the Vindhya, and Achyuta (Viṣṇu). The poet then (in verses 5-6) glorifies the pious and famous family of the prince Guhila.<sup>5</sup> In that family was born the lord of Medapāṭa Arisimha (vv. 7-12). His son was the prince Hammīra (*Hammīra-vīra*, *Hammīra-deva*; vv. 13-23). From him sprang the prince Kshetra (*Kshetra-mahīpati*, *Kshetra-kshītīśa*; vv. 24-33). His son was the prince Lakshasimha (*Lakshasimha-nṛpati*, *Laksha-kshītīśa*; vv. 34-43), who according to verses 38 and 41 freed the holy place Gayā from the distress brought upon it by the ruler of the Śakas (*i.e.* the Muhammadans). And Lakshasimha's son was Mokala (*Mokala-kshmāpati*, *Mokalendra*; vv. 44-60), whom his father appointed his successor, and of whom in verse 51 it is intimated that he defeated Peroja, the king of the Yavanas<sup>6</sup> (meaning, again, the Muhammadans). Mokala, according to vv. 61-64, had already before built a splendid temple of 'the lord of Dvārakā' (*i.e.* the god Viṣṇu-Krishṇa), near which he also had a tank excavated. And it is now recorded by this inscription (vv. 65-73) that on the Mount Chitrakūṭa, situated in the prince's dominion, Mokala also built a temple of the god Śiva (Samiddheśa or Samādhīśa) and provided for its proper maintenance. Verse 74 gives the date on which this temple was inaugurated; and the *Prāśasti* closes (in verse 75) with a prayer for the continuance of Mokala's rule. Five additional verses record that the preceding *Prāśasti* was written<sup>7</sup> (*i.e.* composed) by Ekanāṭla, a son of Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu, of the Daśapura clan;<sup>8</sup> that the temple was constructed by Mana, the son of Vijala; and that the inscription was written on the stone by Vīśala, a son of Mana, and engraved by Vīśa, who also is described as a son of Mana, and is perhaps identical with Vīśala. And the inscription ends with a date which differs from the date given in verse 74.

<sup>4</sup> The text, in verse 72, actually has *Samidevaiśaḥ*, which must be altered to either *Samiddheśaḥ* or *Samādhīśaḥ*. *Samādhīśa* occurs, as a name of Śiva, in line 53 of this inscription and in other inscriptions at Chitorgadḥ and Mount Ābū; and *Samiddheśvara* I find in another Chitorgadḥ inscription of the Vikrama year 1207. See below, p. 422.

<sup>5</sup> See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI, p. 346.

<sup>6</sup> Verse 46 states in a general way that Mokala subdued the Āngas, Kāmarūpas, Vangas, Nishādas, Chīnas, and Turushkas; but there can be no doubt that that verse has been

put in solely for the sake of poetical ornamentation.

<sup>7</sup> The original has *alikhāt*, which must here mean 'composed,' because the writer's name is given afterwards, and because the name of the composer would hardly have been omitted.

<sup>8</sup> *Daśapura-jñāti* occurs again in the Nāgarī inscription of Mokala's grandson Rājamalla; *Journal Beng. As. Soc.* vol. LVI, part I, p. 82, v. 25. On the town Daśapura see Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 79, note 2.

Neither the date in verse 74 nor the one at the end of the inscription works out satisfactorily. According to verse 74 the temple built by Mokala was inaugurated on the day of the preceptor of the gods, *i.e.* on a Thursday, the third lunar day of the dark half of the month Tapasya, *i.e.* Phālguna, of the Vikrama year made up of the arrows (5), eight (8), the Vedas (4) and the earth (1), *i.e.* 1485, under the *nakshatra* of Aryaman, *i.e.* Pūrvā-phalgunī, while the sun was in the sign Makara and Jupiter in the sign Ghaṭa, *i.e.* Kumbha. Here the statements that the sun (on Phālguna-vadi 3) was in the sign Makara, and that Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, show that the scheme of the lunar month was the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, and that the date must fall between the 25th February A.D. 1428 and the 20th February A.D. 1429 (*i.e.* in the Jovian year Rākshasa, as determined by the northern mean-sign system); and accordingly the true equivalent for Phālguna-vadi 3 of Vikrama 1485 can only be the 23rd January A.D. 1429. On that day the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 18h. 29m. after mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Pūrvā-phalgunī, and the sun was in Makara and Jupiter in Kumbha, all as required; but the day was a Sunday, not a Thursday, as stated erroneously by the inscription.—The date at the end of the inscription is Thursday, the 3rd of the bright half of Māgha of the year 1485. In the impression the figures for the day is not as clear as one could wish it to be. But, under any circumstances, this date, on which the inscription is said to have been engraved, would precede the date recorded in the body of the inscription; and assuming my reading to be right, the possible equivalents of the date would be Monday, the 19th January A.D. 1428, and Saturday, the 8th January A.D. 1429, which shows that this date too cannot be correct.

Notwithstanding these errors, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the temple which was built by Mokala, was finished by him in A.D. 1428-1429, and that this inscription furnishes a true date for the reign of that prince. Mokala, therefore, could not have been succeeded by his son Kumbhakarna (Koombho) as early as Vikrama 1475 = A.D. 1419, as was stated by Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* vol. I, p. 286. And if there be any truth in the statement of our inscription that Mokala defeated the Yavana King Peroja, who could only have been the Sultān Fīrūz Shāh (A.D. 1351—1388), the commencement of his reign, too, must be placed at least ten years before the time assigned to it by Tod. As regards Mokala's predecessors, I can only say that the list furnished of them by this inscription agrees with the one given in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*<sup>10</sup> and in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 257.

#### TEXT.<sup>11</sup>

L. 1.

ओं<sup>12</sup> ॥ ओं नमः शिवाय ॥

सिद्धार्थामरसुंदरीकरवलसिंदूरधारारण-

श्रीगंडस्थलमंडलीयुगलसद्धानांबुपूरोज्ज्वलः ॥(1)

संध्याभ्रच्छ्रिताग्रसानुनिपतन्नाकापगौघद्वयः

स्वर्णोर्वीश्रुदिव प्रयच्छतु शिवं देवो गजास्योव्यं ॥ १ ॥<sup>13</sup>

वेदा वागिति शिष्टतामुपगतो यः कर्मणामीक्षि-

<sup>10</sup> The earliest certain date of Kumbhakarna's reign known to me is of the Vikrama year 1492; see Peterson's *Third Report*, Appendix, p. 203.

<sup>11</sup> The names given by Tod are Uisi, Hamir, Khaitsi,

Lakha Rana, and Mokul. *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 267-277.

<sup>12</sup> From an impression, prepared by Dr. Fuhrer.

<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 1—4: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.



L. 2.

ता

साक्षी तत्प्रतिभूः पुनर्भवति सन्निवार्थसंदर्शनः ।  
 जाल्यैवेषु<sup>14</sup> विनश्वरेषु सकलं दाता विविक्तः फलं  
 देवः स्वस्तिकरः परः स सततं स्तादेकलिङ्गाभिधः ॥ २ ॥  
 भूमीभृत्स्वयमे[धि]तस्थितिरियं गुर्वी नगा वंधवो  
 विंध्योगस्तचरितो न चकितः प्रास्थापयद्वाह्मणान्<sup>15</sup> ।  
 कन्या मान्यतमा महीत्ववविधा-

3.

विलेकमन्त्रोक्तितो

यामानीनयदर्चनाय गिरिजा विंध्यालया सावतात् ॥ ३ ॥  
 कालिंदीतटकुंजवद्भवसतिः सेयं प्रिया राधिका  
 स्मर्त्तव्यं ननु रुक्मिणी न भवती हुं चारुहासिन्यसि ।  
 युक्तं ना[सि] कलावती सुविदितं त्वं सत्यभामेन्यथा  
 नोक्तासोति विनिर्झुतोक्तमुदितश्लोचुतः पातु वः ॥ ४ ॥  
 स्मारन्यायोन्ववायो गुहिलनरपतेर-

4.

स्ति जाग्रत्प्रशस्ति-

व्यंस्तीभूतांतरायो वसतिरिह युगे धर्म्यकर्म्मोदयस्य ।  
 शश्वद्यागानुरागे(ग) स्थिरविमलनिधौ भूरिभोगोभगां<sup>16</sup>  
 भूयोन्नां विधत्ते सपदि शतसखी<sup>17</sup> यत्र संभूय शक्रः ॥ ५ ॥<sup>18</sup>  
 वाक्सेतोरचलन्मतिर्दिशि दिशि प्रख्यातमानोन्नति-  
 निर्यन्निस्वनवाहिनीपरिवृतो नानाधनैकाकरः ।  
 अत्यक्तचितिविग्रहो मुनिकथागीतादिगोत्रस्थिति-  
 विंध्यो वं-

5.

धुरवंधुतां वितनुते यस्योपपन्नश्रियः ।[॥] ६ ॥<sup>19</sup>

वंशे तत्तारिसिंहः क्षितिपतिरजनि क्षत्रनक्षत्रलक्ष्मी-  
 वीचादक्षोर्युत्क्ष्मावहुलजरजनिध्वंसभास्वन्नभस्तिः ।  
 विंध्यावंध्यप्रदेशस्फुरदमलखनिव्यक्तरत्नाकरत्व-  
 स्मारश्रीमेदपाटक्षिति(व)लयवलङ्घ्यपायोदचंद्रः<sup>20</sup> ॥ ७ ॥<sup>21</sup>  
 नरपतिरिसिंहः शस्त्रशास्त्रोपदेष्टा वितरणर-

6.

एकपर्णे विश्वविख्यातवर्णः ॥ (1)

स्फुरदमलगुणौघः पुण्यगण्योरुनामा नयविनयविवेकीयानपुंस्कोकिलः सन् ॥ ८ ॥<sup>22</sup>  
 विभ्यत्विहपदादमुय सकरी नूनं मघोनो यतो  
 वाजी सत्र(क्ष)हविस्तताध्वरभुवं<sup>23</sup> नोच्चैःशवा गच्छति ।  
 आहृतः कयमेरु<sup>24</sup> वाहनमृते देवाग्रणीर्वृत्रहा

<sup>14</sup> Read जल्यैवेषु.<sup>15</sup> I should have expected प्रस्थापयन्ना°.<sup>16</sup> The reading of this line is perfectly clear in the impression, but the end of it yields no suitable sense.<sup>17</sup> Read शतसखी.<sup>18</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.<sup>19</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭita.<sup>20</sup> पायोद 'cloud' is apparently used here in the sense of पायोधि 'ocean.' Originally °द्गुष्पा° was engraved.<sup>21</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.<sup>22</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>23</sup> Originally °सतोध्वर° was engraved.<sup>24</sup> Read कयमेरु.

मेघं वाहनमातनोदयमतः सद्धोमधमोद्भवं ॥ ८ ॥<sup>25</sup>  
कीर्त्तिः कौतुकिनी दिगंतमगमत्कर्पू-

L. 7.

रपूरोज्ज(ज्ज)ला

खेलंती निजवासिताभ्रमवशादालिंगिता दिग्गजैः ।  
क्षोरांभोनिधिगाहनं तु विधिना कृत्वादरादुत्थिता  
ब्रह्मादीननुयोक्तुमुत्तमगुणस्यास्य प्रगल्भा दिवं ॥ १० ॥  
विशिष्टजनसंगतौ व्यतरदेकलक्ष्यं<sup>26</sup> यतस्ततोधिकतरं यशोलभत भोजभूमीपतिः ।  
अयं कथमदःसमः कविभिरुच्यते वाददाद्विशेषविधिनान्वहं<sup>27</sup> विविधलक्ष्मभोजानपि<sup>28</sup> ॥ ११ ॥  
निर्गोडो न महेश्व-

8.

रोन कठिनो नाचेतनश्चित्तं

दातानेकगवीश्वरः परिवृद्धो नो भारती दुर्भगा ।  
सेनानीर्णं विपक्षसंगतिरतो नोक्षैः अवा वा हयो  
नारामः कतिचित्तरुः कथमदः पुर्याः स धुर्या दिवः<sup>29</sup> ॥ १२ ॥<sup>31</sup>  
शूरः सूततवागनूनविभ[वो] वंशावतंसः सुत-  
स्तस्य न्यङ्कतरत्नसानुगरिमा हन्मीरवीरो जयी ।  
विख्यातः अरुरूपजित्वरवपुर्लक्ष्मीनिवासाच्युतो  
वाग्देवीचतुराननो रिपु-

9.

कुलप्लोषीग्रूपो महान् ॥ १३ ॥

हन्मीरः किल वेभवोचितविधिर्दित्सुः सहस्रं गवा-  
मित्याकर्ण्य सहस्रगू रविशचीनाथौ भयं जग्मतुः ।  
शश्वत्तद्रहसि स्थितान्मुररिपोः श्रुत्वा सहस्रं पुन-  
र्धनूनां समुपागतावतिमुदा तद्दानमेवेक्षितुं ॥ १४ ॥  
कार्णादीनतिशय दिग्जयविधावादाय दिग्मंडली-  
दंडं दूरमपास्य कालमसक्तहाता स्वयं दक्षिणां ।  
इत्याकर्ण्य

10.

जनश्रुतीः परिभवं स्वं शंकमानोत्तक-

दृष्टुं न क्षमते प्रजा मनुनये यस्मिन्महीं शासति ॥ १५ ॥  
प्रासादमासादितशातकुंभकुंभं वसदेवमचोकरथः ।  
अचीखनत्सागरकल्पमल्पेतरत्नरसूतवनीभिरिदं ॥ १६ ॥<sup>32</sup>  
संग्रामग्रामभूमौ सदिदमसिलवा संगता पंचशाखे  
सच्छाये श्यामलांगी क्षतजजलवलत्पुष्टिरिष्टप्रचारा ।  
चित्रं सृते विक्रीशा कुसुम-

11.

मतिमहत्कीर्त्तनीयं दिगंते

धा[न्ना]न्नाता नितांतं दलयति नियतं धारणांगि पतंती<sup>33</sup> ॥ १७ ॥<sup>34</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Metre of verses 9 and 10: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>26</sup> This may have been altered to 'लक्ष'.

<sup>27</sup> Perhaps altered to 'वाददक्षि' ; read 'दीदक्षि' (P).

<sup>28</sup> The meaning of this is not clear to me.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Prithvī.

<sup>30</sup> Perhaps the original has 'दिवः'. Read 'धुर्या दिवः' (P).

<sup>31</sup> Metre of verses 12—15: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>32</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>33</sup> Read 'साता' (P) and 'पतंती'.

<sup>34</sup> Metre: Bragdhara.

हम्भीरवीरो रणरंगधीरो वाङ्माधुरीतर्जितकेकिकीरः ॥ (i)  
 घराधवालंकरणैकहीरस्तत्तद्वनीभूपितसिंधुतीरः ॥ १८ [॥\*]<sup>35</sup>  
 एतत्पाणौ कपाणी द्विषदसुपवनाहारतोषं दधाना  
 कालाकारोरगीव स्फुरति सचकितं वीक्षिता भीतिहेतुः ॥ (i)  
 ना-

L. 12. धः काये कथंचिद्दृश्यति बहुमता नो विभीते विपक्षा-  
 त्स्वर्गे वासं क्ष[ता]नां वितरति रमते न द्विजिह्वेन चित्रं ॥ १९ [॥\*]<sup>36</sup>  
 पायं पायं सुपीनः] परभटवधिरं तन्महीगर्भजाता  
 खड्गः कालः कुतोयं कथमियमपरा कीर्तिरत्यज्ज्व(ज्ज)लास्य ॥ (i)  
 एकेनास्त्रायि नूनं रुददरिषनितानेवतोयेंजनाढ्ये  
 तासामुद्धर्तितेयं सृदुभुजव(व)लयस्वच्छचूर्णैरजस्रं ॥

13. २० [॥\*]

उद्यत्प्रौढप्रतापानलमुषितमहाविंशेषो विवक्षा-  
 न्पश्चादुद्दामकीर्तिच्छुरिततरतनुः शीतरश्मित्वमेति ॥ (i)  
 शंके रूपांतरं स्वं कलयति स वपुर्भेदभीतो रणक्ष्मा-  
 धीरे हम्भीरवीरे घृति परसुभटान्संगरे संमुखस्थान् ॥ २१ [॥\*]  
 कुर्वन्पद्मे जनुः स्वं विधिरिति विधिदग्दृष्टसृष्टप्रदिष्टो  
 नो पंके जन्म दोषं व्यजगणदतुलं तस्य रक्तेतरस्य ॥ (i)  
 भूत्वा ह-

14. म्भीरदेवक्षितिपतियशसः स्वच्छवर्णोपमेयो  
 गंता पुण्योपमानं दिशि दिशि सुचिरं सत्कवीनां मुखेषु ॥ २२ [॥\*]  
 गौरी गौरीशहासादपि रुचिररुचिर्चंद्रनाचंद्रतो वा  
 कांत्या कर्णाटकांतासितदशन[च]तुष्कानुमेया सुगेया ॥ (i)  
 शेषस्याशेषवेषस्फुरदमृतरुचश्चारुसौंदर्यधर्या<sup>37</sup>  
 कीर्तिर्यस्थंदुस्मूर्त्तेः किल चरति दशाथांतविश्रांतयात्रा ॥ २३ [॥\*]  
 तस्मात्क्षे-

15. त्रमहीपतिः समभवत्ख्यातो गुणांभीनिधिः  
 शौर्योदार्यमहत्त्व(क्ष)सत्त्व(क्ष)महितो<sup>38</sup> धर्मो वपुष्मानिव ॥ (i)  
 शक्रार्द्धासनभाजि येन जनके रत्नाकारालंकृति-  
 भूसुक्ता जितपूर्वराजगरिमप्राप्तप्रभाशालिना ॥ २४ [॥\*]<sup>39</sup>  
 हृदि विनिहितरामो योस्त्वविद्याभिरामो मदनसदृशमूर्तिर्विश्वविख्यातकीर्तिः ।  
 समरहतविपक्षो लोलया दत्तलक्ष्मी नयनजित-

16. सरोजः प्रक्रियाक्रांतभोजः ॥ २५ [॥\*]<sup>40</sup>  
 संग्रामे दंतितदंतज्वलनकणमुचि प्रोल्लसद्दीरयोध-  
 स्फारोन्मुक्ताशुगालीनिविडकवलिताशेषकाष्ठांतराले ॥ (i)

<sup>35</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>36</sup> Metre of verses 19-23: Sragdharā.

<sup>37</sup> Read 'र्यधर्या'.

<sup>38</sup> Read शौर्योदा°.

<sup>39</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>40</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

जित्वा दुर्गं समग्रं नरपतिमहितं साधुवादस्य सम्य-  
 क्त्वं योधाद्विरत्रामरिकलपतगत्रेणिचंडप्रदीपः<sup>41</sup> ॥ २६ ॥<sup>42</sup>  
 आक्रांता वृषपुंगवेन विलसद्भासा चतुर्भिः पदैः  
 सम्यग्वीक्षणपालिता

L. 17. नवनवप्राप्तप्रकर्षादया ॥(1)  
 प्रासोष्टामरनैचिकीव बहुशो रत्नान्यनघर्माणि गौः  
 शूरे कीर्त्तिपयो धराशतमखे यस्मिन्महीं शासति ॥ २७ ॥<sup>43</sup>  
 कीर्त्तिचोरोदपूरे बहुविधविरुदप्रोक्षसद्दीचिमाले  
 कृष्णः शेतस्य खड्गः सुखसुरुसमरे शेषमासाद्य शत्रोः ।  
 दृश्यते राजहंसा दिशि दिशि न ततो मानसे लीयमा-

18. नाः  
 सीदत्यक्षा विलक्षाः स्फुरति न कमलोन्मेषितापेक्षितैषां ॥ २८ ॥<sup>44</sup>  
 अस्यासिः कालरात्रिः स्फुरति किल भवन्मंडले वैरि—<sup>45</sup>  
 — [प्रो]क्षासिवेश्म प्रभवदह्निभयं भूतराजोरुतापं ॥(1)  
 पद्मोद्बोधो न चैषां भवति विघटते चक्रयो[गो] नियोगा-  
 द्भूरिर्जागर्त्तिं भीतिः पतति निजपथो

19. नोजिभूतः पंकपातः ॥ २९ ॥  
 भ्रातः कल्पतरो किमात्य भगवन्हेमाचल श्रूयतां  
 कर्तुं क्षेत्रमहीपतिः प्रयतते दानानि पुण्याशयः ।  
 वर्त्ते[हं स्व?]करे गृह्णागणभुवि त्वं वर्त्तसे नित्यशः  
 क्रीडार्थं यदि [वा] ददाति हि तदा वक्तुं क ईदृशे जनः ॥ ३० ॥<sup>46</sup>  
 इत्थं दानकथा मिथो विजयते चिंतामणिस्त्रिग्वी-  
 सुख्या-

20. नामपि दानशास्त्रविलसन्नाम्नामसुख्य प्रभोः ।  
 उन्मीलच्छरदंबु(बु)जामलदलस्त्रच्छायताक्षिस्फुर-  
 त्कोणस्थायुकमित्रवैरिपरिषत्संपद्भिपद्वर्त्मनः ॥ ३१ ॥  
 माद्यद्वेतंडचंडध्वनिभरविगलहीरवर्गोत्थैर्यै  
 स्फूर्जत्कोदंडदंडप्रपतदिषुचयच्छन्नसैन्येप्यनन्ये ।  
 जन्ये प्राणैकपण्ये गणयति न गणं विहिषां पु-

21. स्वरशि-  
 र्धन्यः क्षेत्रक्षितीशः प्रतिभट्टपतिह्माकराकटिदृष्टिः<sup>47</sup> ॥ ३२ ॥<sup>48</sup>  
 मूर्च्छालं तु जडीभवच्छ्रुतिपथं संशुष्कितैकत्वचं  
 मोलंतं च मुहुर्मुहुः शिथिलितं यांतं न[वा]सुस्थितं ॥(1)

<sup>41</sup> Read "कुल", and प्रदीप.

<sup>42</sup> Metre : Śṛagdhara.

<sup>43</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>44</sup> Metre of verses 28 and 29 : Śṛagdhara.

<sup>45</sup> Here four akṣaras are broken away

<sup>46</sup> Metre of verses 30 and 31 : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>47</sup> Perhaps altered to "कट्टिदृष्टिः".

<sup>48</sup> Metre : Śṛagdhara

दारिद्र्योपहतं विबोधयति यद्दृष्टाद्दृष्टं<sup>49</sup> यथा  
जाप्यं कर्णपथाश्रितं सुविमलं यन्मममन्त्रा-

L. 22.

स्वरं ॥ ३३ ॥<sup>50</sup>

तत्सुनुः किल लक्षसिंहनृपतिः<sup>51</sup> ख्यातो गुणग्रामणी-<sup>52</sup>

रुद्रहानफलामलार्जुनयशोवल्लीमतल्लीतरुः ।<sup>53</sup>

यत्तेजःशिखिनो [वि]पक्षवनितानेत्रां वुजातद्युतेः

काष्ठांताक्रमणं [भू]टित्यनुदिनं नाभूद्विचारास्पदं ॥ ३४ ॥

रामः किं जितदूषणः सुभरतो रामानु-

23.

रागास्पदं

शत्रुघ्नः किमु लक्ष्मणोदयभरः सुग्रीव इवांगदः ।

तारावल्लभ उत्तमेन वपुषालंकारमा[या]दतो

यो रामायणनायकैकतनुतां द्रष्टुं विधात्रा कृतः ॥ ३५ ॥

दानादुद्दामसामा शरणगतजनत्राणपाषाणसीमा

भीमासीमैकधामा शतमखपुरतो विद्विषा गी-

24.

तनामा ।

अक्षामारामदामा मखमुखविलसद्भूमधूमौक्षसामा<sup>54</sup>

सल्लक्ष्माशेषरोमा धरणिमुरतरुर्लक्षसिंहः स धीमान् ॥ ३६ ॥<sup>55</sup>

वैरिचोणींद्रमत्तद्विरदमदनुदा<sup>56</sup> सिंहतः शृङ्गसारा-

दारादुद्गीतकीर्तिरमरपुरभिष[क्तांति]निर्णीतमूर्त्तिः ।

दाने माने कृपाये यशसि

25.

महसि [वा] साधुवाण्यां कृपाण्यां

वीराल्लक्षचित्तीशाब्जगति न हि परः ख्यातभक्तिः सु[भु]क्तिः ॥ ३७ ॥

नीतिप्रीतिभुजार्जितानि [लक्ष]शी रत्नानि यन्नादयं

दायं दायममायया व्यतनुत ध्वस्तांतरायां गयां ।

तीर्थानां करमाकलय्य विधिनान्यत्रापि युंक्ते<sup>57</sup> ध-

26.

नं

प्रौढश्रावनिवदतीर्थसरसीजागृद्यशीभोरुहः ॥ ३८ ॥<sup>58</sup>

संग्रामेषु गतागतानि विद्व[ध]ल्लक्षं परैर्लक्षितो

दत्त्वा(त्वा) लक्षमपि स्व[यं न] तनुते संतोषमजेक्षणः ।

कुर्वाणः किल कानकीमपि तुलां तत्खण्डविंवच्छला-

[लक्ष]क्षं स्वां तनुमातनोदिति नृपो लक्षप्रयो-

27.

जायन<sup>59</sup> ॥ ३९ ॥

दाने हेमस्तुलायां मखमुवि बहुधा शुद्धिमापादि[ता\*]नां

भास्वज्जावूनदानां कुतुकिजनभरैस्तर्किता राशयोऽस्य ॥ (I)

<sup>49</sup> The word यद् before दृष्टा° appears rather superfluous.

<sup>50</sup> Metre of verses 33-35: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>51</sup> Originally लक्ष्य° was engraved.

<sup>52</sup> One would expect गुणि°.

<sup>53</sup> Originally तद्वयं° was engraved.

<sup>54</sup> Read °सद्भूमौ°.

<sup>55</sup> Metre of verses 36 and 37: Sragdharā.

<sup>56</sup> Read °नुदः.

<sup>57</sup> The sign of anusvāra of यं is very faint.

<sup>58</sup> Metre of verses 38 and 39: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>59</sup> Read °जायत.

संश्रा[मि] लुंठितानां प्रतिनृपमहसां राशयस्ते किमेते  
विंध्यं बंधुं समेतुं किमु समुपगताः साधु हेमाद्रिपादाः ॥४०॥<sup>60</sup>

रुद्धा-

L. 28. शेषपदां शकाधिपकरव्यग्रीभवज्जीवनां

धोरोमूसुचदर्जुनीमिव गयां मायाविसुक्ताशयः ।

धर्मेस्त्रास्य समस्तलोकमहितः [का]ष्ठां परामागतो

निः[सत्त्वी ?]कृतधर्म्मराजवसतेः पद्मालयासङ्गनः ॥४१॥<sup>61</sup>

मत्तुल्या [न<sup>x</sup>]नु नाभवत्किल तुला पूर्वेति गर्व तुला-  
सुथ

29. क्षीणपतेर्ध्रुवं कृतवती गर्वासहिष्णोः पुरः ।

तस्यास्तस्य<sup>62</sup> सुदानुदां विदधता धीरेण दत्तापरा-

सौ मानादधिकाधिकीकृतविभिस्त्रयो वियद्वाटका<sup>63</sup> ॥ ४२ ॥

संख्यातुं कथमीशते कविजना दानानि नानाविधा-

न्यस्याकष्टसमस्तराजवसुधावित्तस्य चित्तोन्नतेः ।

30. लब्धा<sup>64</sup> नोद्विजते वनीपकगणान्दत्त्वा(च्चा) न यत्कीर्त्तये-

त्पात्रं प्राप्य सुदान्वितसृणुलां<sup>65</sup> स्वर्णं समारोपयेत् ॥ ४३ ॥

तस्य क्ष्मावलयं नयेन नयतः संतोषमायु[ष्म]तः

[सं]भूतः स्मरसुन्दरी गुरुनतः पुत्रः सुधीर्मोकलः ।

शक्त्या भूयति दारुणं वितनु[ति] यत्तत्कुमारः पुरः

सर्वज्ञीस्ति यतस्ततोचलभुवो नाथ-

31 स्तु पित्रा कृतः ॥ ४४ ॥

प्रासादा दद्दुःशः समुन्नतियुजः क्षीणीभुजा कारिताः

शुद्धन्मुञ्चंस् राजमानकनकप्रस्फारकुंभश्रियः ।

नागेंद्रा नु शिरस्सु हाटकघटाना[धा]य लीलत्सुधान्

यातुं नाकमिवील्यिता मखभुजां पीयूषपानोत्सुकाः ॥ ४५ ॥

श्रंगाः संप्राप्तभंगाः स्मृतधनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा

वंगा

32. गंगैकसंगा गतविरुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ।

चीनाः संग्रामदीनाः खलदसिधनुषो भोतिशुष्कास्तरुष्का

भूमीपृष्ठे गरिष्ठे स्फुरति महिमनि क्षापतेर्मोकलस्य ॥ ४६ ॥<sup>66</sup>

मूर्ध्नि<sup>67</sup> सिंदूररेखाशतमखधनुषा राजमाना गभीरं

कुर्वतः शब्दमुच्चै रदरुचिचपलाः स्निग्धतन्वा कचाभाः ।

संग्रामग्रामयाता रि-

<sup>60</sup> Metre. Sragdhārā.

<sup>61</sup> Metre of verses 41-45: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>62</sup> I should have expected here तस्यास्मिन्, but am doubtful about the exact sense of the second half of this verse.

<sup>63</sup> This is quite clear in the impression, but the sense of the word is not apparent.

<sup>64</sup> Here again the exact construction of the line is not clear.

<sup>65</sup> Read °सृणुलां.

<sup>66</sup> Metre of verses 46-51: Sragdhārā

<sup>67</sup> Read मूर्धा.

L. 33.

पुकरिजलदा<sup>63</sup> प्राप्तकालोपयोगायस्येषुव्रातभिन्नाः खलु रुधिरजलं पूरि<sup>64</sup> वर्षति सद्यः ॥ ४७ ॥अस्य प्रौढप्रयाणक्षरणर[ण<sup>x</sup>]कक्षेपमानोरुमान-<sup>70</sup>

स्फूर्जन्नर्वावव[यं]क्रमणभरभवडूलिधारांधकारं ।

ना[शं ने?]ता विवस्वानिति तु विरमतु ध्वस्तनेत्रप्रकाशः

स्नानस्नानस्ववर्णान्यदि परिचिनुते तत्स भाग्यं महीयः

34.

॥ ४८ ॥

वासो नाशासु भास्वत्कररुचिररुचाभासितास्वस्य वैरात्

पारावारांतरायादपि न हि गमनं दूरमस्मादकस्मात् ।

सेवाहेवाकमेवाचरत बहुमतं दत्त वित्तं नितांतं

[मं]त्रोमात्यैरकारि प्रतिविमतसदो भूपतेमोकलस्य<sup>71</sup> ॥ ४९ ॥

प्रुष्टप्रौढारिवर्गप्रथितपुरव(व)लङ्गमधूमप्रचारै-

धूमं ब्र(व)ह्मा-

35.

डभांडीदरमतिविपुलं वीक्ष्य दक्षेषु मुख्यः ।

कीर्त्यालिपं सुधीत्यं कलयति बलवान्दिग्वधूकिंकराभि-

<sup>72</sup>स्तारातर्हिदुर्वदच्छुरणवडुरुचा योर्वरेणावृताभिः ॥ ५० ॥

नेता पातोत्तराशां यवननरपतिं लुण्ठिताशेषसेनं

पेरोजं कीर्त्तिवल्लीकुसुमसुरमतिर्योकिरोत्संगरस्यः ।

पल्लीशक्रांतिवार्त्ता<sup>73</sup>

36.

कलयति कलया कीर्त्तिता यस्य हिलां<sup>74</sup>

पंचास्यस्येव माद्यन्नजदलनरुचेर्लीलया रंजुभंगः ॥ ५१ ॥

आरुढः सविता तुलां कलयति द्राङ्गीचतां कन्यया

दूरं मुक्तपरिग्रही बहुरुचा चित्रोल्लसद्वस्तया ।

धीरोयं पदमुत्तमं तु विधिना प्राप्तस्तुलां गाहते

कन्याभिर्न्रियतेतमां क्षितिभुजां श्रीमोकलक्ष्मापतिः ।(॥) ५२ ॥<sup>75</sup>

37.

मानत्राणमना मनागपि मनोरन्यूननीतिव्रतो

नो जानाति निजप्रतापमतुलं सिंहो यथा विक्रमं ।

मन्ये भास्वरहेमराशिभिषतो धाता तुलायामधा-

देतस्मादपि सोगमच्च गुरुतामद्यापि जा[ना]ति किं ॥ ५३ ॥

दृष्ट्वा हाटककोटिकूटमतुलं दानाय मानाधिकं

सद्यः शोधित[सूत्र]तैकमतयः संशेरते शाब्दिकाः ।

शक्तप्रार्थित-

38.

हेमदे सुरतरो किं किं तु चिंतामणौ

हेमाद्रौ शकलीकृते किमु तुलाशब्दस्तु संकेतितः ॥ ५४ ॥

<sup>63</sup> Read 'जलदा'.<sup>64</sup> Read 'मूरि'.<sup>70</sup> Read 'दृष्टमापी'.<sup>71</sup> Read 'भूपतेमो'.<sup>72</sup> Here, again, the reading is quite certain, but the sense

is not clear. Perhaps the intended reading may be वारावहि.

<sup>73</sup> This is not quite clear in the original.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps altered to हिला.<sup>75</sup> Metre of verses 52-54: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

दीव्यत्तद्दीरतुंगत्तरतुरगवरजातजातोखात-<sup>76</sup>

क्षुभ्यत्तत्क्ष्मोत्यरेणुक्षतनयनरुजाव्यग्रसूताः खरांशोः ।

मंदायंते गतेश्चास्त इव वनिता वैरिणां तद्दिनानां

यामान्जानंति<sup>77</sup> दीर्घानवितथविरुदे मोकलेंद्रे रणस्थे ॥५५॥<sup>78</sup>

को वा नो

L. 39.

वेद विद्वांश्चरमयुगकलावेकपादेव धर्मः

खंजन्नष्टवलंबः किल चरतु कथं पीनपंके जनेस्मिन् ।

सोयं सद्दंशयष्टिं वहिरवहिरयो शुद्धसारोपपन्नं

प्राप्य श्रीमोकलेंद्रं प्रविशति विपुलां मंडलीं पंडितानां ॥५६॥

नूनं द्यूतविधावधान्मखभुजामीशः सुमेरुं पणं

गण्यस्तत्र मनस्विनां व्यजयत श्रीमोकलक्ष्मापतिः ॥(1)

तादृ-

40. चाः क[थ\*]मन्यथावनितले हेम्नासमी<sup>79</sup> राशयो

नैषां दानविधावसुथ च मनःपीडाकलापि कचित् ॥५७॥<sup>80</sup>

वज्रावज्जाय सर्पिःपतननवरुचौ भूमधूमायमाने<sup>81</sup>

दूनां—म[क्षि?]पंतौ कथमुपकुरुते यागभागी मघोनः ।

पुण्येनास्यैव जाने दिनमणिरयते सत्कराणां सहस्रं

विभ्रत्सद्योस्ततद्रः स्थगयति विधिना योयम-

41.

क्ष्णां सहस्रं ॥५८॥<sup>82</sup>

आरुह्यामलमंडलोक्त तुलां यः पुष्करद्योतनं

पुण्यश्रीः स कथं तथा प्रथमतो गण्यो न तेजस्विनां ॥ (1)

निःपंका<sup>83</sup> करलालिता वसुमती सद्राजहंसा यतो

वं(वं)धूमाभुदयस्ततस्तदुदये स्यात्संपदामौचिती ॥५९॥<sup>84</sup>

पारावारस्य वेलातटनिकटमनु प्राप्तशैलाधिवासा

शत्रुश्रेणी समया नि-

42.

वसति सततं भीतभीता नितांतं ।

जेतुं यातादसीया यदि भवति तदा वाजिराजीखुराय-

तुय्यत्क्ष्माधूलिधारा स्थलयति जलधिं पारयानाय तस्य ॥६०॥<sup>85</sup>

आसाद्यातिथिमाश्रयं त्रिजगतां श्रीहारकानायकं

प्रासादं रचितोपचारमकरोद्भूमीपतिर्मोकलः ॥(1)

देवेनां वुजबांधवेन चकितं यो योक्षितः शंकया

विंध्याद्रेर्गि-

<sup>76</sup> The word तुंगत् is apparently used here in the sense of त्वंगत्.

<sup>77</sup> Read यामाज्ञा.

<sup>78</sup> Metre of verses 55 and 56: Sragdharā.

<sup>79</sup> Read ह्यममौ.

<sup>80</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>81</sup> Read °भूमिधू(?)

<sup>82</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>83</sup> Read निपंका.

<sup>84</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>85</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.



L. 43.

रिसत्तमस्य नियते<sup>66</sup> सुक्तस्य वाग्वन्धनात् ॥६१॥<sup>67</sup>यस्य प्रत्युक्तकर्मद्रवदखिलमहाधातुसंभारधारा-<sup>68</sup>पातक्ष्मातापशुथन्नलेविलविलसल्लोललाला<sup>69</sup> फणींद्रः ।

व्याचष्टे स्पष्टमिष्टं ध्रुवमयमधुना भाथ्यमाभाथ्य शिष्यं ।

स श्रीभर्तुः प्वरस्ताज्जयति<sup>70</sup> खगपतिर्माकलेंद्रस्य कीर्त्तिः<sup>71</sup> ॥६२॥<sup>72</sup>

सौदुं नेशः पयोधिः क्षणमपि वि-

44.

रहं द्वारकानाथ(य)कस्य

प्रेम्णा पादोपमूलं स्वयमुपगतवान्यत्तडागच्छलेन ।

नोदन्या कुंभयोनेरतिपतिततरामंतरैणमेथन्

शापांते<sup>73</sup> मे विदध्यादयमिति विनयाद्विध्य<sup>74</sup> एवानययं ॥६३॥

विंध्यस्कंधैकवंधुर्निजवितंतिभरादंधुतानीतसिंधु-

नीरक्रोडत्पुंभ्रिप्रसभकुचतटाघातसीदत्तरंगः ।

सतुप्यत्तोयजंतुर्विविधनगन-<sup>75</sup>

45.

दीवेगसंरोधतंतुः<sup>76</sup>

सन्नेतुर्नेतुरस्य स्फुरति वसुमतीसिद्धिहेतुः सुकेतुः ॥६४॥

असुथ धरणीभृतो विप्रयमध्यवर्त्तौ महादरीवृतवपुष्टया [वि]वृतदूरगंभीरतः ।

म[हो]दर इवापरः परमनोनिगम्यांतरः<sup>77</sup> पवित्रतरकीर्त्तनो जयति चित्रकूटाचलः ॥६५॥<sup>78</sup>

जायंतां नाम कामं कुलधरणिभृतः सप्त शृंगौघतुंगा

वैचित्र्या चित्रकूटं तुलयि-

46.

तुमनलं तीर्थभूतप्रदेशं ।

मा भूवनिर्भरिणो<sup>79</sup> मदुदितजनुषो नीचगामानशौडः ।<sup>80</sup>शृंगे यः क्षीरवारांनिधिमधिततरासुखदंभोजवासं ॥६६॥<sup>81</sup>उद्दामग्रावनिर्यज्जरभरकणिकाजातसेकातरेक-<sup>82</sup>

स्त्रिह्यच्छालप्रवालप्रभवदुरुतराभोगसूनप्रसूतात् ।

मध्वासारादपारादुप[हृ]तजनुषो दाववक्त्रेर्निदाघे

विष्वग्द्रींचो<sup>83</sup> वनानि प्रसभपरिभवं ने-

47.

ह शैले विदंति ॥६७॥

एतस्मिन्सरिदस्ति निर्मलजला यस्यां निवापांजला-

बुन्नीलत्तिलजातपातकवलव्यथाः शफर्यञ्चलाः ।

क्रीडासंभ्रमविस्मृतानुवहृशो मज्जइधूनामहो

नेत्राणीव विलोपिकज्जलकणांचेतुं स्फुरंति स्फुटं ॥ ६८ ॥<sup>84</sup><sup>66</sup> Read नियतं.<sup>67</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>68</sup> Originally प्रत्युक्ति<sup>o</sup> was engraved.<sup>69</sup> Read "द्वलविल" and "लालः".<sup>70</sup> Read पुर<sup>o</sup>.<sup>71</sup> Read कीर्त्तिः.<sup>72</sup> Metre of verses 62-64: Sragdharā.<sup>73</sup> Read शापांतं.<sup>74</sup> Read "विध्य".<sup>75</sup> Read संतुष्य<sup>o</sup>.<sup>76</sup> Originally "संरोधितंतुः" was engraved.<sup>77</sup> Read परमनाम<sup>o</sup>(?).<sup>78</sup> Metre: Prithvi.<sup>79</sup> Read भूवनि<sup>o</sup>.<sup>80</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.<sup>81</sup> Metre of verses 66 and 67: Sragdharā.<sup>82</sup> Read "काविरिक".<sup>83</sup> Read विष्वग्द्रींचो.<sup>84</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

लंका किं नाम दुर्गं जलनिधिरविता<sup>5</sup> यत्र सा काल[काकाः]<sup>6</sup>  
[प्रा]वृट्का[लि] विवर्गैरपि गलितमदैर्या त्रियेतेति मा-

L. 48.

नी ।

यो धत्ते क्षीरवारांनिधिसुपरि परै राजहंसैरगम्य-  
स्तदुर्गं चितकूटो जयति वसुमतीमंडनं भूरिभूमिः<sup>7</sup> ॥ ६८ ॥<sup>8</sup>  
सौभाग्यैकमहौषधिर्भगवती यस्मिन्भवानी स्वयं  
जागर्त्ति प्रियसन्निधानवसतिः साध्वीजनानां गुरुः ॥(1)  
देवः सोपि समस्तनाकरमणीसंतानदामव्रज-  
प्रक्षीतन्मकरदंविंदुसुरभिप्रस्फारनृत्यांगणः ॥ ७० ॥<sup>9</sup>  
सेवा-

49.

हेवाकदेवस्तुतहरचरितप्रोक्तसङ्गावसंप-<sup>10</sup>  
त्सद्यःखित्यङ्गवानोक्तसुरवसवनस्फारसौरभ्यहारि<sup>11</sup>।  
यद्धारि प्रातिभावं वहति मृगदृशां मज्जतीनामज्जं  
पातित्रये समंतात्समधिकसुभगंभावुकत्वेपि शश्वत् ॥ ७१ ॥<sup>12</sup>  
गिरिः कैलासो यद्दृशसुखभुजोच्छासनदिनाद्गलन्मूलस्थामा प्रभवति न नाव्यं विषहितुं ॥(1)  
50. प्रदेशप्राग्भारप्र[क्त\*]तिरमणीये तदधुना समिद्धैः<sup>13</sup> श्रीमानिह वसति गौरोसहचरः ॥७२॥<sup>14</sup>  
एकैकग्रावताषट्कृतिमुषितमहासर्वकर्मीणमानं  
कृत्वा प्रासादमाशामुखसुखुरमतिव्योमसीमानमस्य ।  
यस्याशेषोपचारक्षमधनमुदितारी-<sup>15</sup>  
क्षीरः श्रीमोकलेंद्रो धनपुरमुचितं ग्राममायामिसीमं ॥ ७३ ॥<sup>16</sup>  
अब्दे बाष्पाष्टवेदक्षितिपरिकलिते

51.

विक्रमांभोजबंधोः

पुष्टे मासे तपस्ये सवितरि मकरं याति जीवे घटस्थ ॥(1)  
पक्षे शुक्लेतरस्मिन्सुरगुरुदिवसे चार्यमर्चं तृतीया-  
तिथ्यां देवप्रतिष्ठामयमकृततरां मोकलो भूमिपालः ॥ ७४ ॥  
उन्मीलद्यागयातोद्यतसुरतरुणीगीतसंग्रामधामा  
सुत्रामा यावदीष्टे त्रिदशपरपरीपालनस्यष्टनीतिः ।  
पर्यायोपात्तभूनां स्फुरति दशशती शेषमूर्द्धां च याव-

52.

त्तावप्रस्फारलक्ष्मीरवतु<sup>17</sup> वसुमतीं मोकलेंद्रस्य बाहुः ॥ ७५ ॥  
श्रीमद्दशपुरञ्जातिर्भट्टविष्णोस्तनूद्वजः ।  
नाम्नैकनाथनामायमलिखत् कृतिमुज्ज्व(ज्ज)लां ॥ १ ॥<sup>18</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Read रचिता.<sup>6</sup> The *aksharas* in these brackets are damaged.<sup>7</sup> Read भूतिभूमिः(?)<sup>8</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.<sup>9</sup> Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.<sup>10</sup> Read सेवाहेवाकि<sup>0</sup> ; originally देवाकु<sup>0</sup> was engraved.<sup>11</sup> Read कृतसुखवसन<sup>0</sup>.<sup>12</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.<sup>13</sup> Read समिद्धैः or समाधीशः, which are both names of Śiva.<sup>14</sup> Metre : *Śikharinī*.<sup>15</sup> Six *aksharas* of this line are omitted ; the last word of the line must have been व्यवारीत्.<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 73-75 : *Sragdharā*.<sup>17</sup> Read तावत्<sup>0</sup>.<sup>18</sup> Metre : *Śloka* (Anuṣṭubh).



several times used instead of the palatal and the palatal once instead of the dental sibilant.

The inscription is dated (in line 28) in the year 1207, corresponding, as a year of the Vikrama era, to A.D. 1149-50 or 1150-51; and its object is, to record a visit of the Chaulukya king Kumârapâla to Mount Chitrakûṭa, the modern Chitorgaḍh, and some donations which on that occasion were made by the king in favour of a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (Śiva) on the hill.—After the words “Om! Adoration to the Omniscient,” the inscription has five verses, three of which glorify the god Śiva under the names of Śarva, Mṛḍa, and Samiddheśvara, while the others invoke the assistance of the goddess of eloquence, Sarasvatī, and celebrate the compositions of poets. The author then (in line 5) eulogizes the family of the Chaulukyās. In that family the king Mûlarâja was born (line 6), and when he and many other kings of the same lineage had gone to heaven, there came the king Siddharâja (line 7), who again was succeeded by Kumârapâladeva (line 9). When this king had defeated the ruler of Śākambharī (line 10) and devastated the Sapâdalaksha country (line 11), he went to a place named Śâlîpura (line 12), and having pitched his great camp there, he came to view the glorious beauty of the Chitrakûṭa mountain; the temples, palaces, lakes or tanks, slopes and woods are extolled in lines 13-19. Kumârapâla was delighted with what he saw there, and having come to a temple of the god Samiddheśvara (line 22) which was on the northern slope of the mountain, he worshipped the god and his consort, and gave to the temple a village the name of which has not been preserved (line 26). Other donations (a *ghāṇaka* or ‘oil-mill’ for lights, etc.) are spoken of in line 27; and line 28 tells us that this *Praśasti* was composed by the chief of the Digambaras Râmakîrtti, a pupil of Jayakîrtti, and records the date, already given above.

It will be seen from this abstract of the contents that this inscription is not of a very great importance; but it shows at any rate that Kumârapâla’s well-known victory<sup>2</sup> over (Arṇorâja), the ruler of the Sapâdalaksha country, whose capital was Śākambharī (Sâmbhar) in Râjputâna, must have taken place in the Vikrama year 1207, or very shortly before it.—The place Śâlîpura at which Kumârapâla is said to have been encamped, and which must have been near Chitrakûṭa, I am unable to identify.

#### Text.<sup>3</sup>

- L. 1. ओं॑ ॥ नमः सर्व्व[ज्ञा]यः॑ ॥ नमो॑ . . . [स]मार्चिर्दे॒व(ग्व)संकल्पजन्मने । शर्वाय परम  
ज्योतिर्[ह्र]स्वसंकल्पजन्मने ॥ जयतात्स मृडः श्रीमान्मृडा . . .<sup>7</sup>
2. दनाम्बु(म्बु)जे । यस्य कण्ठच्छ्वी रेजे से(शे)वालस्वेव वल्लरी ॥ यदीयशिखरस्थितोऽक्षसदन-  
त्यदिव्यध्वजं॑ समंडपमहो नृणामपि विदूः
3. रतः पश्यतां । अनेकभवसंचितं क्षयमियत्तिं पापं द्रुतं स पातु पदपंकजानतहरिः समिद्धे  
श्वरः ॥ यत्रोऽक्षसत्त्वद्भुतकारिवाचः॑ स्फुरन्ति चि
4. ते पिदुषां सदा तत् । सारस्वतं ज्योतिरनंतमंतर्विस्फूर्जतां मे क्षनजाद्यवृत्ति ॥ जयंत्यज  
अ(स्त्र)पीयूषविंदुनिबिंदिनोमत्ताः॑ । कवीनां [सम

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. I. p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions prepared by Dr. A. Führer.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> Read “ज्ञाय.”

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh) and of the next verse

<sup>7</sup> The missing *akṣaras* are नौव.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Prithvī.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Upajāti.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next three verses

- L. 5. कीर्त्ती(र्त्ती)नां वाग्विलासा महोदयाः ॥ न वैरस्यस्थितिः<sup>11</sup> श्रीमान्न जलानां<sup>12</sup> समाश्रयः ।  
रत्नराशिरपूर्वोस्ति चौलुक्यानामिहान्वयः ॥ तत्ती-
6. दपद्यत श्रीमान्सदृत्तस्तेजसां निधिः । मूलराजा(ज)महीनाथो मुक्तामणिरिवीज्ज(ज्ज)-  
लः ॥ वितन्वति भृशं यत्र ज्ञेस(सं) सर्वत्र सर्वथा । प्रजा राजन्वती नून(नं) ज-
7. ज्ञेसौ चिरकालतः ॥ तस्यान्वये<sup>13</sup> महति भूयतिषु क्रमेण यातेषु भूरिषु सुयर्व्वपतेर्निवासं ।  
प्रीणुत्य वीध्रयशसा ककुभां सुखानि श्रीसिद्धरा-
8. जनृपतिः प्रथितो व(व)भूव ॥ जयत्रिया<sup>14</sup> समाश्लिष्टं यं विलोक्य समंततः । भ्रांत्वा जगंति  
यत्कीर्त्तिज(र्ज)गा[हि]मरमंदिरम् ॥ तस्मिन्नमरसाम्ना-
9. जां(ज्यं) संप्राप्ते नियतेव्वसात्<sup>15</sup> । कुमारपालदेवोभूत्प्रतापाक्रांतशत्रवः ॥ स्वतजसाप्रसह्येन  
न परं येन शत्रवः । पदं भूभृच्छिरसूचैः कारि-
10. तो वं(वं)धुरप्यलं ॥ आज्ञा यस्य महीनाथैश्चतुरस्रु(स्रु)धिमध्यगैः । प्रियते मूर्द्धभिर्नस्ते(स्ते)-  
द्वेशेषेव सन्ततम् ॥ महोभृन्निकु(कुं)जेषु<sup>16</sup> शाकंभरी-
11. शः प्रियापुत्रलोके न शाकंभरीशः । अपि प्रास्तशत्रुर्भयात्कंप्रभूतः स्थितौ यस्य सत्तेभवाजि-  
प्रभूतः<sup>17</sup> ॥ रापादलक्षमामर्द्य<sup>18</sup> नस्वीक-
12. तभयानकः । [स्व]य[म]यान्महोनाथो ग्रामे शालिपुरामिधे ॥ सन्निवेश्य<sup>19</sup> सि(शि)विरं पृथु  
गत्र त्रासितासहनभूपतिचक्रम् । चित्रकू-
13. टगिरिपु[ष्क]लशोभां द्रष्टुमार नृपतिः कुतुकेन ॥ यदुच्चसुरसद्वाग्रोपरिष्टात्पतन्सदा<sup>20</sup>  
रथं नयत्यलं मंदं मंदं भंगभयाद्दिविः ॥ य-
14. त्सीधशिखरारूढकामिनीमुखसन्निधौ । वर्त्तमानो निशानाथो लक्ष्यते लक्ष्मलेखया ॥ प्रफुल्ल-  
राजीवमनोहरानना<sup>21</sup> विवृत्तपाठीनविलोललोच-
15. — ॥<sup>22</sup> — त्त[भृं]गावलरोमराजयो रथांगवत्तोरुहमंडलत्रियः ॥ परिभ्रमत्सारसहंसनि-  
स्त्रनाः सविभ्रमा हारिमृणालवा(वा)हुकाः । वृ(वृ)हन्नितंवा(वा)मलवारि-
16. — ॥<sup>23</sup> मुदे सतां यत्र सदा सरोङ्गनाः ॥ स(सु)रभिकुसुमगंधाक्षटमत्तालिमालाविहित-  
मधुररावो<sup>24</sup> यत्र चाधित्यकायां । स्वलिततरणिमानुः सल-
17. — ॥<sup>25</sup> मयिपति शश्वत्कामिनः कामिनीभिः ॥ शुभे<sup>26</sup> यद्वने शाखिशखांत  
रालि प्रियाः क्रीडथा सन्निखीना निकामं । घने [प]-
18. ॥<sup>27</sup> — [णां] [त]नूगंधसक्तालयः स्व(च)यंति ॥ प्राप<sup>28</sup> कदापि न या  
हृदये शं सानुनयं समया हृदयेऽशं । यदनमेत्य सु[सं?]-
19. ॥<sup>29</sup> — [र]तरागं ॥ एवमादिगुणे<sup>30</sup> दुर्गे स्वर्गं वा भुवि [सं]-  
स्थिते । राजा जिष्णुः परप्रीत्या संचरन्निजलोल-

<sup>11</sup> Divide, also, वैरस्य स्थितिः.

<sup>12</sup> i.e., also, जलानां.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh); and of the next three

<sup>20</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh); and of the next verse.

<sup>21</sup> Metre: Varisāstha; and of the next verse.

<sup>22</sup> The aksharas, here broken away, are probably नाः । प्रम.

<sup>23</sup> The aksharas, here broken away, are probably राशयो.

<sup>24</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>25</sup> Metre: Bhujāṅgaprayāta.

<sup>26</sup> Metre: Dōdhaka.

<sup>27</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh); and of all the following verses.

verses.

<sup>15</sup> Read त्वंशान्.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Bhujāṅgaprayāta.

<sup>17</sup> Originally सत्तेभ<sup>0</sup> was engraved.

<sup>18</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anushtubh).

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Svāgatā.

- L. 20. या ॥ ति . . . . . [ता?] श्रयसंकुलम् । ददर्शागाधगंभीरस्वच्छं स्वमिव मान-  
सम् ॥ निर्मलं सलिलं यत्र पि-  
21. हितं प[द्भि] — ७ — । . . . . . जे नीलाब्ज(न)राग[भू]श्रियम् ॥ विमुच्य व्योम  
पातालरसा यत्र त्रिमार्गगा । लोका-  
22. न् पु[नाति] . . . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ [त]स्योत्तरतटेट्राचीनमामरसमर्चितं । श्रिस-  
मिहेश्वरं देवं प्रसिद्धं  
23. जगती ७ — ॥ . . . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ ते । त्रैसंध्य[तू]र्यनादेन कलि(लिं)  
निर्भर्त्सयन्निव ॥ य[त्स्त?]वस्याधिपत्येस्थात्पुरा भ-  
24. द्वारिकोत्त[मा] . . . [वी] नृपाभ्य[चर्गा?] . . . ७ — ७ — ॥ तस्याः शिष्याभवत्साध्वी  
सुव्रतव्रातभूषिता । गौरदेवीति वि[ख्या] . . . [ता?]कृतोद्यमा ॥ सु[मनो?] . .  
25. संसेव्या [मा ?] . . यविनाशिनी । दुर्गा हि . . . . . ७ — ७ [ता] ॥  
यत्तपः पावनं वीक्ष्य पवित्रीकृतसज्जनं । सस्मरुः पूर्वयमि . . . . . ७ — ७ — ॥  
शिवं प्रपूज्य त[त्प] . .  
26. . . [म]गमत्यभुः । प्रणम्य [तावुभौ?] भक्त्या सि(शि)रसा ७ — ७ — ॥ . . . . .  
[तस्मा?]तः पूजार्थं हरपादयोः । कुमारपालदेवोदाद्ग्रामं श्री . ७ — ७ — ॥ <sup>28</sup> . . . स्यां  
दिश्वाराम . .  
27. . टा दक्षिणपूर्वोत्तरपश्चिमतः सरःपालो भूणादित्य . . . . . राज . . . दीपार्थं घाण-  
कमेकं सज्जनोप्यदात् दंडनाथ . . . . . मेतद्दानम् . . .  
28. श्रीज[य]कीर्त्तिशिष्येण<sup>29</sup> दिगं(व)रगणेशिना । प्रशस्तिरिदृशी चक्रे . . श्रीरामकीर्त्तिना ॥  
संवत् १२०७ सूत्रधा . . . . . <sup>30</sup>

# XXXIV—MUHAMMADAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SĒBA OF DIHLĪ.

## No. II.

BY PAUL HORN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

The following inscriptions are in continuation of, and in addition to, those contained in a previous paper, *ante*, pp. 130 *seq.* I begin with Fathâbâd, which was there represented by the inscription from Firôz Shâh's famous pillar.<sup>1</sup>

## FATHÂBÂD.

1. To the left of the *mihirâb* of what is now an '*Idgâh*' in the fort of Fathâbâd, is a light-coloured rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of ten lines, measuring 2' 3" by

<sup>28</sup> In the prose passage, from here up to the end of line 27, it is impossible to say exactly how many *aksharas* are broken away in each place.

<sup>29</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

<sup>30</sup> Below this line some more *aksharas* have been roughly engraved; but they are quite illegible in the impression.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. H. B. W. Garriek, in General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XXIII, p. 11, remarks that Manlawī Ziyâ uddin Khân has been successful in deciphering the long inscription on the above-mentioned monolith (see plate II there); but, so far as I know, the translation has not yet been published.

1' 2½", of which Mr. Garrick gives a good copy (*Arch. Sur. India Rep.* vol. XXIII plate iii)—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وإن المساجد [لله] فلا يدعوا [sic]  
مع الله احداً وإنه لما قام عبد الله يدعوا [إ] كاد [إ] يكرنن  
عليه ابداً قال عليه السلام [من] بني الله [sic] مسجداً يبتغى به وجه الله نبي الله له في  
الجنة مثله تمام شد این مسجد در ایام درلات شاه اعظم والخاصان المعظم  
یمالک الرقاب طرایف الامم من الهند والترک والعرب والعجم رافع رايات [إ] لمجاهدات  
والغازي محمد هماين بادشاه غازي خلد الله تعالي ملكه في بحار الطف [sic]  
فلكه بسع [sic] جناب سعادة فرجام زبدة فضلاء الانام نتيجة الامراء العظام امير رستم بيك بن  
جناب المغفور العبدور المختص امير محمد على الله تعالى محام . . . . . في الثاني: ماه رمضان  
سنة خمس [ر] اربعين وتسعمائة كافرما فقير عبد الكريم دوقد برای چراغ بر مرزم [؟] تعين کرده شد  
طلاق است اورا هرکه منع کند .

"In the name," etc. (*Qorān*, Sūra lxxii, 18, 19). "The prophet,—upon whom be peace,—says, 'He who builds, etc.' This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Hūmayūn, *Bādishāh-i-Ghāzi*,—May God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom [and guide] his ship in the seas of His favour!—through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amīrs, Amir Rustam Beg, son of his highness the pardoned and purified chosen Amīr Muhammad 'Alī,—God Almighty. . . . . on the 2nd of the month Ramazān A. 945 (*the 22nd January, 1539*). The superintendent of the work (*was*) the poor 'Abdul-Karīm."

The verse at the end of the inscription cannot be fully deciphered. The whole has a striking resemblance to the inscription of Amir Muhammad's mosque at Hisār (*ante*, p. 155).

2. Into the outer wall of the mosque enclosure in the fort of Fathābād a rectangular sandstone is let containing a well-known invocation of 'Alī in Arabic, in four lines, size 1' 2¾" by 6¾"—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ناد علياً مظهر  
العجايب سجد عزالك في الثواب كل  
هم ر غم سينجلي بنبتك يا محمد بولايتك  
يا علي يا علي يا علي تم تم تم

"In the name, etc. Invoke 'Alī, the manifestor of miracles; thou wilt find him

for thy help in adversities. Every care and every sorrow will surely vanish through thy prophethip, O Muhammad, through thy saintliness, O 'Alî, O 'Alî, O 'Alî, O 'Alî!"

### HIŞÂR.<sup>3</sup>

3. Near the Nâgôr-Gate, outside the town, is a sandstone (measuring 5' by 4"), on four sides covered with inscriptions. It belonged to the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî, but it is now on a wrong grave, where it was placed a short time ago, on being dug up. The inscription, in one line, on the west upper side, runs—

نقل ابن سلطان المشايخ والاوليا شيخ محمد بن شيخ محمد چشتى في التاسع من شعبان سنة اثنى  
رتسعين وثمانماية

"The departure of this king of the Shaikhs and the Saints, Shaikh Muhammad, son of Mahmûd, the Chishtî,<sup>4</sup> (took place) on the 9th Sha'bân, 892 (31st July, 1487)."

Since the tomb of so highly revered a man as Shaikh Muhammad Chishtî was may claim some interest, I give also the Arabic inscriptions of the lower west side and of the east face—

يا من بدنياه اشتغل قد غرَّه طول الامل المرت ياتي بغتة والقبر صندوق العمل

Metre: *Rajaz*.

"Ah! He that is occupied with his earthly life and the length of his hope (*i.e.*, his *hoped life-time*) deceives himself! Death comes unexpectedly, and the tomb is the coffin of his work."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه  
الا ائما الدنيا كمنزل راكب اينام عشيا زهر في الصبح راحل

"In the name, *etc.*, there is no God but, *etc.* Is not the world verily like the station of a camel-rider? Will he sleep in the evening when he is to depart in the morning?"

4. Outside the Nâgôr-Gate is also the enclosure known as Shaikh Junaid's tomb. The stone on the west contains the name of the builder twice, who, in spite of the omission of any title, may nevertheless be identical with the Shaikh named, from his also being

<sup>2</sup> This formula is very popular for amulets all over the East. It is engraved on bracelets just as on swords (see *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* for November 1872, p. 169). Mr. Blochmann gives it in his *Âin-i Akbari* Translation, p. 507, with an unmetrical alteration in the second line. But see also *Proceedings As. S. Beng. (loc. cit.)*

<sup>3</sup> Some of the following inscriptions were published by Blochmann, in *Proceedings As. S. Beng.* for April 1877, pp. 94 seq.

<sup>4</sup> The most extensive essay on the whole branch of the Chishtî Saints (see *ante*, p. 145) is in the *Sawâ'ir ul-anwâr*, a copy of which work is in India Office library in London. The contents of this large volume (481 pages of 17 lines each) have been copiously described by Prof. C. H. Ethé in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the India Office Collection (No. 654), for access to the proof sheets of which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr R. Rost. It is known that biographies of single Chishtis are likewise given in other works and that there are writings treating of single members as the *Mafâtîh ussâlibîn*, which is restricted to the life and deeds of *Nizâm-uddîn Auliya*. Compared with such books those of the princess Jahânârâi about Shaikh Mu'in uddîn and of her brother Dârâ Shukôh (*Sufinat ul-auliya*) are very dilettante. I have perused the whole of the first and looked over the latter in the manuscripts at the British Museum. This is not the place to speak at large of the value of the literary products of the two princely authors, but I may mention that I was disappointed with them, and the most by Dârâ Shukôh's, which pretends to be more serious than Jahânârâi's unassuming book. They do not furnish us with original information of importance concerning the Chishtis, as one would be disposed to expect, considering the close relation of both with Shaikh Mu'in uddîn.



born at Ajôdhan,— the name for Dipâlpûr,— too striking an accord.<sup>5</sup> But then the date of the latter's death, as given in the *Khazînat ul-asfiyâ*, which Blochmann has extracted, must be too early. The size of the two inscriptions is 7' 6" by 7", and 6' by 4½", respectively.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الغرة من ربيع الاول سنة سبع وعشرين وتسع مائة بانيه جنيد بن چندان

"In the name, *etc.* On the first Rabi'ul-awwal, 927 (9th February, 1521). The builder of *jit* (was) Junaid, son of Chandan."

الغرة من شهر ذي القعدة سنة احدى وثلاثين وتسع مائة بانيه جنيد بن چندان بن محمود ابو دهنى

"On the first Zi'l-Qa'da, 931 (20th August, 1525). Its builder (was) Junaid, son of Chandan, son of Mahmûd, of Ajôdhan."<sup>6</sup>

There are some other inscriptions from the same Mausoleum, but of no value. One, measuring 2' 1½" by 6", contains, in two lines, the *Bismillâh* and the *Kalima*; two others from the north and west sides of the N.-W. pillar of the tomb, each measuring 1' 1" square, bear *Qorân*, *Sûra cxii*, adorned with flowers.<sup>7</sup>

5. Over the western arch inside a tomb, west of the road leading from Hisâr to Dâna Shêr, outside the town half a mile from the Dihlî-Gate, is an inscription in *stucco*; it measures 1' 2" by 1' 1½", and contains eight lines, but very much damaged—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله . . . . .

در عهد ميمون دولت

همايرن . . . . . خلد ملکه و سلطانه

واعلى امره رشانه اين

عمارت ازان والرخان

. . . . . بن مير . . . . . بن

سلطانملكبك در سيم [?] ماه رمضان

. . . . . سنة ثلاث واربعين وتسعمائة تمام شد

"In the auspicious time and reign of Humâyûn (*the king, etc.*)—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity!—this building of Wâltû Khân . . . . ., son of Mîr . . . . . son of Sultân Malik Bêg, was finished on the third [?] of month Ramzân, A. 943 (13th February, 1537)."

Along the right-hand side, almost in the same line with the above, are the following words:—

اين . . . . . بادشاه . . . . . بيست هزار تنكه سيه [?] باهتمام شيخ منور بن قاسم [?] اتمام شد

<sup>5</sup> Shaikh Farîd uddîn Ma'ûd was also born at Ajôdhan,—see W. Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Koniglichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 590, p. 556.

Mr. Ghulâm Husain, who prepared the impressions of all these inscriptions with the same care as those of the former Panjâb series, remarks that both have been published by Amîn Chaud in his *Settlement Report*, a work which is not to hand.

In the neighbourhood of this Mausoleum also the pre-Muhammadan pillar stands which, according to Captain W. Brown,—*Journal of A. S. Beng.* vol. VII, (1838), p. 429,—“has the appearance of having been partially worked by Feroz's orders, and probably some inscription was cut upon it by his workmen, but of which there is now no trace owing to the peeling off of the exterior surface.” Cf. Gen. Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, vol. V, p. 140 *et seq.*

" . . . . . 20,000 copper-*tankas* (1,000 *rupees*) was completed under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawwar, son of Qâsim."

Owing to the bad condition of the stone all the words are not certain.

6. The following two inscriptions come from the same place as No. 5. Their sizes are 3' 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 1' 9", and 3' by 1' 6", respectively, each containing seven lines. The tomb itself is in poor condition and greatly neglected, but the inscriptions have been well preserved—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد میمرن ودولت همایون سلطان  
الهند و الخراسان رافع رایات المجاهدات والمغازي محمد همایون  
بادشاه غازي خلد خلافته این عمارت بتاریخ ماه رجب قدره سنه  
اربع واربعمین وتسعمایة تمام شد راین گنبد  
بر تردي كرجك بن مير برنطق مغل شده است  
راین جران در لشكر گجرات شهادت یافت  
و مبلغ بانزده هزار تنكه سیاه خرچ شده است

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzi*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed in the month Rajab—May its dignity be magnified!—of the year 944 (*began the 4th December, 1537*). And this cupola (*was made*) for the sake of Tardî Kuchuk, son of Mîr Baranṭaq, the Moghul; and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 15,000 copper-*tankas* (750 *rupees*)."

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم در عهد میمرن ودولت همایون  
سلطان الهند و الخراسان رافع رایات المجاهدات و المغازي  
طهیرالدین محمد همایون بادشاه غازي خلد خلافته بتاریخ ماه  
رمضان سنه اربع واربعمین و تسعمایة این عمارت از برای [؟]  
میر عاشق محمد بن میر شاه علی شد راین  
جران در لشكر گجرات شهادت یافت  
و مبلغ دوازده هزار تنكه سیاه خرچ شده

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorâsân, who raises the banners of holy strife and war, *Tahîr*<sup>8</sup> uddîn Muhammad Humâyûn, *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzi*,—May (God) perpetuate his khalifate!—this building was completed during the month Ramazân of the year 944 (*began the 1st February, 1538*). It was made for the sake of Mîr 'Âshiq Muhammad, son of Mîr Shâh 'Alî,<sup>9</sup> and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarât. The cost was 12,000 copper-*tankas* (600 *rupees*)."

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Blochmann has wrongly read Humâyûn's common *kunya* *Nasîr uddîn*; but here *Tahîr uddîn* has been engraved. *Zahîr uddîn* was Bâbar's *kunya*.

<sup>9</sup> Here 'Alâb has been engraved, but this is no name.

Both youths probably served in the Gujarât war that ended with Bahâdur Shâh's victory, A.H. 942. Then, or perhaps in Muhammad Zamân Mirzâ's attempt to overpower the country, their death may have occurred, and they afterwards found a tomb at home, Gujarât being lost to Humâyûn.

7. Over the *mîhrâb* of an 'Îdgâh at Dâna Sher, one mile south of Hîsâr on the old Hânsî road, is an inscription of four lines in *stucco*, measuring 1' 9" by 4½". It is in very bad condition, being exposed to wind and weather. I try to read it thus—

این مسجد [؟] . . . . . بك ابن برلاه سررانی . . . . . سررا[نی] بن  
ادریس سررانی . . . . . مسند عالی دولتخانه در عهد شیرشاه  
سلطان سنه تسع بع [sic] اربعین سبع . . . . . تمام شد . . . . .  
. . . . . خرج شد مبلغ درازنه [؟] هزار

"This mosque of . . . Bêg, son of Pûlâd Sarvânî . . . son of Idrîs Sarvânî . . . the high *Masnad* of the *Daulatkhâna*, was finished in the reign of Shêr Shâh, the king, in the year 947 (*began the 8th May, 1540*) . . . The cost was 12,000 . . . ."

With Messrs. Ghulûm Husain and the late E. Behatsek (who made rough versions of many of these epigraphs) I have supposed that we have here a barbarous construction, contrary to the Arabic usage, the date beginning with the hundreds instead of the units. ع would then be for مائة 'hundred', scarcely for بع; so I read the monarch's name as Shêr Shâh, which is possible. And surely, if ع were only a blunder, perhaps of the stone-cutter, a reiterated *'îs*, only with a shortening of the long stroke of the *sîn*, and the date in this case were 749, one could not read the king's name as Muhammad, as would then be necessary, or the word after *sab* as *mi'at*. Besides, there are some words, especially '*in masjid*', that I cannot warrant as certain.<sup>10</sup>

# HÂNSÎ

Mr. H. B. W. Garrick (*ut sup.*, pp. 15, 16) gives a list of the principal inscriptions found at Hânsî. Some of them have already been published by Blochmann, that of the Dînî mosque, also *ante*, p. 159. There are several others perhaps also deserving notice that are not mentioned in Mr. Garrick's list, but I miss also some inscriptions of his in Mr. Rodgers's collection.<sup>11</sup>

Because Hânsî was an important place in the times of the early Pathân Sultâns, it is not surprising that numerous old inscriptions of that dynasty are found there. If we do

<sup>10</sup> In the *Ma'âthir ul-Umarâ*, vol. I, p. 583, it is mentioned by the way that the *dârâghagi* of the *daulatkhâna* was bestowed only upon trustworthy men. The author of the *Târîkh-i Shêrshâhî*, 'Abbâs Khân, son of Shaikh 'Alî, was also a Sarvânî, an Afghan tribe tracing its lineage to the mythic Batan (see *Âin-i Akbarî*, I, 591), likewise 'Azam Humâyûn (who lived in Sultân Ibrâhîm Lâdî's time, cf. *Bâbar's Memoirs*, pp. 347, 392; *Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 103) and therefore also his son Fath Khân Khânjahân (*Bâbar's Memoirs*, pp. 390, 392, *Akbarnâma*, vol. I, pp. 103, 104), and grandson Mahmûd Khân (*Bâbar's Memoirs*, p. 393, *Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 104), or Bahâdur Khân, whose tomb Bâbar visited at Sôgandpûr (*Memoirs*, p. 491), and others. For another Shêr Shâh inscription of the same year (at Sakit) see *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for May 1874, p. 105.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. Nos. 1, 3, 4. I leave it to the reader to correct Mr. Garrick's little mistakes concerning the single inscriptions and their readings.

not take into account the Dihlî inscriptions from the years 587 (E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Dehli*, p. 22 or *Journal Asiatique*, V<sup>me</sup> série, vol. XVI (1860), p. 274) and of 592 (E. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 24, and *Jour. Asiat.*, p. 240), we have here the oldest dated Muhammadan one in India, viz. of 593 (of the same year is also a Dihlî inscription,—see *Jour. Asiat. u.s.* p. 240). Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb has no original inscription relating to this pious man, and is a remnant of even an older period for the saint in 559 A.H. became a martyr in Sultân Shihâb uddîn Ghôrî's attack upon the fort of Hânsî (see Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 13). Not a few inscriptions evidently are also very old, but they bear no dates.

8. The rectangular sandstone, with the following inscription of one line, measuring 4' 11" by 6", serves now as a lintel to the doorway of the third enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb. Formerly it belonged to a mosque built by 'Alî, son of Isfandiyâr; it is of the 5th year of Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign:—

امر بنا هذا المسجد العبد علي بن اسفنديار في عشر ذى الحجة سنة ثلث وتسعين وخمس مائة

"This mosque was ordered to be built by the slave (of God) 'Alî, son of Isfandiyâr on the 10th Zil Hijja, 593 (24th October, 1197)."

9. The *maşjid* walls of the second enclosure of Shaikh Ni'mat Ullâh's tomb contain also other inscriptions that originally had nothing to do with it. Into the outer western wall a rectangular light-coloured sandstone has been built horizontally, bearing one line (size 3' by 1'), and mentioning the monarch's name under whose rule the inscription falls. Originally it was the jamb of a door. It is frightfully decayed, but the following is quite legible:—

[ابن] المظفر محمد بن سام ناصر امير المؤمنين . . . . .

"[*Abu'l*] *Muzaffar* Muhammad, son of Sâm, the helper of the Khalif of the faithful."

The other jamb contains also one line (measuring 3' 7½" by 11"); the lintel has not been found:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من بنا لله مسجداً في الدنيا بنا [الله له] قصر [ا في الجنة] . . . . .

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God! Who builds a mosque in this world for God, God will build for him a castle in paradise....."

Other inscriptions from Muhammad ibn Sâm's reign, besides the above-mentioned Dihlî ones, have been published by E. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings*, pp. 24 (A.H. 594) and 25 (A.H. 596).

Of no historical value are the inscriptions over the doorway inside (1' by 11"), only a fragment, in large characters, containing two words, being a part of a king's title [رك والعم]; over the northern window in the outer wall (2' 5" by 3½"), the first half of *Qorân*, Sûra ii, verse 215—, and in the northern inside wall (1' 7" by 6"), a fragment, المسجد الحرام كمن امن بالله واليوم ( *Qorân*, Sûra ix, verse 9). But there is no reference to the age of all.

10. South-east of the town, about 150 yards from the walls, is the tomb of the four *Qutbs* or Saints (cf. Mr. Garrick's *Report*, p. 14, and plate vii). In the wall of the

enclosure is the following inscription, which originally belonged to the grave of some unnamed noble lady. It consists of two lines and measures 4' 3" by 11"—

تمت القبر المستزهر الجليله نور الله قبرها وغفر الله لها في جنّة الماري  
يا ارحم الرحمين [sic] وذلك بالتاريخ الحادي غرت ذوالقعدة سنة اثني عشرين ستمائة

“Finished was the tomb of the veiled noble lady,—May Allāh illuminate her tomb and may Allāh pardon her in the garden of the asylum (*Paradise*)! O most merciful of the merciful! This took place on the 1st Zil Qa'da, 622 (*4th November, 1225*).”

It is curious that the word *qabr* is used as feminine, of course only from its being occupied by a woman. The year 622 falls in the reign of Shams-uddīn Altamsh, as does that of the following inscription, No. 11.

Entering the courtyard of the tomb one meets an undated fragmentary inscription, which has found a place in the wall, facing south, its original position not being known. It is much decayed, and consists of two lines (1' 10½" by 1' 1½"). A complement of it must be Mr. Garrick's sixth one—

كيد [الاني] وبغدر سلطان  
بنده مسعود محمد صفهاني برد

“[Gī]lānī and to Firdaus Sultānī. He was a slave of Mas'ūd Muhammad of Isfahān.”

In the wall of the mosque of the four *Qulbs* is a fragmentary inscription of two lines, measuring 1' 4" by 1'—

بنوفيق حضرت

كمال [جمال] ابن . . . . .

“By the grace of his highness Kamāl, son of.....”

11. At the mosque of Bū Alī Bakhsh in the Moghulpāra-Quarter of Hānsi is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 2' 6" by 6", with two lines—

هذا عمارة المسجد العبد الضعيف احمد بن محمد اسمندي  
في المنتصف ربيع الآخر سنة ثلث والعشرين وستماية

“This building (*is*) the mosque of the feeble slave (*of God*) Ahmad, son of Muhammad, of Asmand. In the middle of Rabi' II, 623 (*began the 1st April, 1226*).”

Mr. Blochmann remarks that Asmand is a small place near Samargand.

There are also two other inscriptions over the north and south arches of the same mosque, the first (1' ½" by 7½") containing the *Bismillāh*, with the *Kalima*, the second (1' by 7") being a fragment.

12. Half a mile to the west of the town, in the fields, is an 'Idgāh and on the left of its central arch (*mīhrāb*) is an old fragmentary inscription of two lines (measuring 2' 10½" by 1'), very much damaged. It runs—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال عيسى ابن مريم اللهم ربنا انزل علينا مائدة  
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابرالمظفر [?] مسعود بن السلطان . . . . .

“In the name, *etc.* Jesus, the son of Mary, has said, “O God, our Lord, send down to us a table from heaven [*to be to us as a festival, etc.*],—*Qorān*, Sūra v, verse 114.

Because the inscription is so worn there may be doubts about the king's name. I think it was Nâsir uddin Mahmûd, second son of Altamsh of *that* name, who reigned A.H. 644-664, of whose time only one inscription has yet been published, viz. by Blochmann in the *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XLII, p. 248, note [A.H. 652, at Aligarh]. In spite of the want of any date we are scarcely allowed to think of his elder brother, owing to Mr. Thomas' remarks in his *Pathân Kings*, p. 84.

In the central arch of the same 'Īdgâh another old inscription of two lines of Altamsh's reign is said to be, size 2' 9½" by 1'.

13. On a loose stone in the courtyard of Bû 'Alî Bakhsh's mosque is a fragment, (the right half not being found) of three lines, size 1' 4" by 1' 2½":—

شاه گیهان معزالدنیا  
سلطان خلد ملکه در نوبت  
بهرل بن مہرباک الانی بر . . . . . محرم سنہ سبع وثمانین وستمایہ

"The king of the world Mu'izz uddunyâ,.....the Sultân,—May (God) perpetuate his reign!—in the time of.....Bahlûl, son of Mihrâ (?) Bêg, Alânî... Muharram, 687 (*began the 6th February, 1288*)."

The name of the grandee is not certain. For other inscriptions of Kaiqobâd see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 158, and note 42.

14. About a quarter of a mile north of the fort of Hàusî is the tomb of Walâyat Shâh Sultân Shahîd. Here are two inscriptions of no value; one mentioning the date 713, measuring 1' 10½" by 1' 2½", in three lines, the other measuring 1' 10½" by 5½", in one line, being a portion of *Qorân*, Sûra ii, verse 256.

15. At the mosque of the *Qulbs* (see No. 10) a rectangular sandstone bears eight lines in coarse and indistinct characters; size 3' 8" by 11":—

الملك لله

بتوفیق اللہ تعالیٰ بندہ درگاہ سبحانی ابا بکر نام جلوانی کہ یگی  
از مریدان پیر دستگیر سلطان المشایخ شیخ ابرالفتح قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز است  
در پایان قطب اقطاب عالم شیخ جمال الحق والشرع والدین طاب ثراه رجعل  
الجنة مثراه ونوراللہ مراقده در وقت جلوس سجادہ ہندگی سلطان المشایخ  
شیخ فرید مد اللہ عمرہ این مسجد راس کنائید ہرکہ درین مسجد نماز بگذار بدعا  
اینان [?] یاد کند کاتب حررت رضی قطب نایب قاضی ہانسی . . . . .  
الخامس والعشرون من ماہ رجب رجب قدرہ سنہ ست وتسعين وثمانیۃ سنکتراش امین [P] بفرال [F]

ناگوری

"The Kingdom belongs to God !

'By Almighty God's grace, the slave of the glorious court, Abâ Bakr by name, Jalwânî," one of the disciples of the guiding spiritual chief, the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh

<sup>11</sup> In *Bâbar's Memoirs* occur also *Jalwânîs*, by name Isma'il (pp. 338, 486, 487) and Mubârak Khân (p. 431), or Bâi Husain, a partisan of Shêr Khân (*vide Akbarnâma*, vol. I, p. 164), and others. I have read *Indân* (first word of the 7th line) instead of *ibân*, as has been engraved on the stone.

Abu'l Fath,—May God sanctify his dear secret!—has laid the foundation of this mosque at the feet of the pole of the poles of the world, Shaikh *Jamāl ul-haqq washshar' waddīn* (i.e. Shaikh Jamāl uddīn),—May his grave be fragrant! May (God) make Paradise his mansion, and may God illuminate his resting-place!—at the time when the king of Shaikhs, Shaikh Farīd,—May God lengthen his life!—ascended to the throne of the spiritual rule. Every one who prays in this mosque should remember these men in his prayer.

“The writer of the words (*was*) Bazá Quṭb, the representative of the judge of Hānsī . . . On the 25th Rajab,—May its power increase!—896 (*3rd January, 1491*). The stone-cutter (*was*) Amīn (?) Bīr Lāl of Nāgōr.”

In the first line, to the left of the words “The kingdom belongs to God,” in smaller characters, the name of the reigning king is given—

در عهد بادشاه زمان [P] سبندر شاه بن بهرل شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه

“In the time of the king of the age, Sikandar Shāh, son of Bahlūl Shāh, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!”

16. In the north inner wall of the Barsī gate in Hānsī is a rectangular sandstone, measuring 1' 5" by 1' 1", on which are five lines—

بناء عمارت این دروازه متین علوی با مرمت حصن حصین علایی

که مرخصت سنه اثني وسبعماية در عهد سلطان السلاطين ابرالمظفر

ابراهيم شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه ودر عمل مسند عالي حميد خان

[۱] مانتخان کمال ودر شقداری خواجه شیخ [۹] محمد و بغرمایش موکل بن کمال

. . . . . فی الخامس من شهر ذی القعدة سنه ثمان وعشرين وتسعمائة كاتب خانزاده نصر مفتي هانسي

“The building of the edifice of this solid, high gate, together with the repairs of the strong upper fort,<sup>13</sup> dated 702 A.H. (*began 26th August, 1302*), (*took place*) in the time of the king of kings, *Abu'l Muzaffar Ibrāhīm Shāh*, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign!—and during the governorship of the high *Masnad* *Hamīd Khān*, son of *Amānat Khān Kamāl* and during the *shiqdārī* of *Khawāja Shaikh Muhammad*, and by order of *Muwakkal*, son of *Kamāl* . . . , on the 5th Zi'l Qa'da, 928 (*26th September, 1522*). The writer (*was*) *Khānzāda Naṣr*, the Mufti of Hānsī.”

*Hamīd Khān* is known to have been governor of *Hiṣār Fīrōza*; he was defeated in battle by Prince *Humāyūn* A.H. 932 (*Akbarnāma*, vol. I, p. 94, and *Bābar's*

<sup>13</sup> As we learn from an inscription on the same gate, to the left of the entrance, published by Bloebmann in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for May 1877, p. 122, and mentioned by Mr. Garrick (No. 6), the correct year of the first fortification of Hānsī was 703, not 702. The repairing of the fort which most probably Muhammad Shāh had intended be an outpost against the Moghuls, was useless against their final invasion under Akbar.

*Memoirs*, p. 339, where he is styled *Hamîda Khân Khâssa Khailî, shiqdâr* of Hisâr Firôza).

The following inscription refers also to Muhammad Shâh's fortification of the place.<sup>14</sup> Originally it consisted of three parts that are now scattered. The larger portion, given here, is at present doing duty as the headstone of a grave near the Husain Gate; a smaller one has been let into the brick wall of a well, near the same gate, and is fast being destroyed. The inscription, in heavy characters, is a very fine one, and ought to be preserved. Two lines, size 3' 3" by 1' 6"—

بناء عمارت این حصن حصین و دروازہ متین در عہد [ سلطان السلاطین ]

جم نشان و سلیمان تمکین سکندر زمان ابرالمظفر محمد شاه [سلطان]

"The building of the edifice of this strong fort and solid gate (*was*) in the time of (*the king of kings*) celebrated like Jamshêd, of high dignity like Solomon, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh*, the king....."<sup>15</sup>

17. Inside of the *mihrab* of the mosque of the Makhdûm Şâhib Ashraf in the Weavers' Quarter of Hânsî, is a very old inscription in square Kufic characters that must be of the first Pathân period. It measures 1' 1" by 9" and consists of the *Kalima* only. Over the outer gateway of the enclosure of the same mosque is found a poor inscription of three lines (9½" by 6"), giving the date, "Month Şafar 989," (*began 7th March, 1581*). The old mosque therefore was repaired in Akbar's time.

18. Outside the stables of Haidar Bêg, high up in a wall is a rectangular sandstone, bearing an inscription of nine lines (size 1' 9½" by 1' 7"). It is frightfully worn and can be deciphered only with the greatest difficulty. But the following is certain:—

بغایت . . . . .

در عہد و دولت سلطان السلاطین

ابرالمظفر شہاب الدین محمد صاحب

<sup>14</sup> Perhaps also to the Barsî Gate (Blochmann No. 3, Garrick No. 6).

<sup>15</sup> Other inscriptions of 'Alâ uddîn Muhammad Shâh's reign (A.H. 695-715) have been published in General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XX, p. 76 (A.H. 705, at Bayâna), by E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings*, p. 173 (A.H. 710, at Dihlî), and by Blochmann, *Proceedings of As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 156 (A.H. 711, at Râprij), (also No. 22 below). I would here call attention to a work that may be very important for the history of another monarch of the Khiljî tribe, *viz.* of Mahmûd Shâh I. of Mâlwa. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a MS. that seems to be unique; at least I have found no second copy in the accessible catalogues of manuscripts, and the late Mr. E. Rehatsek did not know of one elsewhere. Its title is *Ma'âthir-i Mahmûdshâhî wa siyar-i khilâfat-pandî*, written in the lifetime of Mahmûd Shâh I. of Mâlwa, as the author 'Alî Ibn Mahmûd ul-Kirmânî states, by Mahmûd's own order. The writer shows himself well acquainted with many private adventures of his sovereign, especially with his dreams before the occupation of the throne, and he describes fully these inviting divine messages as justifying the rebellion of the subject against his former master. Although partly composed in a very bombastic style, it would still be worth publishing, all the more as it is a proof of the taste then reigning at the court of Mâlwa. Mahmûd is related to have been always a favourite of learned men. It is stated in this work that for the engraving of the inscriptions on the splendid *Madrasa Bâm-i Bihisht*, built by Shâh Mahmûd A.H. 845 in his capital, he employed Persian artists because of their higher dexterity, and these applied the *thulth* and *muhaggaq* kinds of writing (Fol. 89). This may be a hint in cases where nothing is related concerning the nationality of the stone-cutters. It is remarkable how many of the 'modern' Indian calligraphists mentioned in the 34th chapter of the first book of the *Âin-i Akbarî* (cf. also Mr. Blochmann's translation, p. 100, *el-seq.* and notes) were strangers by birth and only afterwards settled in India. The Kufic style that has flourished in Arabia, Egypt and Spain has produced only some scanty flowers in India, but this is easily explained by the later date of Islâm in India, the Kufic period then already having passed. Some remarks about the calligraphy of the inscriptions are to be found in the *Jour. of As. S. B.*, vol. XL, p. 257-8, and in Ravenshaw's *Gaur*.



قران ثاني شاه جهان بادشاه غازي  
 خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه  
 . . . . . اين جاه زنان شد . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 بتاريخ هفتم ماه شعبان المعظم  
 سنه سبع وخمسين والاف

“By the favour of . . . in the time and reign of the king of kings, *Abu'l Muza'ffar Shihâb uddîn Muhammad*, second lord of the conjunction, *Shâhjahân, Bâdishâhi Ghâzi*—May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! . . . of this well for women . . . on the 7th of the honoured month *Sha'bân* in the year 1057 (7th September, 1647).”

The words *châh-i zanân*—“well for women,” seem to be certain, so that there can be no uncertainty about the establishment the inscription refers to. In the fourth chapter of the third book of the *Âin-i Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 284, it is stated amongst the duties of the *Kotwâl*, to reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women.

19. On the east wall of the enclosure of a tomb in the court-yard of *Makhdûm Shâhib Ashraf's* mosque is an inscription, measuring 1' 2" by 8½", in a very bad condition; only the date الف در سنه سبع ثمانين الف 'A.H. 1087' (*began the 16th March, 1676*) and the name of the architect بسعي معمار شريف 'by the effort of the architect Sharîf' are legible. The reigning monarch was Aurangzêb Âlamgîr.

20. There are also some fragments of inscriptions, found at Hânsî, that for want of any characteristic indications, cannot be ascribed to a certain epoch, e.g. a portion of the so-called throne-verse (*Qorân*, Sura ii, 256) engraved on a sandstone that has found a place above the outer doorway of the courtyard of the mosque, a little west of the fort, or a part of the well-known *hadîth* about the building of mosques, on the well in the Dâk Bangla compound (size 8" by 20", one line).

#### BHAṬINḌA.

21. Bhaṭinḍa, the Bhatti's city, according to the very probable etymology of Mr. Garrick, p. 5, has always had a strong fort.<sup>16</sup> There is preserved a large cannon of Aurangzêb's time bearing two inscriptions:—

هر الغالب  
 در عهد ابرالظفر محى الدين محمد  
 اورنگ زیب بهادر عالم گیر  
 بادشاه عازى توپ اورنگ شاهى  
 مرتب شد سنه يک هزار و هفتاد و سه هجري  
 باهتمام مرید فدوي باخلاص  
 معتمد خان فی سنه ۵ جلوس  
 مبارک ولا

<sup>16</sup> Bhaṭinḍa is mentioned in the *Âin-i Akbarî* amongst others as a place where Akbar often hunted leopards vol. I, 207, and near which camels were numerous, vol. I, p. 148.

"He (*God*) is the conqueror! In the time of *Abu'l Zafar Muhyi'ddîn Muhammad Aurangzâb Bahâdur 'Âlamgîr, Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*, the *Aurangshâh*-cannon was set up in A.H. 1073 (*began the 16th August, 1662*). By the efforts of the devoted and sincere subject *Mu'tamid Khân*, in the 5th year of the blessed reign."

در عمل متبراداس دلارامجی

..... ترب .....

در قلعه گوالیار مرتب شد

"During the office of *Mathurâdâs Dilârâmjî*..... the cannon has been placed in the fort of *Gwâliâr*."

The cannon, consequently, was placed at first at *Gwâliâr*, where *Mu'tamid Khân* was commandant from the 24th *Jumâdî I*, 1071.<sup>17</sup> Afterwards it was brought to *Bhatînda*.

Inscriptions from other cannons have been published by Major St. G. D. Showers,—*Shâhjahân's gun Jahânkushâ* by name, see *Jour. As. Soc. B.*, vol. XVI, (1847), p. 589,—and by Blochmann—a trophy gun formerly belonging to the Bengal Artillery, A.H. 1186 (*began 4th April, 1772*),—see *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for November 1872, p. 169.<sup>18</sup>

#### ROHTAK.<sup>19</sup>

22. Over the *mih râb* of the *Âdîna* mosque in the town of *Rohtak* are two lines, size 4' 6" by 1' 2"; the letters partly are very much damaged:—

نورمحمد حضرت بردانی در خراب ..... محمدی ..... نالمله مسلمانان ..... حاد[ی] حامی

ملک حوالی علا الدین والادین ..... سلاطین جهان

نائب نهار ابرالطغر محمد ساه السلطان خلد الله ملکه ..... اس مسجد مرمناں و بر. حلی اهل انماں

عمار فرمود بناربع عره ماه رمضان سال هفصد هشت از هجری برد

"Through the grace of the sublime God.....  
*Alâ uddunyâ waddîn*,.....of the kings of the world,.....*Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Shâh*, the king,—May God perpetuate his kingdom!—has deigned to build this mosque of the true believers and.....place of the people of the faith. It was on the 1st *Ramazân* A.H. 708 (*12th February, 1309*)."

23. Over the outer archway of a small mosque in the fort of *Rohtak*, near the *Dihli* Gate of the town is a rectangular sandstone, with an inscription of two lines, size 3' 0½" by 8½", the right end of which is missing:—

بادشاه غازی سلطان السلاطین غیاث الدین سکندر زمان ابرالطغر تغلق شاه السلطان

[خ] ادایگانی محمد علی سلطانی غره ماه مبارک رمضان عم برکاته سال بر هفصد بیست و چهار

"(*In the time*) of the *Bâdishâh-i Ghâzî*, the king of kings, *Ghiyâth uddunyâ waddîn*, the Alexander of the period, *Abu'l Muzaffar Tughluq Shâh* (*this mosque has been*

<sup>17</sup> See the particulars concerning this officer given by Blochmann from the *Ma'dithir-i 'Âlamgîr* in the *Proceedings of As. Soc. Beng.* for August 1874, p. 178.

<sup>18</sup> I have collected considerable materials respecting the artillery of the Moghuls, for an essay on their army and warfare, now in the press (E. J. Brill, Leiden).

<sup>19</sup> See *E. I.*, vol. II, pp. 143 *et seq.*

built, through the grace of the Lord, by) Muḥammad 'Alī Sultānī. On the first of the blessed month Ramazān,—May its blessings be general!—A. 724 (22nd August, 1324)."

This inscription is the second as yet published of Tughluq Shāh's reign (see Blochmann, *Proc. As. Soc. B.*, for August 1873, p. 157; A.H. 722, at Mahōbā).

Perhaps the mosque was repaired in Bābar's time; there is at least an inscription over the central archway (measuring 1' 10" by 1' 1") outside, that seems to mention such a fact, but it is too much injured to allow a decisive judgment. The first line is nearly altogether gone, also the beginning of the second and the whole third of the line are illegible; almost all dots are missing.

بسم [الله الرحمن الرحيم] . . . .

. . . . این مسجد . . . . در عهد . . . . حضرت ظهیرالدین محمد بابر بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه

. . . . . رمضان . . . . . ثلثین وتسعمائة . . . . .

"This mosque.....in the time of.....His Majesty *Zahīr uddīn Muḥammad Bābar*, *Bādīshāh-i Ghāzī*.....Ramazān.....93"

The date, of course, must be between 932 and 937.

### XXXV.—SRIDHARA'S DEVAPATTANA PRAŚASTI.

By DR. G. BÜHLER AND VAJESHANKAR G. OZHA.

The subjoined inscription is the same as that noticed by Colonel Tod in his *Travels in Western India*, p. 513 f. and by Mr. Postans in the *Journal Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 16 f. According to both these authors it was found at Devapattana or Somnāthpāṭan near Verāval on a pillar near the Qāzī's house. At present the slab on which it is incised is built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town. Both Colonel Tod and Mr. Postans give what is said to be a translation of the document, prepared, "with the assistance of a learned Jain priest," by Mr. Wathen, according to an eye-copy made by Rāmdatt Krishnadatt Purāṇī. Mr. Wathen's translation teems with the most extraordinary statements regarding the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, which, however, fortunately have received little attention. The present edition has been prepared according to a rubbing by the late Pandit Girjāshankar Sāmājī, which Mr. V. G. Ozha forwarded for publication to the first-named editor, together with a transcript,<sup>1</sup> a Gujarāṭī translation and some explanatory notes in the same language.

The slab measures according to the rubbing 30 inches in breadth and 27 in length, a space of 5 inches having been left blank at the lower end. At the upper left-hand corner a piece has been broken off. To the right considerable portions of a good many

<sup>1</sup> This transcript seems to have been done according to the original on the stone, as it contains much that is not readable in the rubbing. All this, as well as a number of misreadings, has been given in the footnotes to the edition with the signature V. G. O.—[G. B.]

lines have been half or entirely effaced,<sup>2</sup> the injured spots becoming larger and larger towards the end of the inscription.

The workmanship is good. In the first line some of the *anusvāras* have been made highly ornamental, being surrounded by three semi-circles, to the uppermost of which a stroke resembling a *mātrā* is attached. At the end there are two signs of good omen, the second of which is a Svastika. The name of the first is not known to me. It consists of an oblong with two small circles at the top and one in the centre and a triangle attached below. The characters are ordinary Devanāgarī of the 13th century. It must be noted that *va* does duty for *ba* and *va*, and that the groups like *jy*, *tv*, *dy* are invariably spelt *jy*, *tva*, and *dya*. In verse 45 we have the curious word *Gārjarātrāḥ* corresponding to the modern *Gujarāt*. In my opinion it has been coined out of the latter just like *Suratrāna* out of *Sultan* and *Garjanaka* out of *Ghaznav*. *Gujarāt* itself is probably a hybrid formation, the Arabic collective affix *āt*, being added to the name of the Gurjara or Gujar clan.

The contents of the inscription, which, with the exception of the first and last words, is throughout metrical, are as follows :—

(1) A *maṅgala*, verses 1-3, the first two being addressed to Śiva, identified with the supreme Brahma.

(2) A eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, which the Moon founded in order to escape from the intolerable disease of consumption, verses 4-5.

(3) A eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula race and of the Chaulukya kings of Anhilvād, verses 6-25.

(4) A eulogy of Śrīdhara, the representative of the Vastrākula family in Vikrama Samvat 1273, who built several temples at Devapattana, verses 26-51.

(5) A eulogy of an ascetic, Vimalaśiva (?), who seems to have been the spiritual head of the Śaivas or priest of the temple, verses 52-57.

(6) A notice of the author of the poem, whose name is lost, a prayer for the duration of the new temples and a notice of their architect (name lost) verses 58-60 and the date.

The eulogy of the Chaulukya kings teaches us nothing new. They are all there from Mūlarāja I. to Bhīmadeva II. with the exception of Bhīmadeva I., whose name has been lost by a break in the first Pāda of verse 16. Their description is almost entirely conventional. The only historical fact mentioned (verse 23) is that Bhīmadeva II. built a *Someśvaramandapa*, or a hall connected with the temple of Śiva, which bore the name Meghadhvani. The description of the Vastrākula family possesses greater interest. Verse 7 informs us that its Vedic gōtra was that of Śāndilya, and that its home was Nagara, *i.e.* Vāḍnagar in northern Gujarāt. To this race belonged Ūyābhatta (verses 7-8) a pious astrologer, through whose benedictions king Mūla, *i.e.* Mūlarāja, I., enjoyed, untroubled by foes, for a long time his kingdom, which might raise envy in Indra's breast. Possibly this may mean that Ūyābhatta was Mūlarāja's Joshi or court-astrologer. This man had three sons, Mādhava, Lūla and Bhābha, whom the king charged with the supervision of his charities and commissioned to look after the digging of square and round wells and tanks as well as after the erection of houses of

<sup>2</sup> Those letters, which are very faint or doubtful, have been enclosed between brackets.—[G. B.]

refuge, colleges, temples and alms-houses, gilt flagstaffs, arches, markets, towns, villages, drinking-fountains and halls (verses 9-10). King Châmuṇḍa continued to show them favour and bestowed "the village of Kanheśvara on the great councillor (*mahāmantrin*) Mādhaḥva," "his father's friend" (verse 12). The line of the Vastrākulas was continued further through the offspring of Ūyābhaṭṭa's second son, Lūla. The latter had a son, called Bhābha or also Lūla(?) (verse 24), who was a friend of King Bhīmadeva I. Bhābha-Lūla begat Śobha, "the dear friend of him who was called Jayasimha" (verse 25). His son Valla became an official (*sachiva*) under Kumārapāla (verse 25) and married Rohiṇī. "She bore to him Śrīdhara, who caused his race to unfold just as the moon makes the night-lotuses open their blossoms" (verse 26), and "was honoured among the officials of illustrious King Bhīma," i.e. of Bhīmadeva II. (verse 27). The poet then goes on to lavish the most extravagant praises on this person with which are mixed a few apparently historical statements. Verse 40 inform us that Śrīdhara was much married and had three wives, Sāvitrī, Lakshmī and Saubhāgyadevī. According to verse 42: "He quickly made again stable by the power of his *mantra* (i.e. his political wisdom or charms) the country, that had been shaken by the multitude of the [*impetuous*] war elephants of Mālvā resembling a forest of dark Tamāla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power."

From this statement it would appear that he somehow assisted his sovereign to get over the troubles with King Arjunavarman, who some time before A.D. 1216 effected the *bhaṅga* of Gujarāt, and that he was governor of Devapattana. The latter point seems to be hinted at also in the next following verse, where it is asserted that "Śrīdhara the pride of the fort<sup>3</sup> made like to much grass the host of heroic Hammīra, that moved like the high rising waves of the ocean which on the dissolution of the world inundate the shores,—that smashed the hills by the impetus of the mere movement of its feet and that split in twain the circle of the earth."

"Heroic Hammīra" is probably one of the Musalman generals, who more than once attacked and temporarily conquered Gujarāt during Bhīmadeva's reign. How great and important these successes in politics and war really were, must remain doubtful, as a little goes a long way with the composers of *Praśastis*. Verse 44 informs us that Śrīdhara built in Somnāthpāṭan two temples, at Rohiṇisvāmin, sacred to Vishnu, in memory of his mother and a temple of Śiva, called after his father Valla. The remaining verses are so badly mutilated that it is impossible to speak with any certainty as to their contents. The date Vikrama Samvat 1273, Vaiśākha śudi 4 Friday corresponds, according to Professor Jacobi's Tables (*ante*, volume I, p. 403, ff.) to Friday, April 22, A.D. 1216.

## TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. — — —: शिवाय ॥

मनीमन्यादिभूयंततत्वमालावलंबनं ।

उपास्महे परं तत्त्वं पंचकृत्यैककारणं ॥ १ [॥\*]'

वियद्वायुर्वज्जिर्जलमवनिरिंदुर्दिनकर-

चिदाधारश्चेति त्रिभुवनमिदं यन्मयमभूत् ।

स वः श्रेयो देया-

<sup>3</sup> Or, possibly, "he whose pride was the fort."

Restore वा नमः शिवाय । Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

L. 2.

— — — रनाथः सुरनर्द

सरूपां विभ्राणः शिरसि गिरिजाक्षेपविषयः ॥ २ [॥\*<sup>5</sup>]

पुष्पातु स्फुरदभ्रविभ्रमभृतः कृष्णस्य वक्षस्थल-

प्रेखकौस्तुभकांतिभिः कवचिता लक्ष्मीकटाक्षावलिः ।

या संभोगभरालसा तनुत-

„ 3.

— — जन्यविन्यासभू-

दीरिद्रद्रुमदावपावकग्रिखाकारानिशं वः श्रियं ॥ ३ [॥\*<sup>6</sup>]

श्रीसोमनाथायतनस्य रेखा भूमेरिखीर्द्वागुलिरत्न भाति ।

अनन्यसाधारणशोभमेतत्पुरं पुरारेरिति सूचयंती ॥ ४ [॥\*<sup>7</sup>]

महीवदनपंकजं भुवन-

„ 4.

— — भूषाविधि-

निधिः सकलसंपदां त्रिपुरवैरिणः सम्मतं ।

तदेतदतिदुःसहक्षयविनाशसिद्धौ पुरा

शशांकरचितं पुरं जयति वारिधेः सन्निधौ ॥ ५ [॥\*<sup>8</sup>]

अस्ति स्वस्तिमदंबुजासननिभैरध्यासितं यज्वभि-

धूमध्यामलिता-

„ 5.

— लांवरतलं स्थानं त्रयीकेलिभूः ।

अभ्यर्थं द्विजपुंगवान्नगरमित्यर्द्धेदुच्छ्रुतामणिः ।

प्रादादष्टकुलान्वयापरचतुःषष्ठ्यस्वतुष्टै च यत् ॥ ६ [॥\*<sup>9</sup>]

शांडिल्याख्योदग्रवंशाग्रकोतुर्गीतं ख्यातं नाम वस्त्राकुलं यत् ।

कथा-

„ 6.

— हा देवयुस्तत्र जज्ञे दैवज्ञत्वं यस्य सान्वर्धमासीत् ॥ ७ [॥\*<sup>10</sup>]

यदीयाशीर्वादैरमरपतिकार्ष्ण्यजनकं

भुनक्ति आयत्तं निहतरिपु रान्यं चिरतरं ।

निहत्य आपालानणहिलपुरे मूलनृपतिः

प्रभुत्वं तत्पुत्रेवैकत सुकृतार्थव्यवसितं ॥ ८ [॥\*<sup>11</sup>]

गंगाप्रवाह-

„ 7.

प्रतिमा बभूवुस्तस्यात्मजा माधवललभाभाः ।

ते मूलराजेन पुरस्कृताश्च भगीरथेनेव यशोऽवतसाः ॥ ९ [॥\*<sup>12</sup>]

वापीकूपतडागकुट्टिममठप्रासादसत्रालयान्

सौवर्णध्वजतोरणापणपुरग्रामप्रपामंडयान् ।

कीर्त्तिश्रीसकतप्रदास्त्रप-

<sup>5</sup> Metre Sikkharipi.—Restore देयात्परमसुरं.—[V. G. O.]

क्षेप-विषया erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>6</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Restore तनुवटे सौजन्यं.—[V. G. O.]<sup>7</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—Read °कीर्त्तिर्द्वि°.<sup>8</sup> Metre, Prithvi.—Restore सुषण्वाष्टं.—[V. G. O.]<sup>9</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Restore °ध्यामलितामलितां°.—  
Delete stop after °वृक्षामणिः<sup>10</sup> Metre, Śālini.—Restore कथा(व)य erroneously  
—[V. G. O.]<sup>11</sup> Metre, Sikkharipi.<sup>12</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—Delete Avagraha in यशोऽवतसाः

L. 8.

तः श्रीमूलराजस्त्रिभि-

स्त्रैरासनिमैर्व्यधापयदयं चौलुकचूडामणिः ॥ १० [॥\*]<sup>13</sup>

यद्यावासु तुरंगमीदुरखुरचुन्नचमामंडल-

चोदच्छददिगंतमंवरमभूदेकातपत्राकृति ।

आशाकुंजरकर्णकोटरतटीरप्य-

,, 9.

चगंडोपला-

न्भिंदानः पटहध्वनिः क्षितिधरश्रेणीषु वभ्राम च ॥ ११ [॥\*]<sup>14</sup>

तस्मिन्भूभुजि नाकनायकसभामध्यासिते भूपतिः

प्रत्यर्थिचित्तिपालशैलकुलिशश्चामुंडराजो ऽ भवत्

प्रीत्या ग्रामवरं ददौ निजपितुर्मित्रा-

,, 10.

य कण्डेश्वरं

यः श्रीमाधवनामधयकृताने तस्मै महामंत्रिणे ॥ १२ [॥\*]<sup>15</sup>

यस्योत्तुंगतुरंगतांडवभवः पांशूत्करः सैनिकः

स्वःसीमासु मरुहणाभयमहावप्रप्रकारोभवत् ।

शक्रेणासुर — कप्रशमनं दृष्ट्वातितुष्टा-

,, 11.

त्सना

निःशंकं निदधे शचीकुचतटे चेतस्त्रिरेण भ्रुवं ॥ १३ [॥\*]<sup>16</sup>

तस्यात्मजस्तदनु दुर्लभराजनामा

यस्यारिराजमकरध्वजशंकराख्या ।

पृथ्वीं वभार परिपंथि — — — — —

— — — — — शितभद्रपीठः ॥ १४ [॥\*]<sup>17</sup>

तदनु तदनु-

,, 12.

जोभूद्वल्लभो भूर्भुवःस्व-

स्त्रितयपठितकीर्त्तिर्मूर्त्तिमहिक्रमश्रीः ।

यदरिनुपपुरेषु स्थूलताफलांका

सृगपतिपदपंक्तिर्लक्ष्यते चत्वरेषु ॥ १५ [॥\*]<sup>18</sup>

क्षीणीचक्रैकशक्रे — — — — —

— — प्रेख्यतापप्रतिहतनि-

,, 13.

खिलारारिराजन्यसैन्यः ।

तस्मिन् देवांगनानान्निविडतरपरीरंभभाज क्षितीये

कर्णः कीर्णाभियातिर्भुवमभृत भुजे भोगिगृन्मसरेण ॥ १६ [॥\*]<sup>19</sup>

तस्मिन् — — — — —

— — — — — रभूजयसिंहदेवः ।

यस्य क्षपाक-

<sup>13</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °नरपतिः.—[V. G. O.]<sup>14</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—Read °दुष्.—[V. G. O.]

क्षीतर° erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>15</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—कण्डेश्वरे erroneously.—[V. G. O.]

O.]

<sup>16</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—शक्रेणासुरलोष्टिक°.—[V. G. O.]

लोष्टिक° to be read.

<sup>17</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—परिपंथिश्चक्षीरौटरवधृतिश्चरित शीपित° [V. G. O.], which is against the metre.<sup>18</sup> Metre, Mālinī.—Read स्थूलताफलांका.—[V. G. O.]<sup>19</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.—V. G. O. reads after °शक्रे [मृत] — — — चंद्रकान्ति — — ये । Read °नक्षत्रेण.—[V. G. O.]. The same corrects erroneously कर्षोन्मिया°.

- I. 14. रकप्रतिमल्लमूर्तिः  
कीर्त्तिर्जगत्सु नरिनर्त्तिं नटांगनेव ॥ १७ [॥\*]<sup>20</sup>  
पाणौकृत्य जयश्रियं चित्तिभुजामये समयां मही-  
मेकच्छत्रपरिच्छदां विदधता वीरेण वि-रितः ।  
येनारातिनृपा- — — — — — वृढाभिर्भृशं  
संधुच्छ क्षुभि-
- „ 15. तौर्वसनिभसमुत्क्षेपः प्रतापानलः ॥ १८ [॥\*]<sup>21</sup>  
तस्मिन्नुपेन्द्रत्वमनुप्रवृत्ते त्रैलोक्यरक्षाक्षमविक्रमांकः ॥  
लोकंष्टणैरात्मगुणैरलंघयः कुमारपालः प्रवभूव भूपः ॥ १९ ॥\*]<sup>22</sup>  
यदरि — — — — — तस-त-  
प्रसृमरपटुकी-
- „ 16. लालीढदिकः प्रतापः ।  
क्षययति घनफेनस्फारकलोललोलं  
जलनिधिजलमद्याप्युत्पतिषु प्रकामं ॥ २० [॥\*]<sup>23</sup>  
आखंडलप्राङ्गणिके च तस्मिन् भुवं वभाराजयदेव — — ।  
— — — — — तरुप्रकांडानुवाप यो
- „ 17. नैगमधर्मवृक्षान् ॥ २१ [२१\*]<sup>24</sup>  
यत्खड्गधाराजलमग्ननानानृपेद्रविक्रांतियशःप्रशस्तिः ।  
वभ्राज तत्पुष्करमालिकेव श्रीमूलराजस्तदनूदियाय ॥ २२ [॥\*]<sup>25</sup>  
[तस्यानुजन्मा जयति चित्तीशः] श्रीभीमदेवः प्रथितप्रतापः ;  
अ-
- „ 18. कारि सीमेश्वरमंडपीयं येनाऽत्र मेघध्वनिनामधेयः ॥ २३ [॥\*]<sup>26</sup>  
लूलात्मजः समजनिष्ट विशिष्टमान्यो  
भाभाख्यया सुभटभीमनृपस्य मित्रं [ । ]  
लूला — — — वजीवन — — — —  
— — — — — पतिसमार्खवपूर्णचंद्रः ॥
- „ 19. २४ [॥\*]<sup>27</sup>  
तस्याभवद्भुवनमंडलमंडनाय  
शोभाभिधः प्रियसुहृज्जयसिंहनाम्नः ।  
यस्यात्मजः सचिवतामधिगम्य वल्लः  
स[म्मान]यां सुचिरमास कुमारपालं ॥ २५ [॥\*]<sup>28</sup>  
अथोप — — — — — हिणी-  
सुमामिवेशः कम-

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā. —V. G. O. reads after तस्मिन्नुपेन्द्र-  
[सुखसुवनसि जय — — —]; read चपाकरकर.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>21</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīṭita. —V. G. O. reads विस्ता(सा)  
रितः. नृपा. — — — — — र- वि — — —

<sup>22</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>23</sup> Metre, Mālinī.—यदरिपुरेषु व्याघ्रविनासवात°.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>24</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—°राजयदेवभूपः । उच्छारयन्भूपवर°.—  
[V. G. O.]

<sup>25</sup> Metre, Upajāti.

<sup>26</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—The first Pāda is very indistinct.

<sup>27</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—लूलाख[ख]या तु भवजीवनपूर्वकुम्भः  
श्रीभीमभूप°.—[V. G. O.] The same corrects लूलात्मजः to  
सूलात्मजः ।

<sup>28</sup> Metre, first three Pādas Vasantatilakā. सुचिर stands at  
the end of the inscription with the figure 19 added.



L. 20.

लामिवाच्युतः ।

अजायतास्यां कुलकैरवाकर-

प्रबोधकः श्रीधरनामचंद्रमा : २६ [॥ \*]<sup>29</sup>

क्षीरोदपूरपरिपांडुरपुण्यकीर्ति-

नीरोगमेव पुरु — — यमातनोति ।

— — — — — नमंत्रशक्तिः

श्रीभीमभू-

,, 21.

पतिनियोगिजनैकमान्यः २७ [॥ \*]<sup>30</sup>

आशीःपरंपरा सयस्मूयाभट्टस्य तायते [।]

चौलुक्यवस्ताकुलयोराकल्पं प्रीतिरक्षता ॥ २८ [॥ \*]<sup>31</sup>

कांत्या चंद्रति तेजसा — — — — —

— — तानपदात्मजल्यखि-

,, 22.

लसंपत्त्या धनाध्यक्षति ।

[वृत्त्या] सागरति प्रभावविधिना नित्यं विरंचत्यसी

कीर्त्या रामति रूपसंदर्तया कंदर्पति श्रीधरः ॥ २९ [॥ \*]<sup>32</sup>

निःसीमसं — — — — —

— — — — — गुरुभिर्निवद्धः ।

सौजन्यनी-

,, 23.

रनिधिरुन्नतसत्वसीमा

जागर्ति चास्य हृदये पुरुषः पुराणः ॥ ३० [॥ \*]<sup>33</sup>

श्रीधरोपि न वै कुण्ठः सर्वज्ञोपि न नास्तिवित् ।

ईश्वरोपि न कामारिणि — — — — — [॥ ३१ ॥ \*]<sup>34</sup>

त[वानिशं विबुध]पादपकामधेनु-

मुख्याःस-

,, 24.

मस्तजनवांक्षितदा भवंतु ।

किंत्वस्य संत्यभयदानवशंवदत्व-

विस्मिरवह्निविनयप्रमुखा विशेषाः ॥ ३२ [॥ \*]<sup>35</sup>

जंवालस्तुहिनायते [पिकततिः श्रीराजहंसायते]

[कालिंदी] — — दायते हरगलः क्षीरोदवेला-

,, 25.

यते ।

शौरिः क्षीरधरायते ऽ जंनगिरिः प्रालेयशैलायते

यत्कीर्त्या सुपयस्यते क्षितिगवी राहुः शशांकायते ॥ ३३ [॥ \*]<sup>36</sup>

निर्माल्यं [चंद्रदेवो] — — — — —

क्षीरोदः पादशौचाम्-

<sup>29</sup> Metre, Vamśasthā.—अयोपयेने दयिकां च रोहिणी.—[V. G. O.]<sup>30</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—पुरुषायुषमा<sup>०</sup>,—भूपलराजपरि-  
नतननं<sup>०</sup>.—[V. G. O.]<sup>31</sup> Metre, Anushtubh, सयंभयामृद्वसायते (नव्यामृद्वि-  
दग्धते).—[V. G. O.]<sup>32</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—सुखीसानपदा<sup>०</sup>.—[V. G. O.]<sup>33</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—निःसीमसंपदुदयेकनिधानहेतुरा-  
कल्पमानजननागुर्<sup>०</sup>.—[V. G. O.]<sup>34</sup> Metre, Anushtubh.—<sup>०</sup>रिद्रोपि न च इवहा.—[V. G. O.]<sup>35</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.<sup>36</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—कविंदी जलदायते.—[V. G. O.]

- L. 26. तमचलपतिर्देहसंवाहपंकः ।  
 उच्छिष्टं पाञ्चजन्यं सुरसरिदमलस्वेदतोयोदयश्री-  
 रित्येवं यस्य कीर्त्तं स्वयमकृतं नृतिं सोम — — — [३४ \*]<sup>37</sup>  
 — — — — — सीं त्रिलोकीमालोक्य
- „ 27. संकीर्षनिवासमस्याः [ \* ]  
 वेधा विलक्ष्य स्तुतिमाततान तवास्ति नान्या सदृशीति नूनं ॥ ३५ [ \* ]<sup>38</sup>  
 असौ धीरो दान्तः सुचरितपरिस्फुटसुभगः  
 — — — — — परिणवगिरां कोपि सुकृती [ । ]  
 अमं पूर्वे ज-
- „ 28. अन्यखिलगुणविस्तारमधुरं  
 नुनाव स्वच्छंदं विमलसिव षालमीकिरसकृत् ॥ ३६ [ \* ]<sup>39</sup>  
 यदीयगुणवर्षनश्रवणकौतुकोच्छेदया ।  
 — — — — — गमा ।  
 मनः किमिव रज्यते-
- „ 29. नुचितवंदिभिर्वधस-  
 स्तदस्य कविमानिभिर्न च चरित्रमुद्योतते ॥ ३७ [ \* ]<sup>40</sup>  
 दिग्दंतावलकर्षतालविलसत्तत्कुम्भरंगंगणे  
 यत्कोर्त्तिर्हृदमत्त — — — — — नृत्यति [ । \* ]  
 रोदःकंदरपूरण-
- „ 30. प्रणयिनी नाशंकमात्मभरि-  
 भिदंती तमसां कुलं कलिमलप्रध्वंसबद्धोत्सवा ॥ ३८ [ \* ]<sup>41</sup>  
 लोकालीकालवाला जलनिधिसलिलासिक्त[मुक्ता वहंती]  
 [शंभोर्मूर्धा]वलंविन्यखिलगुणमयै-
- „ 31. रंक्रुरैः कीर्त्तिवल्ली  
 यस्य प्रालयभानुप्रावकचक्रसुमोदारतारापरागै-  
 र्दिक्कानं व्यापयंती जयति फणिपतिप्रांशुमूला जगत्पां ॥ ३९ [ \* ]<sup>42</sup>  
 — — — — — सावित्रीलक्ष्मीसौभाग्यदेव्याख्याः [ । \* ]
- „ 32. द्रच्छाज्ञानक्रियाख्येया यहदीशस्य शक्तयः ॥ ४० [ \* ]<sup>43</sup>  
 ताभिर्भुवनवंद्याभिः संध्याभिरिव वासरः [ । ]  
 [श्रीधरः शोभते शश्वल्लोकव्याप्येकदीपकः ॥ ४१]  
 — — — [मालवतमाल]वनायमान-  
 सेनागज-
- „ 33. प्रकरभंगुरितां भुवं यः [ । \* ]  
 [भू]यः स्थिरां सपदि मंत्रवलेन कृत्वा

<sup>37</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.—चंद्रदेवो रघुपतिरचितः सेतुबंधः प्रणाली  
 —[V. G. O.]; कीर्त्तः — — — सोमनाथो ऽ तिर्यङ् — [V. G. O.]

<sup>38</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—(यस्कीर्त्तनांशु) जयसी (रि) त्रिलोकी  
 माली.—[V. G. O.] Read विलक्षः—

<sup>39</sup> Metre, Śikharinī.

<sup>40</sup> Metre, Prithvī.— — — कमल — — वागी — — जयता

— निगमान्.—[V. G. O.] Read "सुदयोतते.

<sup>41</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita.—मम(वारवनिवातस्यपदा).—  
 [V. G. O.]

<sup>42</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.

<sup>43</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh (तस्य पद्यस्य) सावित्री.—[V. G. O.]

श्रीदेवपत्तनमपालयदात्मशक्त्या ॥ ४२ [॥\*]<sup>44</sup>

पलयजलधिवेलोल्लोलकल्लोललोलं

— — — — — संपिष्टशैलं [ 1 × ]

दलितधरणि-

L. 34. चक्रं वीरहंभीरचक्रं

बहुतृणमकरोद्यः श्रीधरो दुर्गदण्यः ॥ ४३ [॥\*]<sup>45</sup>

मातुः कैवल्यहेतोर्भूररिपुभवनं रोहिणीस्वामिनाम्ना

— — — — — केशवाद्यः [॥\*]

नाम्ना ता-

„ 35. तस्य तद्विच्छिन्नवभवनमपि — — — — —

[धाम] श्रीमच्छिवस्य प्रतिहतदुरितं कारितं भूरिशोभं ॥ ४४ [॥\*]<sup>46</sup>

वल्लो दौवारिकोभूद — — — — —

— — — गूर्जरात्वा निजनिपुण-

„ 36. गुणैः सुसुना — — — — — [॥\*]

[येन[ह] श्रीधरीयो ह]रनगरपदे योजितस्तस्य नाम्ना

प्रासादः श्रीधरेणाप्ययमवनिजयः कारितः — — — [४५॥\*]<sup>47</sup>

— — — — — धनस्तोमाच्चमत्कारिणः

„ 37. किञ्चिच्छीनृपनायिकाभिरभित — — — — — [ 1 × ]

गीर्वाणाधिपचा[पसा]दरमहारत्नस्फुरज्योतिषां -

नैते मेरुमहीधर — — — — — [॥४६॥\*]<sup>48</sup>

— — — मा-ह्रिजवृद्धिभाजः

„ 38. समानदक्षिणः सगुणाः — — — — — [॥\*]

— — — — — माहेश्वरव्याकरणोपमानाः ॥ ४७ [॥\*]<sup>49</sup>

— — — — — [॥\*]

— — — — — वैशेषिका इव ॥

„ 39. ॥४८ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>50</sup>

चित्तवृत्ति — — — — — [ 1 \* ]

— — — — — सुनयो यथा ४७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>51</sup>

वि — — — — — गाः

सततविहित-

40. धूपोद्भूतधा — — — — — [ 1 \* ]

— — — — — देते ॥ ५० [ ॥ \* ]<sup>52</sup>

— — — — — [कथाश्रयाय मठं वि — — — — — [ 1 ]

— — — — — चेतः ॥ ५१ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>53</sup>

अथ क-

<sup>44</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā.—उत्तानमालवतं.—[V. G. O.]  
Probably उत्ताल° to be read. भंगुरितांशुदं य। सूर्यः स्थिरां(रं)  
erroneously—[V. G. O.]

<sup>45</sup> Metre, Mālinī.—चरणचरणमात्रापातसंपिष्ट°—[V. G. O.]

<sup>46</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.—नूनं — — — — — जयाखं  
ममिती मंदिरं के°—[V. G. O.] ; °मपि — — — — — जयाखं  
[V. G. O.]

<sup>47</sup> Metre, Śragdharā.—°भूदरिगिरि — — — — —  
— — — दाक्षिणा गुणं°—[V. G. O.] ; °गुणैः Om—[V. G. O.] ;  
शुभनाम्नाभिगम्य° कारितः शंकरस्य.—[V. G. O.]

<sup>48</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita °पद्मतधन° ; तः—क्रौञ्चकुर्वारता  
°महीधरः शशिदृष्टामाकार — — — [V. G. O.]

<sup>49</sup> Metre, Upajāti.—द्विजीवनीमूढिज° ; तारका माहेश्वर°  
—[V. G. O.]

<sup>50</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh.—Beginning of first line, अश्वीदयाः  
केपिसुंधा वैश्व° ;—[V. G. O.]

<sup>51</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>52</sup> Metre, Mālinī. विमवा ; भवगाः घाराख°—[V. G. O.]

<sup>53</sup> Metre, Trisṭubh.—एषां सुविहाय कथाश्रयाय मठं विधाय  
स्वपदेन वक्ता —[V. G. O.]

- L. 41. धमवि देवादागतः — — — —  
 — — — — — श्रीधरेण [ 1 \* ]  
 — — — — —  
 — — — जलधि — — — — — [ ॥ ५२ ॥ \* ]<sup>54</sup>  
 — — — — — भूपालकुलसद्गु-  
 „ 42. कः [ 1 \* ]  
 जीमूतवाहन — — — — — [ ॥ ५३ ॥ \* ]<sup>55</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ 1 \* ]  
 — — — — — पावनो यतिपति-  
 „ 43. यस्यां द्विपूजाविधिः  
 — — — — — ॥ ५४ [ 1 \* ]<sup>56</sup>  
 श्री — — — — — दूरे प्रसरपरिणतं — — — — —  
 — — — — — चणिकमतमहाव्याल-  
 „ 44. संरंभसिंधुः [ 1 \* ]  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — [तदादिर्विमलशिवसुनि]मीननीयो [नवेदुः] ॥ ५५ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>57</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 — — — — — च पादप-  
 „ 45. द्वौ [ 1 \* ]  
 अंगीकृता — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ ॥ ५६ ॥ \* ]<sup>58</sup>  
 — — — — —  
 [निःशेषपार्श्वडिमृणालपंडः]  
 [भक्त्यास्य तुष्टः प्रतिपन्नदर्पः]  
 [प्रशस्तिमेतामयसुद्धारः] ॥ ५७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>59</sup>  
 याव-  
 „ 46. द्विष्णोरुरसि — — — — —  
 — — — — — [ 1 \* ]  
 [यावद्वाणी विहरतिवि] — — — — —  
 ता — — — — — ॥ [ ५७ [ ॥ \* ]<sup>60</sup>  
 [एते] — — — — — वेन प्रासादाः  
 „ 47. सूत्रिताः शुभाः ।  
 लिखि — — — — — [ ॥ ६० ॥ \* ]  
 श्रीमद्विक्रमनृपसंवत् १२७३ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ४ शुक्ले [निःपा]दितमिति शिवमस्तु ॥ छ ॥  
 मंगलं महाश्रीः॥

<sup>54</sup> गतः (श्रीनिवासी); प्रतिनृपतिमतं यः रंडितं नन्य—(third pāda); निवजलधि—[V. G. O.] Metre, Mālinī

<sup>55</sup> Metre, Anuṣṭubh.—

<sup>56</sup> Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita. — — — — — दधिपरि

— — — सचिवः सृषीः सदिधा — — — कृतोजित  
 —[V. G. O.]

<sup>57</sup> Metre, Sragdharā.— दलद्रद्रे; चयितमत—[V. G. O.]

<sup>58</sup> Metre, Vasantatilakā P.—वीर्यचपादपयो—[V. G. O.]

<sup>59</sup> Metre, Upajāti. At the end of pāda 1 प्रसृत—[V. G. O.]

<sup>60</sup> Mandākrāntā विहरति विधुर्वक्तृपिडांतरालेया — — —  
 वलयसचिवं गंडयंती यमस्य—[V. G. O.]

# XXXVI.—AŚOKA'S ROCK EDICTS ACCORDING TO THE GIRNAR, SHÂHBÂZGARHÎ, KÂLSÎ AND MANSEHRA VERSIONS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

For the subjoined edition of the four full versions of the Rock Edicts the following materials have been used:—

(1) *Girnâr*, a new most excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess during the working season 1887-1888, from which the accompanying facsimiles have been prepared.

(2) *Shâhbâzgarhî*, a very fine estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in 1886,<sup>1</sup> and a second estampage (B) of Edicts XIII—XIV, prepared by him in 1888. Both have been collated afresh with the text, published formerly.

(3) *Mansehra*, an estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in March 1887,<sup>2</sup> as well as a second one (B) prepared by Ghulam Husain in 1889. The latter has been collated for all those passages where its state promised good results.

(4) *Kâlsî*, an excellent estampage, taken by Dr. Burgess in October 1887, according to which the accompanying facsimile has been prepared. With respect to the latter it must be noted that the readings of the transcript occasionally, though rarely, differ. And it must be borne in mind that in difficult passages the reverse of the estampage has been consulted, where the letters appear in high relief and where sometimes those superficially damaged on the obverse are perfectly plain. In the most important cases the discrepancies between the facsimile and the transcript have been pointed out in the notes.

The gain which the new collations yield for the texts is most considerable in the case of the Kâlsî version. There a good many alterations had to be made, which mostly however refer to very minute points, such as *â*-strokes, Anusvâras and the like. In some cases new word-forms have come out, but only very little that affects the sense. The new transcript gives for this version also the grouping of the words, indicating by short strokes between the words, those which have been written continuously by the scribe, and there are some cases where the grouping is important for the translation. Thus, in Edict V, l. 14, the position of the syllables *deśam-pi hāpesati*, proves that we have to transliterate *deśam api hāpayishyati*, not *deśam apihāpayishyati*. Unfortunately the grouping becomes irregular in the more negligently written lower portions of the inscription where in some lines vertical strokes, sometimes placed wrongly, have been used to show which words belong together. Next, the new estampage B has furnished some valuable new readings for the thirteenth Edict of Shâhbâzgarhî version. Quite a number of new letters, not recognisable in the earlier estampage or not included owing to the shortness of the sheets, are readable on Ghulam Husain's squeeze B. of the Mansehra version. It is now perfectly certain that the Mansehra version is most closely related in its wording to that of Kâlsî.

<sup>1</sup> This was used for my German article in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 123ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also used for my German articles in the *Zeitsch. der D. M. Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 274, and XLIV, p. 702ff.

The new facsimiles of the Gīrnār and Kālsī versions, which give the letters in rather larger size than any others published before, are also very instructive for the palæography of the 3rd century B.C. Everybody who pays even slight attention to the alphabet, will now see that the Southern Maurya characters certainly do show a good many various forms, and among them cursive ones or such as are usually considered marks of later periods. Thus, an initial *a*, consisting of two verticals and a crossbar or of a curved line open to the left, and a vertical on the right connected by a crossbar, occurs occasionally in the Kālsī inscription (see, *e.g.*, Ed. XIII. 2, l. 15 *pāpotā me a*). The second form is observable also in the Indo-Skythic documents, and perhaps is the parent of the modern Devanāgarī *a* of Western India. Andhra forms are found in *ka*, which has the dagger-like form, (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. IV, l. 11, *putā-cha kaṁ*.); in *chha*, which sometimes consists of two circles with a vertical line standing on the point of the junction (*e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14, *kachhati*) in *ja*, which is angular (*e.g.*, Gīrnār Edict IX, l. 1, *rājā*); in *ḍa*, which is round in *atapāśamḍe*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 31, and occasionally shows acute angles in other words of the same line; in *ta*, which very commonly has a rounded left-hand limb, both in the Gīrnār and in the Kālsī inscriptions; in *va*, which is triangular in the superscribed *viḥaye* Kālsī Ed. XIII, 2, l. 13. As peculiarities of the vowel-notation commonly observed in the later inscriptions may be noted (1) *ā*-strokes running upwards or downwards (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*, (2) *e*-strokes, slanting downwards, much like the modern *mātrās* (see, *e.g.*, Kālsī Ed. XIII 1, l. 39, *śatabhāge*, and Ed. XIV, 2, ll. 21-23 *passim*); and (3) a looped *o* in *no hutapuluvā*, (Kālsī Ed. V, l. 14). Finally, the Anusvāra is occasionally placed above the letter to which it belongs, (see, *e.g.*, the first of *dharmam*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 33, *dharmamahāmātā*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34), and it seems not improbable that the short strokes which sometimes (*e.g.*, in the third syllable of *sālavadhī*, Kālsī Ed. XII, l. 34, and in the second syllable of *śatabhāge*, Kālsī Ed. XIII, 1, l. 39) are attached to the tops of the consonants, in reality are *serifs*. These points, to which others might be added, in my opinion leave no doubt that in Aśoka's times much more developed forms of the Southern alphabet were used in everyday life, which conclusion has an important bearing on the question whether the art of writing had then been newly introduced into India or had been cultivated for a long period. With respect to the Northern or Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, it may also be safely asserted that its characters show numerous vacillations.<sup>3</sup>

## TRANSCRIPTS.

## EDICT I.

## Gīrnār.

## Shāhbāzgarhē.

fyam dharmalipī devānam priyena [1] Priyadasinā  
rāñā lekḥapitā [:] idha na kim-[2]chi jivam  
ārabhitpā prajūhitayvam [3] na cha samājo  
katayvo[.] Bahukaṁ hi dosam [4] samājamhi pasati

[A]ya[m]<sup>4</sup> dhramadipi devana priasa  
rañā likhapitu[:] hida no kichi jive  
ara[bhi]t.<sup>5</sup> prayuhotave<sup>6</sup> no pi cha samaja  
kaṭa[va]<sup>7</sup>[.] [Ba]huka hi dosam sama. sa

<sup>3</sup> For the present I will only point to the introductions of my two articles in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 12 ff. and 276 ff. where some remarks on the Kharoṣṭhī *lips* have been published.

<sup>4</sup> The Anusvāra is probable according to the reverse, but not certain.

<sup>5</sup> Read *arabhiṭu*; the last vowel has been lost.

<sup>6</sup> The vowel of the second syllable has been placed too high but to read *ye* is not correct.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly *kraṭava*.

GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS: No. I.



## Girnar.

devānam priyo Priyadasi rājā[.5] Asti  
pi tu ekachā samājā sādhumatā devānam [6] priyasa  
Priyadasino rāño[.] Purā mahānasamhi<sup>10</sup>[7]devānam  
priyasa Priyadasino rāño anudivasam ba-[8]hūni  
prānasatasahasrāni ārabhisu  
sūpāthāya[.9] Se aja yadā ayaṁ  
dhammalipi<sup>14</sup> likhitā tī eva prā-[10]uā<sup>15</sup> ārabhare  
sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago[.] So pi [11]  
mago na dhuvo<sup>16</sup>[.] Ete pi trī prāṇā pachhā  
na ārabhisare<sup>17</sup>[.12]

## Mansehra.

Ay[i]<sup>18</sup> dhramadipi [de]vana [pri]yena [Pri]yadra-  
[śi]na<sup>19</sup> ra. na. ikhapita[:] hida no kichi jiv[e]  
arabhi[t.] pra[ya]-[1] [ho]taviye no pi cha  
sama[ja] kaṭaviya[.] Bahuka hi [dosha  
samajasa<sup>22</sup> deva]nam priye Pri[yadrasī] ra[ja  
.kha. [.] Asti pi chu[2] [e]katiya samaja  
sa[dhu]ma[ta] devana priyasa [Pri]yadrasī[ne]<sup>24</sup>  
rajine[.] Pura maha[na]sa[si] [devana] pri. sa  
Pri . . śisa ra-[3]jine anudiva . bahuni prāṇāsa-  
[tasa]hasrāni . a[ra].isu supa[th]raye[.] Se[i. ni]<sup>25</sup>  
. . . ayi dhrama[dipi] li[khita] ta[da] ti[ni]  
ye. prāṇani a . bhi. ti du[v]e 2 maju-[4]ra  
eke 1 m[r]ige[.]<sup>27</sup> Se[pi] chu[mrige]<sup>29</sup> no dhruvaṁ [.]  
[Etāni] pi chu [tini] prāṇani pacha no arabhi . . [.]

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

devana priy[o] Priadrasī raya d.khati<sup>8</sup>[.] Asti  
pi cha ekatie<sup>9</sup> samaye srestamati devana priasa  
Priadrasīsa raño[.] Pura mahanasasi devanam  
priasa Priadrasīsa raño anudivaso bahuni  
pra[na]satasa[has]ra[ni]<sup>11</sup> a[rabb]i[yisu] su-  
[pa]thay[e]<sup>12</sup>[.] So ida[n]i yada a[ya]<sup>13</sup> [2]  
dhramadipi likhita tada tra[yo] vo prāṇa  
hamnānti majura duvi 2 mrugo 1 [.] so pi  
mrugo no dhruvaṁ[.] Eta pi prāṇatrayo pacha  
na arabhiśanti [.]

## Kālsī.

Iyaṁ dhammalipi devānam-piyenā Piyada-  
sin[ā] lekh[it]ā [.] hidā nā-kichhi<sup>20</sup> jive  
ālabhi[tu] pajohitaviye [1] no-pi-chā  
samāje kaṭaviye [.] Bahuk[ā]-hi<sup>21</sup> dosā  
samājas[ā]<sup>23</sup> devānam-piye Piyadasī lājā  
dakhati [.] Athi-pi-chā ekatiyā sa[m]āja  
sādhu[matā] devānam-piyasā Piyadasis[ā]  
lājir [2] Pule-mahānasasi devānam-piyasā  
Piyadasisā lajine anudivasam bahuni  
pānasahasāni ālabhiyisu supāthāy[e.] Se-idāni  
yadā [iya]m dhammalipi lekhitā tadā timni<sup>26</sup>  
yevā pānāni ālabhi[ya]nti [3] duve majulā  
eke mige[.] Se-pi-cha mige no-dhuve [.]  
Etāni pi-cha<sup>29</sup> tīni pānāni no-ālabhiyisanti[.]

## EDICT II.

## Girnar.

Sarvata vijitamhi devānam priyasa Priya-  
dasino<sup>30</sup> rāño[1] evamapi prachamtesu yathā  
Choḍā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputro  
ā Tamba- [2] paṁṇi Am̐tiyako Yonarāja ye vā  
pi tasa Am̐tiyakasa sāmipam<sup>32</sup> [3]

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

Savratra vijite devanam priyasa Priyadrasīsa  
ye cha [a]m̐ta<sup>31</sup> yatha [Cho]ḍa [3]  
Paṁḍiya Satiyaputra Keralaputra  
Tam̐bapaṁni Am̐tiyokon nama Yonaraja ye chu  
am̐ne tasa Am̐tiyakasa samam̐ta[ra]jano

<sup>8</sup> The top of the letter *da* has been destroyed and it is impossible to say whether the word was *dekhati* or *dakhati*.

<sup>9</sup> The obverse seems to show *akatie*, while the very thin *e*-stroke is visible on the reverse.

<sup>10</sup> The *sa* has a *serif* which makes it look like *se*. At the end of the line a second *mhi* has been scratched in.

<sup>11</sup> The second *ra*-stroke is not certain.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly *supāthraye*.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly *ayaṁ*.

<sup>14</sup> The long *ī* is probable, but owing to an abrasion not absolutely certain.

<sup>15</sup> Owing to an abrasion the second *ā*-stroke is somewhat abnormal.

<sup>16</sup> Possibly *dhuvo* is to be read.

<sup>17</sup> It is possible to read *ārabhisamre*, as there are two deep holes after *sa*. But both are probably accidental.

<sup>18</sup> The last vowel is uncertain, as the upper portion of the apparent *i*-stroke is abnormal and less deep than the lower one. Hence the reading may have been *ayo*.

<sup>19</sup> Only the right half of the *sa* of *Priyadrasīna* is visible on the reverse.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly *na* or *no* to be read.

<sup>21</sup> Possibly *bahuka* to be read.

<sup>22</sup> *Dosha samajasa* is very indistinct.

<sup>23</sup> *Samājasā* is more probable than *samājasi*.

<sup>24</sup> The last syllable of *Priyadrasīne* is not certain; it may have been *sa*.

<sup>25</sup> *I. ni*, i.e. *idāni* is uncertain; the reading may be *a. n.* i.e. *adhuna*.

<sup>26</sup> The *Anuvāra* is at least probable.

<sup>27</sup> The *ra*-stroke of *mrige* is not quite certain.

<sup>28</sup> The *ma* has besides the *i*-stroke two little horizontal lines to the right and to the left, which, strictly interpreted, would give the nonsensical form *mrūige*. The left one has probably been added by mistake.

<sup>29</sup> *Etāni-pi-cha* is distinct on the reverse of the impression.

<sup>30</sup> Possibly *Piyadasino* is to be read.

<sup>31</sup> Only the lower part of the first sign of *am̐ta* has been preserved.

<sup>32</sup> The reverse of the impression shows distinctly that the last syllable is *paṁ*.



*Girnar.*

rājāno sarvatra devānam priyasa Priyadasino  
 rāño dve chikichha katā [4] manusachikichhā  
 cha pasuchikichhā cha[.] Osuḍhāni cha  
 yāni manusopagāni cha<sup>34</sup> [5] pasopagāni cha  
 yata . yata nāsti sarvatra hārāpitāni cha  
 ropāpitāni cha<sup>34</sup> [6] mōlāni cha phalāni cha  
 yata yata nāsti sarvatra hārāpitāni cha  
 ropāpitāni cha<sup>34</sup> [7] Pamthesū kṛpā cha  
 khānāpitā vraohhā cha ropāpitā paribhogāya  
 pasumanusānam[.8]

*Mansehra.*

Sa.tra jītasi devana priya[sa Pri-  
 ya]draśisa rajine ye cha aṁta a[tha] [5] [C]lo-  
 da] Pa[m]ḍiya<sup>39</sup> Satiya[putr.] Keralaputr[e]  
 . bapaṇi . tiyo[ke] nama<sup>40</sup> Yona. .  
 ye cha . sa . . . . . samamta  
 raja . . vratra . . . . . priyasa  
 Priya[dra]śisa rajine [6] duve 2 chikisa  
 kaṭa manuśachi[kisa cha] paśuchikisa cha[.]  
 Osha[ḍhi]ni manu. . ka[ni cha] pa . .  
 ka[ni cha ya]tra yatra na . . vratra  
 harapi[ta cha] ropapi[ta cha] [7] [Eva]me-  
 va mulani cha phalani cha atra atra  
 nāsti . . tra harapita cha ro[papi]ta  
 cha [.] Ma[geshu] ru[chhā] . . . pita-  
 [ku] . . . . . tāni [pa]ṭibhogaye  
 paśum[a]nuśana<sup>43</sup> [8]

*Girnar.*

Devānam priyo Piyadasi rājā evaṁ āha[.]dbāda-  
 savāsābhisitena mayā idam ānapitam[.1] sarvata  
 vijite mama yutā cha rājūke cha prādesike cha  
 paṁchasu paṁchasu vāsesu anusam[.2]  
 yānam niyātu etāyeva athāya imāya  
 dharmānusastīya yathā añā[.3]ya pi kammāya [.]  
 sādhu mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā mitāsamstutafā-  
 tīnam<sup>47</sup> bāmhaṇa[.4] samānānam sādhu

<sup>33</sup> Possibly *savasthra* to be read, as there is a hook above the *ta*, which, however, looks very abnormal.

<sup>34</sup> At the end of each of the lines 5, 6 and 7 the word *cha* has been inserted as a correction.

<sup>35</sup> The first and the third signs of *osuhḍhani* are uncertain; likewise the vowel of the second.

<sup>36</sup> *Haropita* is the apparent reading, but the *o*-stroke may be accidental. The reading *harapita* has, in any case, to be restored.

<sup>37</sup> *Savatā*, not *savata*, is the reading of the new impression.

<sup>38</sup> The reverse of the new impression makes the two *la* exceedingly probable. It confirms also the curious nominatives in *o*.

<sup>39</sup> The *Anusvāra* is doubtful.

<sup>40</sup> The first sign of *nama* has erroneously an upstroke to the right of the lower end.

*Skāhbāzgarh.*

savratra<sup>33</sup> devanam priyasa Priyadraśisa rāño  
 duvi 2[chiki]sa ki[tra] manuśa[chiki]sa .  
 paśu[chiki]sa cha[.4] [Oshuḍh]ani<sup>35</sup>  
 manusopakani cha pa[śo]pakani cha  
 yatra yatra nāsti savatra har[o]pita<sup>36</sup> cha  
 vuta cha kupa cha khamapita pratibhogaye  
 paśu-manusānam[.]

*Kālsī.*

Savatā<sup>37</sup> vijitasi devānam-piyas[ā] Pi-  
 yadasi[sā] lājine ye-cha-aṁtā athā Cho-  
 ḍā Pam[ḍi]yā Sātiyaputo Kelalaputo<sup>38</sup>  
 Tamhapaṇni [4] [Am]tiyoge-nāma Yonālājā  
 ye-chā aṁne tasā [Am]tiyogasā sāmamta  
 lājāno savatā devānam-pi[ya]sā  
 Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā<sup>41</sup>  
 kaṭā manusachikisā-chā pasuchikisā-chā[.]  
 Osadhān[i] manusopagāni-chā pasopa-  
 gānicha a[ta]tā nathi [5] savatā  
 hālāpitā-chā lopāpitā-chā [E]vame-  
 vā mulāni-chā phalāni-chā ata[tā]  
 nathi savatā hālāpitā-chā lopāpitā-  
 chā [.] Magesu lukhāni lopitāni udu-  
 pānāni-chā<sup>42</sup> khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye  
 pasumunisānam [.]

## EDICT III.

*Shāhbāzgarh.*

Devanam priyo Priyadraśi raja aha ti [.] [bada]-  
 yavashabbisitena<sup>44</sup> . . . . . sava.[5]  
 vijite yuta rajuko pradesik[e]  
 pa[mcha]shu pa[mcha]shu 5 vash[e]shu annsam-  
 yanam nik[r]amatū<sup>45</sup> etisa vo karaṇa imisa  
 dhramanusasti yatha<sup>46</sup> añaye pi kramaye [.]  
 sadhu matapitushu suśrusha mit[r]asamst[u]tāñā-  
 [ti]kanam bramana[sra]mana[nam] sa. pra. . .

<sup>41</sup> *Chikisakā* is the distinct reading of the new impression (facsimile *ki*), which also shows that no other sign, but a hole, exists between *kā* and *kaṭā*.

<sup>42</sup> *Chā*, not *cha*, is the plain reading of the reverse of the impression.

<sup>43</sup> Possibly *pasumunisana*.

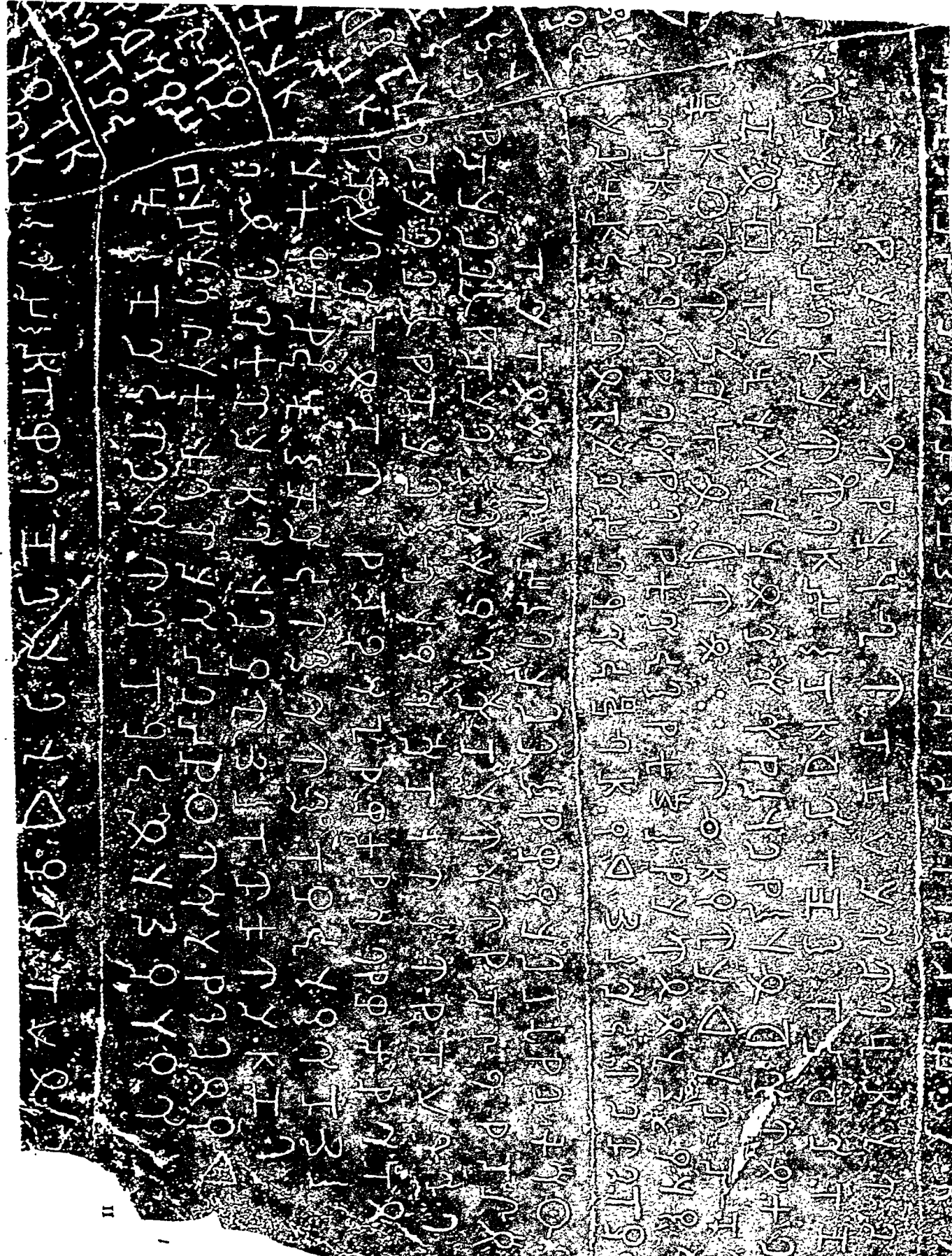
<sup>44</sup> The first two signs of *badaya*<sup>o</sup> are indistinct, but the reading *baraya*<sup>o</sup> seems impossible. Possibly the correct form was *badasa*<sup>o</sup>.

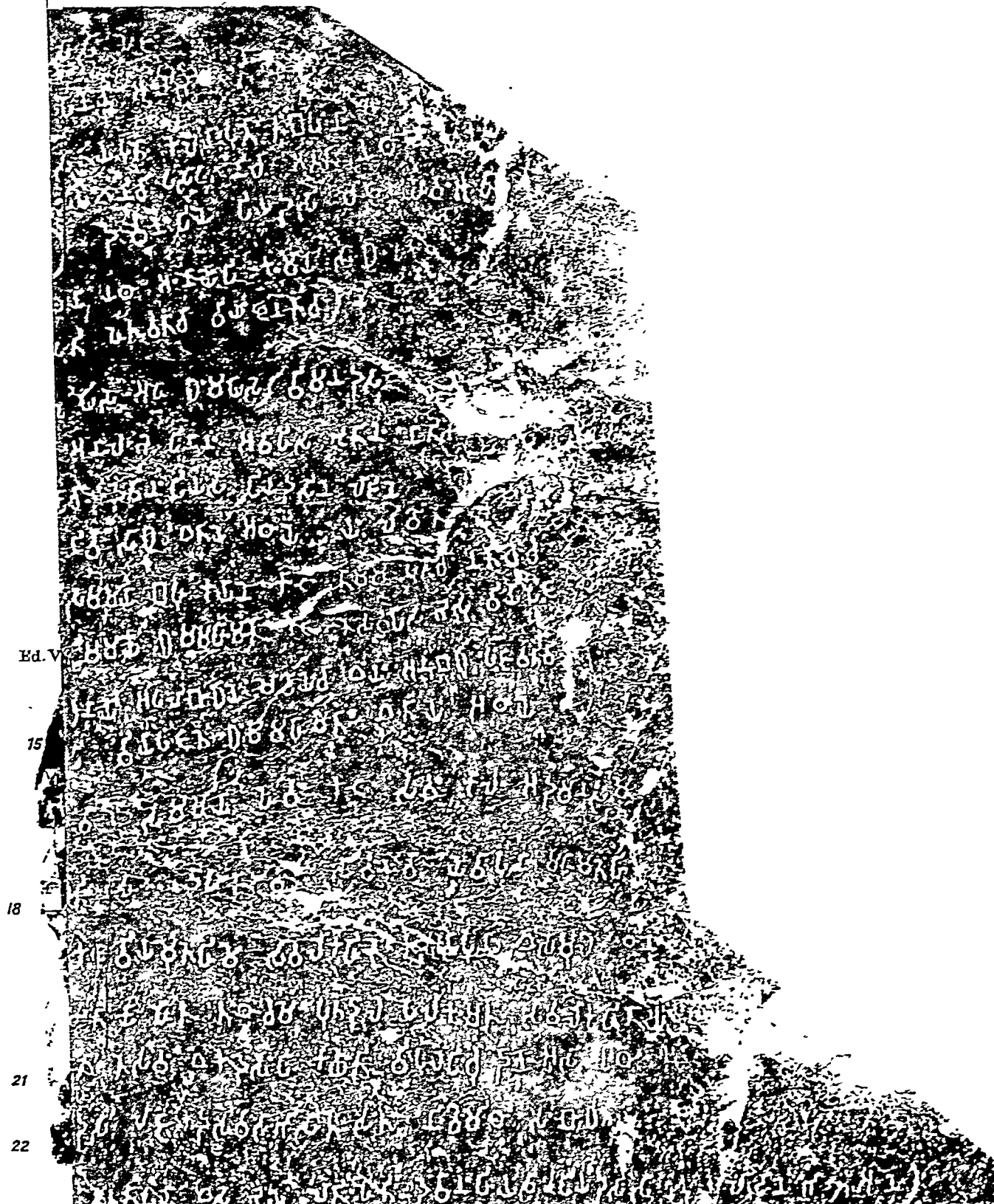
<sup>45</sup> The *ra*-stroke of *nikramatu* is not certain.

<sup>46</sup> The *tha* is somewhat abnormal, the upright line being slightly bent.

<sup>47</sup> Read *mitra*<sup>o</sup>. An *ā*-stroke was probably not intended but in its stead the short upward-turned *ra*-stroke.

GIRNAR ASOKA EDICTS: NOS. II AND III.





## Girnār.

dānam prāṇānam sādhu anārambho  
apavyayatā apabhāṃdatā sādhu[.5] Parisa pi  
yute āṇapayisati gāṇanāyam hetuto cha  
vyamjanato cha[.6]

## Mansehra.

[De]vana priye [P]riyadasi raja eva aha [:]  
duva[da]śavashabbisetena<sup>51</sup> me ayam  
[a]ṇapayī[t]e [:] savratra vijitasi [me]. ta raju.  
[pra]desike . chashu paṃ[cha]shu 5 vasheshu [9]  
anusamyanam nikrama[m]tu,<sup>54</sup> etaye<sup>55</sup> vaṃ athraye  
imaye dharmānusastīye ya . aṃ aṇaye pi  
kramane [:] sa . matapi . shu  
suśru[sha][mi]trasamstuta-[10] natikanam cha<sup>59</sup>  
bra[ma]ṇasramananam sadhu dane prāṇa  
a . rabhe sadhu apa[va]yata<sup>61</sup> apabhāṃdatā  
sadhu[.] Parisha pi cha yutani gāṇanasi  
[aṇa]payisati hetu[te] cha viya . [11] nate cha[.]

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

[6] apavayata apabha[m]ḍata<sup>48</sup> sadhu[.] Pari[pi]<sup>49</sup>  
yuta[ni ga]ṇanasi anapeśemti hetuto cha  
vaṇuato cha[.]

## Kālsī.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā [he]vaṃ<sup>60</sup>-āhā [: 6]  
duvādasavasābhisitena-me iyam  
āṇapayite[:] savatā vijitasi mama yutā lajake  
pādesike paṃchasu paṃchasu vasesu  
anus[a]yānam,<sup>53</sup> nikhamamtu etāye-vā atthāye  
imāy[e],<sup>53</sup> dharmānusastīyā<sup>60</sup> yathā amāye-pi  
kamāye [:] sādhu [.]7] mātapitisu<sup>67</sup>  
sususā<sup>58</sup> mitasamthutanātikyānam-chā  
bambhanasamanānam-chā sādhu dāne<sup>60</sup> pāṇānam  
anārambh[e] sādhu apaviyātā<sup>61</sup> apabhāṃdatā  
sādhu [.] Palisā-pi-cha yutā[ni] gāṇanasi  
anapayisamti hetuvatā-chā viyamjanat[ā]-cha[.]

## EDICT IV.

## Girnār.

Atikātam amtarām bahūni vāsaṭāni vadhito eva  
prāṇārambho vihiṃsā cha bhūtānam nātisu [1] asam-  
pratipati brāhmaṇasamaṇānam asamprati-  
pati<sup>65</sup>[.] Ta aja devānam priyasa Priyadasino<sup>66</sup>  
rāṇo [2] dharmacharaṇena bherighoso aho  
dharmaghoso vimānadasaṇā cha hastidasaṇā cha [3]  
agikhamdhāni cha añāni cha diyvāni rūpāni  
dasayitpā janam[.] Yārise bahūhi vāsaṭeḥi [4]  
na bhūtapuve tārise aja vadhite devānam priyasa  
Priyadasino rāṇo dharmānusastīyā anāram[5]  
bho prāṇānam avihiṃsā<sup>67</sup> bhūtānam nātinaṃ  
sampratipati brahmaṇasamaṇānam  
sampratipati mātari pitari [6] sususā thairas-  
sususā[.] Esa añe cha bahuvīdhe dharmā-

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Atikratam amtarām bahuni vashaṭāni vadhito vo  
prāṇārambho vihiṃsa cha bhutanam natinam [asa]m-  
pa[ti]pati<sup>65</sup> śramaṇab[r]amaṇanam [asamprati]-  
pati<sup>65</sup>[.] [So aja devanam] priyasa [Pri]ya[drasisa  
raṇo] [7] dharmacharaṇena bherig[h]osha aho  
dharmaghosha vimananam drasanam [ha]stino  
jotikamdhani añāni cha divani<sup>69</sup> rupani  
drasayitn<sup>69</sup>janasa[.] Yadiśa[m]<sup>70</sup>bahuhi vashaṭeḥi  
na bhutaprue tādise aja vadhite devanam priyasa  
Priyadrasisa rāṇo dharmānusastīya<sup>71</sup> anaram-  
[bho] p[ra]ṇanam[.] avihisa bhutanam natinam  
sa[m]pratipati bramaṇa-[8] śramaṇanam  
sampratipati matapitushu [vudhanam]  
suśrusa[.] E[ta]añam cha bahuvīdha[m]dhrama-

<sup>48</sup> The Anusvara is not certain.

<sup>49</sup> Read *parisha pi*.

<sup>51</sup> *Āhā*, not *dha*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>54</sup> The third letter of *duvādaśa*<sup>52</sup> is not certain and may have been *da* or an abnormal *ra*. Perhaps *abhisitena* to be read.

<sup>55</sup> Possibly *anusamyanam* to be read.

<sup>56</sup> Possibly *imāya* to be read.

<sup>58</sup> The Anusvara is very probable, but not absolutely certain.

<sup>59</sup> The second sign is abnormal and might be read *tru*.

<sup>60</sup> Read *dharmānusastīyā*.

<sup>61</sup> The last syllable of *mātapitisu* is distinct on the reverse.

<sup>62</sup> *Sususā* alone is the possible reading to the reverse of the impression.

<sup>63</sup> *Cha* ought to stand, not before, but after *bramaṇas-ramaṇanam*.

<sup>64</sup> *Dāne*, not *dāneḥ*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>65</sup> The reverse of the impression decidedly speaks in favour of *ōhā*, not of *ōi*.

<sup>66</sup> The vowel of the third syllable is not certain.

<sup>67</sup> Only the lower portions of the first two signs are distinct; the fourth looks like *thi*.

<sup>68</sup> The first four signs are very indistinct. The same remark applies to the following bracketed words and syllables with exception of the vowel of *so*, of the word *aja* and of the last vowel of *raṇo*.

<sup>69</sup> The syllable *pa* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>70</sup> The syllable *da* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>71</sup> The syllable *hi* has been inserted afterwards.

<sup>72</sup> To the right of the lower end of *da* appears a curve, and the letter is probably the fore-runner of the later *da*, which looks like *tra*.

<sup>73</sup> The reading *damśayitu* is not impossible, but a combination of the *ra*-stroke with the upstroke on the left is more probable.

<sup>74</sup> The Anusvara is not certain.

<sup>75</sup> The form *dharmā*<sup>75</sup>, which occurs also below Ed. X l. 21, seems to be owing to a mixture of the Northern *dhrama*<sup>75</sup> and the Māgadhī *dharmā*<sup>75</sup>.

## Girnar.

charane vadbite vadhayisati cheva devanam  
priyo [7] Priyadasi rajā dhamma[cha]raṇam idam[.]  
Putrā cha potrā cha prapotrā cha devanam  
priyasa Priyadasino iāño [8] vadhayisanti idam  
dhammacharaṇam āva saṁvaṭakapā[.] Dhammamhi  
sīlambhi tistamto dhammam anusāsīsanti [9]  
Esa hi seṭṭhe kaṁme ya dham-  
mānusāsanaṁ [.] Dhammacharaṇe pi  
na bhavati asīlasi [.] Ta imambhi athamhi [10] vadhi  
cha ahinī cha sādhu[.] Etāya athāya idam lekhāpi-  
tam [.] imasa athasa vadhi yujamtu hīni cha<sup>72</sup> [11]  
mā lochetayvā[.] Dbādas.vāsābhisitena  
devanam priyena Priyadasinā rāñā idam  
lekhāpitam[.12].

## Mansehra.

Atikr[a]tam<sup>77</sup> a[m]ta[raṁ]<sup>78</sup> bahuni vashaśa.ni  
vadbite vaṁ prapaṇa[m]bh[.]e vi[h]i[sa]<sup>79</sup> cha bhu-  
tanam nātina asapa[t]ipati śramaṇabramaṇanam  
asaṁpa[t]ipati[.12] Se aja devana priyāsa  
Priyadraśine ra.ne dhrama[cha]raṇena bherighoshe  
aho dhramagoshe<sup>80</sup> vimanadraśana hastine agikaṁ-  
dhani aña[ni cha] divani rupani draṣeti  
janasa [13] [A]diśe bahuhi [va]śha[sātehi na hu]ta-  
pruṇo tādise [aja]vadbite [de]vana priyasa  
Priyadraśine rajine dhramanuśastiya anarabhe  
prananam avihisa bhutana nātina [14] saṁpaṭipati  
ba[ma]śraṇamaṇa[m] saṁpaṭipati matupitushu  
suśru[sha] vudhrana suśrusa[.] l'she aña cha ba-  
huvudhe dhramacharaṇevadbite[.] Vadhrayisati yeva  
devana priye[15] Priyadraśi raja dhramacharaṇa  
ima[.] Putra pi cha ku natara cha panatika  
devanam priyasa Priyadraśine rajine  
pavadhayisanti dhramacharaṇa imam ava  
kapam dhrame sīle [cha] [16]  
[ti]stitu [dhramam] anusāsīsa[m]ti<sup>81</sup>[.] Eshe hi  
sre[th]e am dhramanu[śa]sana[.]  
Dhramacharaṇe<sup>82</sup> pi cha na hoti asīlasi[.] Se

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

charanam vadhitam vadhiśati chayo devanam  
piyasa Priyadraśisa raño dhramacharano im. [.]  
Putra pi cha ku natara cha pranatika cha devanam  
priyasa Priyadraśisa ra[ñ]o vadhe[ś]anti  
ma[cha]raṇam imam avakapam dhra[me  
śi[le cha]<sup>73</sup> [9] tistiti dhramam anusāsīsanti [.]  
Eta h[i] sre[th]am[.] k[r]am[am] ya[m]<sup>74</sup> dhra-  
[ma]n[u]śasanaṁ [.] [Dhrama]charanam pi cha  
na bhoti asīlasi [.] So imisa athrasa vadhi  
ahini cha sadhu[.] Etaye aṭhaye ima[m] dipi-  
sta [.] imisa aṭhasa vadhi yujamtu hini cha  
ma loche[sh]u [1.] Ba[daya]vasha[bhi]sitena<sup>75</sup>  
devanam priyena Priyadraśina raña [d]am. nam<sup>76</sup>  
dipa[pi]tam [.]

## Kālsī.

Atikamtam antalam bahuni vasasatani va[dhi]-  
te-vā pāñalambhe vihisā-chā bhutānam  
nātinam<sup>80</sup> asaṁpaṭipati samanabamibhauānam  
asaṁpaṭipati[.] Se-aja devanam-piyasā Piyadasine  
lājine dharmachalanenā bheliḥgose aho dhamma-  
ghose vimanadasana<sup>81</sup>[9] [ha]thini agikaṁdhāni  
amāni-chā divāni lupāni dasayitu  
janasa [.] Adis[e] bahuhi vasa[sa]tehi nā-buta-  
puluve tādise aja vadbite devanam-piyasā  
Piyadasine lājine dharmamusatthiye<sup>82</sup> anālabhe  
pāñanam avihisā bhutānam nāti[su]<sup>84</sup>[10]saṁpaṭi-  
pati bamibhaua[sa]manānam saṁpaṭipati mātāpitisu  
sususā[.] Esha-chā<sup>85</sup> amne-chā bahuvidhe  
dhammachala[n]e vadbite vadhiyisati-cheva  
devanam-piye Piyadasi lājā<sup>86</sup> imam dharmachala-  
nam [.] Putā-cha-kam<sup>87</sup> natāle-chā pa[ā]ti[kyā-  
chā devanam-piyasā Piyadasine lājine[11]  
[pa]vadhayisanti<sup>88</sup>-chev[a]<sup>89</sup> dharmachalanam  
i[ma]m āvakapam dharmasi silasi-chā  
[chi]thi[tu]<sup>90</sup> dharmam anusāsīsanti[.] Eše-hi  
seṭṭhe kaṁmam<sup>91</sup> am-dhammānusāsanaṁ[.]  
Dharmachalane-pi-chā no-hoti asilasi[.] Se-

<sup>72</sup> It is impossible to read *chā*.

<sup>73</sup> The bracketed letters at the end of the line are very indistinct.

<sup>74</sup> The Anusvāras of this and of the two preceding words are uncertain.

<sup>75</sup> The second and third letters are not distinct; the fourth may have been *va*.

<sup>76</sup> The first omitted sign looks somewhat like *chu*, *no* or *di*, but I am unable to find a suitable word. The Dhuli version has in the same place two illegible signs.

<sup>77</sup> Possibly *atikramtam*.

<sup>78</sup> The two Anusvāras are not certain.

<sup>79</sup> The third sign of *vihiśa* is not quite distinct and the reading *vihiśa* not absolutely impossible.

<sup>80</sup> Possibly *nātinā* to be read, but the abnormal shape of the apparent *ā*-stroke points to its original form, an Anusvāra joined with the *na* by an exfoliation of the rock.

<sup>81</sup> Read *vimānāśanaṁ*.

<sup>82</sup> The unaspirated *ga* is very distinct.

<sup>83</sup> Read *dhammānusatthiye*.

<sup>84</sup> The new impression seems to offer *nātiśu*, instead of *nātinam*.

<sup>85</sup> *Esha-chā*, not *eshe-chā*, is the reading of the new impression.

<sup>86</sup> *Lājā* looks exactly like *lātā*.

<sup>87</sup> *Kam*, not *ka...*, is the distinct reading of the new impression.

<sup>88</sup> The additional *pa* is badly mutilated, but certain; compare also the Mansehra version.

<sup>89</sup> *Cheva*, not *eva*, seems to be the reading of the impression.

<sup>90</sup> The first badly mutilated syllable may have been *chī*; the second is, according to the reverse of the impression, distinctly *thi*, not *tham*; the third seems to be *tu*. Compare the reading of the Mansehra version.

<sup>91</sup> *Kamam* is now more probable than *me*.

<sup>92</sup> The Anusvāra is doubtful.

<sup>93</sup> The *na* is abnormal, and similar to a *na*.

## Manshra.

imasa athrasa vadhu[r]i ahini cha sadhu[.]  
 Etaye[17] athraye i[mañ] li[khi]te[.] e[ta]sa [a].  
 sa vadhi<sup>94</sup> yujamtu hini cha ma anu[lo]chayisu<sup>95</sup>[.]  
 Duvadaśavashabbhisitena devana priyena  
 Priyadrasīna rajina iyañ<sup>97</sup> likhapite [.]18]

## Girnār.

Devānañ priyo Piyadasi rājā evaṃ āha [.]  
 kalānañ dukarañ[.] ye<sup>2</sup> a . . .<sup>3</sup> kalāṇesa<sup>4</sup>  
 so dukarañ karoti [.]1 Ta mayā bahu kalānañ  
 katañ[.] Ta mama putā cha potā cha parañ  
 cha tena ya me apachañ āva samvatakapa  
 anuvatisare tathā [2] so sukatañ  
 kāsati[.] Yo tu eta desañ pi hāpesati so  
 dukatañ kāsati[.] Sukarañ hi pāpañ[.]  
 Atikātañ aritarañ [3] na bhūtapruvañ<sup>9</sup> dhamma-  
 mahāmātā nāma[.] Ta mayā traidasavāsābbhisit. na  
 dhammamahāmātā katā[.] Te savapāsā-  
 ḍesu vyāpatā dhāmadhiśānāya<sup>14</sup> [4] . . . . .  
 . . . . . dhammayutasa  
 cha Yona-Kambo . Gaṃdhārānañ Ristika-Petenikā-  
 nañ ye vā pi amñe aparātā[.] Bhatamajesu va [5] .  
 . . . . . [s.]khāya  
 dhammayutānañ aparigodhāya vyāpatā te[.]  
 Baṃdhanabadhasa<sup>17</sup> paṭividdhānāya [6] . . . . .  
 . . . . . [pra]jākatā-  
 bhikāresu vā thaiesn vā vyāpatā te [.] Pāṭalipute  
 cha bāhiresu cha [7] . . . . .  
 . . . . . e vā pi<sup>23</sup> me añe nātikā  
 sarvata vyāpatā te[.] Yo ayañ dhammanisrito  
 ti va [8] . . . . .  
 . . . . . e  
 dhammahāmātā[.] Etāya<sup>27</sup> athāya ayañ dham-  
 malipī likhitā [9] . . . . .  
 . . . . .

## Kālsī.

imasā athasā vadhi abini-chā sādhu[.]  
 Etāye athāye i[ya]m likhite[.]12]imasā a[th]asā  
 vadhi yujamtu hini-cha mā-alochayisu[.]  
 Duvādasavaśābbhisitenā devānañ-piyenā  
 Piyadaśinā<sup>96</sup> lājina lekhitañ[.]

## EDICT V.

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devana priyo Priyadasi<sup>1</sup> raya evaṃ aha ti [.]  
 ka[la]nañ . ukarañ[.] Yo a . . [ro] ka[la]ṇasa  
 so dukarañ karoti[.] So maya bahu kalañ<sup>5</sup>  
 kiṭrañ[.] Tam ma[ha] putra-cha natara cha parañ  
 cha t . . a<sup>6</sup> [ya] me apacha [a]chhamti avaka-  
 pañ tathañ ye an . vatisamti<sup>7</sup> te sukhi[r]aṃ  
 kashamti[.] Yo chu ato . [kañ pi hapeśati]<sup>8</sup> so  
 [du]kaṭaṃ kashati[.] Papañ hi sukarañ[.] So  
 atik[ra]m[ra]m aritarañ na [bhu]tapruva dhrama-  
 mahamatra nama[.] So[tidaśavasha]bbhisitena<sup>10</sup>[11]  
 maya dhramamahamatra kiṭ[r]a<sup>11</sup>[.] Te savrap[r]-  
 ashāmdeshu<sup>12</sup> vapaṭ[a]<sup>13</sup> dhramadhithanaye [cha]  
 dhramavadhiy[e] hidasukhaye cha dhramayutasa  
 Yona-Kamboya-Gaṃdharanañ Rastikanañ Pitini-  
 kanañ ye va pi aparañta[.] Bhatama[ye]shu  
 bramanibheshu anatheshu v[u]dheshu<sup>15</sup> hitasukhaye  
 [dhra]may[u]tasa apalib[odhe]<sup>16</sup> vapaṭa [te] [.]12]  
 Baṃdhanabadhasa paṭividdhanaye apa[li]bodhaye  
 mo[chhay]<sup>18</sup> iyañ a[n]uba[dl]aṃ<sup>19</sup> prajava kiṭa-  
 bhikaro va mahalaka<sup>20</sup> va viyapaṭra[.] Ia<sup>21</sup> bābiresu  
 cha nagareshu savreshu orodhānesu bhratunam  
 cha me spasunam<sup>22</sup> cha ye va pi amñe nātika  
 savatra viyapaṭ[a]<sup>25</sup> Y[am<sup>24</sup>]iyañ dhramanisiṭe  
 ti va dhramadhithan[e]<sup>25</sup> ti va danas[a]yute<sup>26</sup> ti va  
 savatra vijite ma[hā] dhramayutasi viyapaṭa te  
 dhramamahamatra[.] Etāye aṭhaye ay[am]  
 dhramadipi dipist[a]<sup>28</sup> [.] chirathitika  
 bhotu tatha cha praja<sup>29</sup> anuvataṭa [.]13]

<sup>94</sup> Read *vadhri*.

<sup>95</sup> Read *alochayisu*.

<sup>96</sup> The reading *Piyadaśinā* is distinct also on the rubbing.

<sup>97</sup> The form of the Anusvāra is abnormal.

<sup>1</sup> The second *ra*-stroke of *Priyadasi* is abnormal.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *yo* to be restored, as there is an abrasion at the top of the *ga*

<sup>3</sup> The tails and tops of the lost letters are visible, and it is not difficult to see that the first was *dī*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *kalāṇasa*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *kalanam*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tena*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *anuvatisamti*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *ekam*; *kañ* and the following bracketed letters are very indistinct.

<sup>9</sup> Read *bhūtapruvañ* or *purvañ*.

<sup>10</sup> The first and second letters are doubtful. The reading *tira*<sup>9</sup> or *toda* is possible.

<sup>11</sup> The *ra*-stroke is doubtful.

<sup>12</sup> The second *ra*-stroke is doubtful.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly *vapaṭra*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *dhāmadhiśānāya*. The single *ma* is to be read as double.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly *vadheshu*.

<sup>16</sup> The last sign has apparently also an Anusvāra.

<sup>17</sup> The *na* has been added later as a correction.

<sup>18</sup> The second sign of *mochhaye* is not quite distinct.

<sup>19</sup> The last syllable of *anubadham* stands lower than the others.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly *mahalake*.

<sup>21</sup> Possibly *hiu*.

<sup>22</sup> Regarding the first sign of *spasunam*, see the note to the German edition.

<sup>23</sup> Restore *ye vā pi*. Before *e* there is only a vertical stroke, not a *na*.

<sup>24</sup> The vowel is not certain.

<sup>25</sup> The last vowel is not certain.

<sup>26</sup> The third vowel is not certain.

<sup>27</sup> The *ya* has been added later.

<sup>28</sup> The lower end of the last syllable has been destroyed.

<sup>29</sup> The *ra*-stroke is abnormal.

## Mansehra.

[Devanām] priye Priyadāsi raja evam aha [:] kalapaṁ  
 dukarām[.] Ye adikare kayanasa se dukarām  
 kaoti[.] Tam maya bahu kayāne kaṭe<sup>30</sup>[.] [Tam]  
 ma[a]<sup>31</sup> putra [cha] [19] natare<sup>32</sup> paṁam cha tena ye  
 apatiye me ava paṁam tathā anuva[t]iṣati<sup>33</sup> se sukāṭa  
 kashati[.] Ye chu atia deśa pi hapeśati se  
 dukaṭa kashati[.] [20] Papehinama supadarev[a]<sup>34</sup>[.]  
 Se atikratām aṁtaram na bhutapruva dhram-  
 mahamatra nama[.] Se treḍasavashabhisitena maya  
 dhramamahamatra kaṭa[.] Te savrapashadeshu [21]  
 vapuṭa dhamadhihanaye cha dhamavadhiya  
 hidasukhaye cha [dhra]mayutasa Yona-Kamboja-  
 Ga[m]dharanam Ratikra.<sup>40</sup> Pitinikana ye va [p]i añe  
 aparata[.] Bhaṭamaye- [22] shu bramanibhyeshu ana-  
 theshu vudbreshu hidamsu[khay]e dhramayuta apalibo-  
 dhaye viyaputa te[.] Badhanabadhasa paṭivi[dhana]ye  
 apalibodhayemochhaye[cha] iyaṁ<sup>41</sup> [23] anubadhapa  
 ti va kaṭabhikara ti va mahalake ti va viyaputa te[.]  
 Hidam bahreshu cha nagareshu savieshu [o]rodha-  
 neshu<sup>42</sup> bhatana cha spasuna cha [24] ye va pi añe  
 nātike savratra viyapaṭa[.] E iyaṁ dhramanisi ti  
 va dhramadhihane ti va danasamyute ti  
 va savratra vijitasi maa dhramayuta-  
 vapuṭa[te] [25] dhramamahamatra[.] Etaye  
 athraye ayi dhramadipi likhita[:]  
 chiraṭhitika hotu tatham cha me praja  
 anuvata[.]

## Kālsī.

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā ahā<sup>30</sup>[:] kayāne  
 dukale[.] E-ādik[al]e<sup>31</sup> ka[yā]nasā se-dukalaṁ  
 kaleti[.] Se-mamayā bahu kayāne kaṭe[.] T[ā]-ma-  
 ma [pu]tā-chā natāle-[chā 18] palam-[chā] te[hi  
 y]e- apatiye-me āvakapaṁ tathā anuvāṣanti se-  
 sukāṭam kachhamti[.] E-chu betā deśam-pi [hā]pa-  
 [y] isanti<sup>32</sup> se-dukaṭam kachhati[.] Pāpe-hi-nāma  
 supadālaye[.] Se-atikamtaṁ aṁtalam no-buta-  
 puluvā dhammamahāmātā-nāma[.] T[e]dasavasā-  
 bhisitenā mama[yā] dhammamahāmātā [ka]tā[.]  
 Te-savapāsamdesu viyā[pa]tā [14] dhammādh-  
 iṭhānāye-chā dhammavadhiyā hi[da]sukhāye-chā<sup>33</sup>  
 dhammayutasā Yona-Kamboja-Gaṁdhā[lā]nam<sup>34</sup>  
 e-vā-pi aṁne apalāntā[.] Bhaṭamayesu brāhmi-  
 bhesu anathesu vudhesu hidasukhāye  
 dhammayutāye apalibodbāye viyāpāṭa-te[.]  
 Bādhanaabadhasā paṭividhānāye apalibodbāye  
 mokhāye-chā eyam anuba[dham] pajāva-ti-  
 vā [15] [kaṭābhikā]le-ti-vā mahālake-ti-vā viyāpa-  
 ṭa-te[.] Hidā bāhilesu-chā na[ga]lesu savesu [olo]-  
 dhanesu bhātinam-cha[a]-ne<sup>43</sup> bhaginīnā<sup>44</sup> e-vā-pi  
 aṁne nātikyē savatā viyāpāṭa[.] E-iyam dhamma-  
 nisite-ti-vā danasamyute-ti-vā savatā vijitasi mamā  
 dhammayutasi viyāpāṭa-te dhammamahāmātā[.]  
 Etāye aṭhāye<sup>45</sup> [16] [i]yam dhammalipi  
 lekhita[:] chiraṭhitikyā hotu [ta]thā-  
 ch[a]-me pa[jā] anuvata[m]tu[.]

## EDICT VI.

## Girnār.

Devānam pi<sup>16</sup> . . si rājā evam āha[:]  
 atikratām aṁtaram [1] na bhūtapurva sava . la<sup>49</sup>  
 atbakarime va paṭivedanā vā[.]  
 Ta mayā evam katam [2] save kālē bhūmjamānasa

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

Devanām priyo Priyad[ra]si<sup>47</sup> raya eva[m] aha  
 ti[:] atik[ra]tam<sup>48</sup> aṁtaram na .[bhuta]pruṣam  
 savam kalaṁ athakramam va paṭivedana va[.]  
 Tam maya evam kiṭam[:] savam kalaṁ aśamana-

<sup>30</sup> The new impression gives distinctly *ahā* for *āhā*.

<sup>31</sup> The reverse of the impression gives *ādikale*, which is supported by the reading of Mansehra *adikare*.

<sup>32</sup> Possibly *kaṭi* to be read.

<sup>33</sup> Only the foot of the second sign of *maa* has been preserved.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly *natari* to be read.

<sup>35</sup> Possibly *anuvāṣati* to be read.

<sup>36</sup> The impression has the Anusvāra distinctly, which must probably be deleted.

<sup>37</sup> There is a stroke, above *va* which, however, seems not to be a real *e*-stroke, but an accidental scratch.

<sup>38</sup> The impression seems to offer *hida*°, with a badly blurred *da* instead of *hita*°, and *chā* instead of *vā*.

<sup>39</sup> The impression shows no distinct letters, but merely scratches, between *gutasā* and *Yona*°.

<sup>40</sup> Read *Rastika*, the second letter has not been written completely.

<sup>41</sup> *Cha* is much defaced and looks like *che* or *je*; the Anusvāra of *iyam* is not certain.

<sup>42</sup> The first letter is much disfigured by several scratches and looks nearly like a deformed *cha*.

<sup>43</sup> The impression offers distinctly *ne* (i.e. *naḥ*) instead *na*, and according to the reverse *chā* is more probable than *chu*.

<sup>44</sup> *Bhaginīnā* is more probable than *°nam*.

<sup>45</sup> The lingual of *aṭhāye* is plain both in the rubbing and on the impression.

<sup>46</sup> Only the lower portions of the first letters are distinct.

<sup>47</sup> Possibly *Priyadāsi*, but see the notes to the German edition.

<sup>48</sup> The *ra*-stroke is doubtful.

<sup>49</sup> The tops of *rva*, *va* and *la* are gone. Restore *ṛvaṣaṁ kalaṁ*.



[illegible]



## Girnár.

me orodhanamhi gabhâgâramhi vachamhi va [3] viñ-  
tambi cha uyânesu cha savatra paṭivedakâ<sup>50</sup> sñitâ athe  
me janasa [4] paṭivedetha itī[.] Sarvatra cha janasa  
athe karomi[.] Ya cha kiñchi mukhato [5] âñapayâmi  
svayam dâpakam vâ srâvâpakam vâ ya vâ puna  
mahâmâtresu [6] âchâyika<sup>51</sup> âropitam bhavati tâya  
athâya vivâdo nijhatî va samto parisâyam [7]

ânantaram paṭivedetayam<sup>52</sup> me sarvatra sarve kâle[.]  
Evam mayâ âñapitam[.] Nâsti hi  
me toso [8] usñanamhi athasamtirâṇâya va[.] Kata-  
yamate hi me sarvalokahitam[.] [9] Tasa cha puna  
esa mûle usñanam cha athasamtirâṇâ cha[.] Nâsti  
hi kaimataram [10] sarvalokahitatpâ[.] Ya cha  
kiñchi parâkramâmi aham[.] kiñti [?] bhûtânâ  
ânâmyam gachheyam [11] idha cha nâmi sukhâpayâ-  
mi paratrâ cha svagam ârâdhayamtu[.] Ta etâya  
athâya [12] ayam dhammalipî lekhaṇitâ[.] kiñti [?]  
chiram tisṭeya itī tathâ cha me putrâ potâ cha  
prapotrâ cha [13] anuvatarâm<sup>53</sup> savalokahitâya[.]  
Dukaram tu idam ânata agena parâkramena [14]

## Mausehra.

Devana[m] priye Priyadasi raja eva[m]<sup>54</sup> aha [:]  
atikramtam antaram [26] a[o]<sup>55</sup> hutapruve savam kala  
athrak[rama]<sup>56</sup> va paṭivedana va[.] Ta maya evam  
kitam [:] savrakalam asatasa me  
orodhane grabhagarasi vrachaspi<sup>57</sup> vinitaspi uyanaspi  
savratra pa[ṭi] [veda]ka athra janasa [27] paṭivedetu  
me savatra cha janasa athra karomi aham[.]  
Yam pi kichi mukhati anapemi aham dapakam  
va sravakam va yam va puna mahamatrehi

## Shâhbâzgarhî.

sa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi  
uyauaspi<sup>58</sup> savratra paṭrivedaka atham janasa  
paṭ[r]ivedetu me savatra cha janasa athra karomi[.]  
Yam pi [cha] kichi mukhato anapayami  
[aham da]pakam va sravakam va yam va pana<sup>59</sup>  
mahamatranam v[o]<sup>60</sup> achay]ika a . pitam<sup>61</sup> bhoti  
taye athaye vivade va ni[jha]ti<sup>62</sup> va samtam parish-  
aye anantariyena paṭivedetavo me [14] savatra<sup>63</sup> cha  
atham janasa karomi a [bam] [.] Yam cha ki  
[chi]<sup>64</sup> mukhato anapemi aham dapakam va sra-  
vaka va ya va pana mahamatranam achayikam  
aropitam bhoti taye athaye vivade samtam nijhati<sup>65</sup>  
va parishaye anantariyena paṭrivedetavo  
me savatra sav[r]am kalam[.]  
Evam anapitam maya[.] Nasti hi me toso upha-  
nasi athasamtirâṇaye cha[.] Kaṭavamatam hi me  
sav[r]alokahitam[.] Tasa cha mulam et[ra]  
uthanam athasamtirâṇa cha[.] Na[sti] hi  
kramataram [15] s[r]avalokahite[na]<sup>61</sup> [.] Yam cha  
kichi parakramami [:] kiti [?] bhutanam  
anapiyam vracheyam ia cha [sha] sukhayami  
paratra cha spagam<sup>62</sup> aradhetu[.] Etaye athaye  
ayi dhrama<sup>63</sup> dipista [:] chirathitika bhotu  
tatha cha me putra natavo parakramamtu  
savalokahitaye [.] [D]ukara[m] tu[kho] imam  
amnatra agre<sup>65</sup> parakramena [16]

## Kâlsî.

Devanam-piye Piyadasi lâjâ hevam-âhâ [:]  
atikramtam antaram no-hutapuluve savam kalam  
athakamme-vâ<sup>66</sup> [paṭ] ivedanâ vâ [.] Se-ma[ma]yâ  
hevam kaṭe [:] savam kalam adam[a] nasâ-me<sup>67</sup> [18]  
olodhanasi gabhâgâlasî vachasi vini[tasi] uyânasî  
savatâ paṭivedakâ atham janasâ [paṭi]vedetu  
me<sup>68</sup> [.] Savatâ<sup>69</sup> janasâ atham kachhâmi hagam[.]  
Yam pi châ [kicchi mukha]te âna[payâ]mi ha-  
kam<sup>70</sup> dâ[pakam]-vâ [sâvakam vâ] ye-vâ-punâ

<sup>50</sup> Below *ti* stands a *u*-stroke.

<sup>51</sup> The final sign is probably intended for *spi*;—see the notes to the German edition of the Mausehra text.

<sup>52</sup> Possibly *puna* to be read.

<sup>53</sup> Possibly *âchâyikam* or *°ke* to be restored, as there are two large abrasions on both sides of the *ka*.

<sup>54</sup> The vowel of *no* is very indistinct.

<sup>55</sup> Complete *aropitam*.

<sup>56</sup> The *jha* is indistinct.

<sup>57</sup> The passage from *savatra* down to *parisha* has been repeated by mistake.

<sup>58</sup> It looks, as if another sign had stood between *ki* and *chi*.

<sup>59</sup> A remnant of *ra* below the *ya* is visible.

<sup>60</sup> The stroke indicating the aspiration of *jha* is indistinct.

<sup>61</sup> The *ra*-stroke of *srara* is not quite certain.

<sup>62</sup> The initial sign of this word shows the same form as in *orodhanaspi*, above l. 14, and seems to be intended for *sja*.

<sup>63</sup> Possibly *ayo* to be read; read *dhramadipi*.

<sup>64</sup> Read *anuvataram*.

<sup>65</sup> Read *agrena*.

<sup>66</sup> The *Anusvâras* of *devanam* and *eram* are not quite distinct.

<sup>67</sup> The vowel is doubtful.

<sup>68</sup> Possibly *kashma* to be read.

<sup>69</sup> The lingual in *aṭha* is more probable than the dental.

<sup>70</sup> The new impression shows a tolerably distinct *me* at the end of line 17, and only scratches at the beginning of line 18. In the third syllable of *adamasâ* a short *a* is more probable than *mâ*.

<sup>71</sup> The last sign of this word and the next two show the abnormal form, which probably stands for *spi*.

<sup>72</sup> No letters seem to have been lost between *me* and *savatâ*.

<sup>73</sup> At least one syllable, probably *cha*, has been lost after *savatâ*.

<sup>74</sup> *Hakam*, not *sakam*, is the reading of the new impression.

*Mansehra.*

achayike aropita hoti[28] taye athraye vivade nijhat  
va samta parisbaye a[nam]taliyena pañiveditaviye  
me savratia savra kala[.] Eva[m] anapita maya[.]  
Nasti hi me toshe u[thanas] athrasamtiranye  
cha[29] Kaṭaviyamate hi me savralokahite[.]  
Tasa chu [puua] eshe mule uṭhane athrasatirana cha[.]  
Nasti hi kiamatara savralokahitena[.] Yam cha  
[ki]chi para[kia]mami aham[.] kiti[?] bhuta-  
nam[30] anapiyam yeham ia cha sba sukhayami  
paratra cha spagram<sup>81</sup> aradhetu ti[.] Se etaye athraye  
iyam dhramadipi likhita[.] chiraṭhitikam hotu tatham  
cha me putra [nata]re para[k]ramante<sup>80</sup>  
savra-[31] lokahitaye[.] Dukare chu kho añatra  
agrena parakramena[.]

*Kālsī.*

mahāmātehi[18] atiyāyike[ā. pītam] hoti tāyethāye  
vivāde nijhati-vā<sup>75</sup> samtam palisāye anantaliyenā  
paṭi . . . viye me savatā savam kalam hevam  
ānapayite mamayā[.] Nathi-hi-me dose-va uṭhāna-ā  
aṭhasamtilanāye[.] chā[.] Kaṭ[a] viyamute<sup>76</sup> hi-me  
savaloahite[.] [Tasā-punā<sup>77</sup> es[e]-mule uṭhāne[19]  
aṭhasamtilanā[.] ch]ā[.] Nathi-hi karimatalā sava-  
[loka]hitena[.] Yam-cha-kichi palakamāmi hakam  
[.] kiti[?] bbutānam[.] a[namiyam yeham hida-cha-  
kāni sukhāyāmi palata-chā<sup>78</sup> svagam ālādhayitu<sup>79</sup>[.]  
Se-etāyethāye iyaṁ dhamalipi lekhitā[.] Chila-  
ṭhitikyā hotu tathā cha me putadāle palakamātu  
savaloahitā[ye][.] [20] Dukale-ch[a]<sup>81</sup> iyaṁ anata  
agenā palakameuā[.]

## EDICT VII.

*Girnār.*

Devānam piyo Piyadasi rājā sarvata ichhati  
save pāsāṁdā vaseyu[.] Save te  
sayamaṁ cha [1] bhāvasudhiṁ cha ichhati[.] Jano tu  
uchāvachachhamdo uchāvacharāgo[.] Te sarvam  
va kāsanti ekadesam va kasanti[2] Vipule<sup>83</sup> tu  
pi dane yasa nāsti sayame bhāvasudhitā va  
katamūatā va dādhabbatitā cha<sup>81</sup> nichā bādham [3]

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Devanam priyo Priyaśi<sup>82</sup> raja savatra ichhati  
savre [1] prashamda vaseyu[.] Savre hi te  
sayama bhāvasudhi cha ichhamti[2] Jano chu  
uchavuchachhamdo uchavucharago[.] Te savram  
va ekadesam va [3] pi kashanti[.] Vipule  
pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-[4]sudhi  
kiṭṭanata diḍhabbatita niche padham [5]

*Mansehra.*

Deva[na priye] Priyadasi raja savatra ichhati  
savra pashada vaseyu[.] Savre hi te sayama  
bhāvasudhi [cha] [32] ichhamti[.] Jane chu  
uchavuchachade uchavucharage[.] Te savram  
ekadesam va pi kashati[.] Vipule pi chu  
dane yasa nasti sayame bhāvasuti  
kiṭṭanata diḍhabbatita<sup>80</sup> cha [33] niche bādham[.]

*Kālsī.*

Devānam-piye Piyadasi lājā [sa]vatā [i]chhati[.]  
sav[a pā]samda vas[e] vu[.]<sup>84</sup> Save-hi-te sayamaṁ  
bhāvasudhi-chā<sup>85</sup> ichhamti[.] Jane-chu  
uchāvuchachhamde<sup>80</sup> uchāvuchalāge[.] Te-savam  
ekadesam-pi kachhamti[.] Vipule-pi-chu  
dāu[am]<sup>87</sup> asā nathi [21] sayame bhāvasudhi[i]  
kiṭṭanātā<sup>88</sup> diḍhabbatitā-chā niche-bādham[.]

## EDICT VIII.

*Girnār.*

Atikātam amtarām rājāno viharā-  
yātām āyāsu[.] Eta magayv[.] añāni  
cha etārisani[1]<sup>91</sup> abhīramakāni abumsu[.] So

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

Atikratnam<sup>90</sup> amtarām devanam priya viharā-  
yatra nama nikamishu[.] Atra mrugaya añāni  
cha [h]edīsani a[bhi]ramani abhavasū<sup>92</sup> [.] So

<sup>75</sup> *Nijhati*, not *nikati*, is the distinct reading of the reverse of the impression.

<sup>76</sup> The absence of the Anuvāra and the reading *imute* are certain from the reverse of the impression.

<sup>77</sup> *Tasā* is more probable than *tasa*.

<sup>78</sup> *Pa'ata*, not *palatā*, is distinct.

<sup>79</sup> Read *ālādhayantu*.

<sup>80</sup> Read *parakramantu*.

<sup>81</sup> Possibly *chu*.

<sup>82</sup> The initial *sa* is again abnormal and the sign must be read *spa*.

<sup>83</sup> Read *Priyadasi*.

<sup>84</sup> The apparent second *u*-stroke which makes the word look like *vipule* is, to judge from the impression, an accidental scratch.

<sup>85</sup> The short final of [pā]samda seems certain, as there is

no stroke or abrasion to the right of the *da*.

<sup>86</sup> *Chā*, not *cha*, is distinct.

<sup>87</sup> The impression shows everywhere distinctly *uchāvucha*, not *uchāvacha*.

<sup>88</sup> *Dānam* is, according to the reverse of the impression, more probable than *dāne*.

<sup>89</sup> According to the impression the reading is *kiṭṭanātā*, for which *kiṭṭanātā* must be read.

<sup>90</sup> One of the *ra*-strokes in *drīḍhra*<sup>90</sup> is superfluous, and ought to be removed. The form was probably *drīḍhra*<sup>90</sup>, i.e. *drīḍha*.

<sup>91</sup> This stands for *atikratnam* just like *savra* for *sarva*.

<sup>92</sup> Read *etārisāni*.

<sup>93</sup> The second vowel is not quite distinct, and the reading *abhuvāsu* is perhaps possible.

## Girnār.

devānaṃ piyo Priyadasi rājā dasavasābhisito.  
saṃto ayāya sambodhiṃ<sup>94</sup> [2] Tenesā dhamma-  
yātā[.] Etayaṃ<sup>95</sup> hoti bāmaṇasamaṇānaṃ  
dasane cha dāne cha thairānaṃ dasane cha [3]  
hiraṇṇapaṭividdhāna cha jānāpadasa cha jānasa<sup>96</sup>  
dasanaṃ dhammānusasī<sup>97</sup> cha dhammaparipucchā  
cha[4.] Tatopayā eṣā bhuya rati bhavati devānaṃ  
piyasa Priyadasino rāño bhāge amñe [5.]

## Mansehra.

Atikrantaṃ amītaṃ devana priya viharayatra  
nama nikramishu[.] I[ha]<sup>3</sup> mrigaviya añani  
cha edīsani abhiramani husu[.]  
Se devana priye Priyadasi [34] raja<sup>6</sup> dasavashabhi-  
site saṃtaṃ nikrami sambodhi[.] Tenad[am]<sup>7</sup>  
dharmayatra[.] Atra iya hoti [.] śramaṇa-  
bramaṇa draśane dane cha vadhrana draśane  
[cha] hiraṇṇapaṭividdha[ne]<sup>11</sup> cha [35] janapadasa  
janasa draśane dharmānusasī<sup>12</sup> cha dharmapari-  
pucchā cha[.] Tatopaya eshe bhuye rati ho[t]i  
devana Priyasa Priyadasi [36] rajine bhag[e]<sup>14</sup>  
ane [37]

## Shāhbāzgarhē.

devanaṃ priyo Priyadasi<sup>93</sup> raja dasavashabhisito  
sato nikramisabodhi[m]<sup>94</sup> [.] Tenamd[a]<sup>95</sup> dhrama-  
yatra[.] Atra iyaṃ hoti [.] śramaṇabramaṇaṃ  
draśane danaṃ vu[dh]a[na]m draśane<sup>96</sup>  
[h]i [ra]ṇa paṭividdha[ne] cha [jana]pada sa janasa  
draśanaṃ dharmānusasī<sup>97</sup> dharmapa[ri]pucchā  
cha[.] Tatopayaṃ esh[a]<sup>1</sup> bhuye rati hoti devanaṃ  
piyasa Priyadasi rāño bhag[i<sup>2</sup> a]mñi[17.]

## Kālsī.

Atikrantaṃ amītaṃ devānaṃ-piyā vihalayātaṃ.  
nāma nikhamisu[.] Hidā migaviyā amñāni-  
chā<sup>4</sup> beḍisān[i] abhiḷmān[i] husu<sup>6</sup>[.]  
Devānaṃ-piye Priyadasi lājā dasavasābhi-  
site saṃtaṃ<sup>5</sup> nikami[th]ā<sup>2</sup> sambodhi [22] Tenatā  
dhammayātā[.] [He]tā iyaṃ hoti samana-  
bāmaṇānaṃ dasane-chā dāne-cha vuddhānaṃ  
dasane-cha hiraṇṇapaṭividdhāne-chā jānāpadasā  
janasā<sup>10</sup> dasane dhammānusasī<sup>11</sup> chā<sup>12</sup> dhamapari-  
pucchā-cha<sup>13</sup>[.] Tatopayā ese bhuye lāti hoti  
devānaṃ-piyasā Priyadasisā lājine bhāge  
amne [23]

## EDICT IX.

## Girnār.

Devānaṃ piyo Priyadasi rājā evaṃ āha [.] asti  
jano uchāvachāṃ maṃgalaṃ karote ābādhesu vā [1]  
āvāhavivāhesu vā putralābhesu vā pravāsamñhi vā [.]  
Etamhi cha añamhi cha jano uchāvachāṃ  
maṃgalaṃ karote [2] Eta tu mahidāyo bahukaṃ  
cha bahuviddhāṃ cha chhudāṃ cha nirathāṃ  
cha maṃgalaṃ karote[.] Ta katayvameva tu  
maṃgalaṃ[.] Apaphalaṃ tu kho [3] etarisaṃ<sup>13</sup>  
maṃgalaṃ[.] Ayaṃ tu mahāphale maṃgale  
ya dhammamamaṃgale[.] Tata dāsabhatakamhi samya-  
pratipatī gurūnaṃ apachiti s[ā]dhu [4] pānesu  
sayamo sādhu bamaṇasamaṇānaṃ sādhu dānaṃ[.]  
Eta cha añā cha etārisaṃ dhammamamaṃgalaṃ nāma[.]

## Shāhbāzgarhē.

Devanaṃ priyo Priyadasi raya evaṃ aba ti [.]  
jano uchavuchāṃ maṃgalaṃ karoti abadhe  
avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase[.]  
Etaye añaye [cha] edīsiy<sup>15</sup>. ja[n]o [ba]<sup>16</sup>  
maṃgalaṃ karoti[.] Atra tu striyaka bahu  
cha bahuviddhāṃ cha putika[m] cha niratthriyaṃ  
cha maṃgalaṃ ka[rotne]<sup>17</sup>[.] So kaṭavo [cha kh]o  
maṃgala[.] Apaphalaṃ tu kho etam[.]  
Imar[.] [tu] kho mahaphala ye mamaṃga-  
la[m]<sup>19</sup> [18] [A]tra ima [.] dasabhatakasa samma-  
pratipati garuna apachiti prāṇaṃ  
saṃyama śramaṇabramaṇa dana[.]  
Etaṃ añam cha dharmamaṃgalaṃ nama[.]

<sup>93</sup> The *dra* looks very much like *dam*.

<sup>94</sup> The impression makes the second Anusvāra very probable.

<sup>95</sup> *Etayaṃ* stands for *Eta iyaṃ*. According to the analogy *gename* for *gena ime*, etc.;—see E. Müller: *Simplified Pali Grammar*, p. 60.

<sup>96</sup> The Anusvāra is doubtful.

<sup>97</sup> Possibly *tenadra* to be read.

<sup>98</sup> Read *janasa*.

<sup>99</sup> The *dra* looks very much like *dam*.

<sup>100</sup> Possibly *eshe* to be read.

<sup>101</sup> The upper part of the *i*-stroke is very faint.

<sup>102</sup> Possibly *ia* is to be read.

<sup>103</sup> *Chā*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>104</sup> The impression shows no Anusvāra.

<sup>105</sup> This looks like *rajan*.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly *tenadra* is to be read.

<sup>8</sup> The obverse of the impression seems to give *sate*, but the reverse shows *saṃtaṃ* to be the right reading.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly *nikhamithā* to be read.

<sup>10</sup> The impression shows no *cha* after *janasā*, only superficial scratches.

<sup>11</sup> Read *hiraṇṇapaṭividdhane*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *dhammānusasī*.

<sup>13</sup> There is no Anusvāra in *dhamapalipucchā*.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly the reading may have been *bhagi*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *edīsiye*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *bahu*; only the lower half of the first letter has been preserved; the second has been omitted.

<sup>17</sup> *Karotne* stands for *karonte*.

<sup>18</sup> For *etārisaṃ*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *dharmamaṃgalaṃ*.

## Girnar.

Ta vatavyam pitā va [5] putena vā bhātrā vā  
svāmikena vā [5] idamśādhuidam katavyam maṅgalam  
āva tasa athasa niṣṭānāya [5] Asti cha pi vutam [5]  
Sādhu

danam<sup>23</sup> iti [5] Na tu etārisam asti dānam va anagaho<sup>23</sup>  
va yārisam dhammadānam va dhammānugaho va [5]  
Ta tu kho mitrena va subhāyena vā [7] ūntikena<sup>25</sup>  
va saṅhāyana<sup>29</sup> va ovāditavyam tambitamhi pakarape [5]  
idam kacham idam sādha<sup>33</sup> iti iminā sakam<sup>33</sup> [8] sva-  
gam ārādhetu iti [5] Ki cha iminā katavyataram  
yathā avagāsiadhi [9]

## Mansehra.

Devana priye Priyadasi raja evam aha [5] jane uchā-  
vucham<sup>26</sup> maṅgalam [5] karoti [1] abadh[a]si ava-  
[ha]si vivahasi prajopadaye pravasa<sup>38</sup> [5] Etaye  
aṇṇaye cha [edi]śa [ye<sup>41</sup> ja]ne [2] bahu maṅgalam  
kaṛoti [5] A [tra] tu balika janika bahu cha  
bahuviddha<sup>45</sup> cha khudā<sup>46</sup> cha nirathriya cha  
magala[m]<sup>47</sup> karoti [5] Se ka . vi . cha kho [3]  
[ma]gale [5] Apaphale chu . kho e[śhe] [5] Iyam  
chu kho mahāphale y[e] dhramamagale [5] Atra  
iyam [5] dasabhaṭakasi samyapaṭipati guru[na  
apa]chiti [4] prapana sa[ya]mē śramaṇabramāṇa-  
na [dane] [5] Eśhe ape cha ediśe dhrama-  
magale nama [5] Se vataviy[e] pit[u]na<sup>54</sup> pi putrena  
pi bhatuna pi spawikena [5] mitrasamstute[na  
a[va] paṭivesiyena pi [5] iyam sadhu iyam<sup>55</sup>  
kaṭaviye magale ava tasa athasa nivutiyā<sup>56</sup> [5]

<sup>23</sup> The first letter, which is badly damaged, seems to have been one of the abnormal signs, occurring Ed. VI in *oro-dhanaspi* and so forth, and is probably meant for *spa*.

<sup>24</sup> The last sign is the same as in *oro-dhanaspi* and so forth,

<sup>25</sup> Read *dānam*.

<sup>26</sup> Probably a mistake for *anugaho*.

<sup>27</sup> The *ra*-stroke is not quite certain.

<sup>28</sup> The second and fourth vowels are not quite distinct and one might possibly read *nivutseyeti*.

<sup>29</sup> The last vowel is not quite certain.

<sup>30</sup> The two signs of this word stand the one above the other.

<sup>31</sup> Read *ñātikena*.

<sup>32</sup> Read *saṅhāyena*.

<sup>33</sup> Possibly *pana* to be read.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly *ia* to be read.

<sup>35</sup> Read *addhu*.

<sup>36</sup> The Anusvāra of *sakam* is at least very probable.

<sup>37</sup> Possibly *pana* to be read.

<sup>38</sup> Read *dhramamagale*.

<sup>39</sup> The Anusvāra is uncertain.

<sup>40</sup> The Anusvāra is uncertain.

<sup>41</sup> Thus distinct in B, instead of *pravasasi*.

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

So vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhatuna pi  
[spa]mikena<sup>40</sup> pi mi[tra]samstutena ava prati-  
veśiyena [5] imam sadhu imam kaṭavo [maṅ]galam  
yava tasa athasa nivutiyā [5] Nivutasi<sup>41</sup> va pana  
[19] imam ke[sha] [7] Ye hi-et[ra]ke<sup>42</sup> magale  
sa[m]śayike tam [5] Siya vo tam aṭham  
niv[a]ṭey[a]<sup>43</sup> ti [5] siya pana ialokach[e]<sup>44</sup>  
vo tithe [5] Iya<sup>45</sup> puna dhramamagalam  
akalikam [5] Yadi p[u]na<sup>46</sup> tam aṭham na  
nivaṭe [h]ia<sup>47</sup> [5] [a]tha paratra anamtam puṇam  
prasavati [5] Hamche p[u]na<sup>48</sup> [a]ṭham  
nivaṭe ti tato ubhayaśa ladham bhōti  
ibachaso aṭho paratrachaanamtam puṇam prasavati  
tena dhramamagale<sup>49</sup> [20]

## Kāsi.

Devanam-piye Piyadasi lājā āhā [5] jane uchā-  
vucham<sup>49</sup> maṅgalam [kal]eti [5] Ābādhasi avā-  
hasi vivāhasi pajopadāye<sup>50</sup> pavāsasi etāye amānā-  
ye-chā ediśāye jane bahu magalam  
kaleti [5] Heta-chu abakajani[yo]<sup>51</sup> bahu-chā  
bahuviddham-chā khudā<sup>52</sup>-chā nilathiyām-chā<sup>53</sup>  
magalam kalanti<sup>54</sup> [24] Se-kaṭavi-cheva-kho<sup>55</sup>  
maṅgale [5] Apaphale-vu-kho es[e] Iyam-  
chu-kho mahāphale y-dhammamagale [5] He[tā]<sup>56</sup>  
iyam dasabhaṭakasi samyapaṭipati-gulunā<sup>57</sup>  
apachiti pā . ānam sayame samanabambhanānam  
dāne [5] Eśe amue-chā heṭise tam-dhamma-  
magale-nāmā<sup>58</sup> [5] Se-vataviye pitinā-pi putena-  
pi<sup>59</sup> bhātinā-pi suvāmiken[ā]-pi mitrasamstutenā  
āva-paṭivesiyenā-pi [25] iyam sādhu iyam  
kaṭaviye [ma]gale āva-tasā athasā nivutiyā<sup>60</sup> [5]

<sup>40</sup> The *vu* in the third syllable is distinct.

<sup>41</sup> The lower stroke is nearly straight and *pajopadāne* a possible reading, but see the Mansehra version.

<sup>42</sup> The first and last syllables of *ediśāye* are very indistinct.

<sup>43</sup> This is the reading of the reverse, distinct except in the last syllable.

<sup>44</sup> *Khudā*, not *khudam*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>45</sup> Read *nilathiyā* or *yaṇ*.

<sup>46</sup> Possibly *bahuviddhe* to be read.

<sup>47</sup> Possibly *khude* to be read.

<sup>48</sup> The Anusvāra is uncertain.

<sup>49</sup> *Kalanti*, not *kaleti*, is distinct.

<sup>50</sup> Read *kaṭaviye*.

<sup>51</sup> The existence of this word is certain, the quantity of the last syllable doubtful.

<sup>52</sup> *Gulunā* not *ōnam*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>53</sup> *Nāmā*, not *nāma*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>54</sup> *Putena*, not *putenā*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>55</sup> Possibly *pitina* to be read.

<sup>56</sup> The *ya* has besides the Anusvāra an apparent *e*-stroke, which must be accidental.

<sup>57</sup> The third syllable of *nivutiyā* is superficially damaged. The reverse leaves no doubt regarding the reading.

X

2

4

XI

2

XII

3

9



## Mansehra.

Nivutasi va puna ima k[e]sh[a]miti [?] E hi  
[a]trake<sup>68</sup> ma . . [6] śaśayike<sup>69</sup> se[.] [Si]ya  
[va] ta[m] athraṃ nivaṭeya[.] siya pana no  
i[ha]ch[a]loki[cha]<sup>68</sup> vase[.] Iyaṃ puna dhrama-  
magal[e] akalike[.] Hache pi taṃ athraṃ na  
nivaṭ[e] ti [hida] [a . paratra . . . [7]  
an[am]taṃ puṇam<sup>64</sup> prasavati[.] Hache [puna  
taṃ a].ra nivaṭe ti hida tato ubhayasa [va  
la]dhe [ho]ti hida cha se athre paratra cha  
ana[m]ta[m]<sup>70</sup> punaṃ prasa[va]ti tena  
dhramagalena<sup>71</sup>[.8]

## EDICT X.

## Girnār.

Devānaṃ priyo Priyadasi rājā<sup>75</sup> yaso va kiti va na  
mahābhāvahā maṇṇate añata tadātpano dighāya cha

me jano [1] dhammasusurū<sup>75</sup> susurūatāṃ dhamma-  
vutaṃ cha anuvīdhiyatāṃ[.] Etakāya devānaṃ piyo  
Priyadasi rājā yaso va kiti va ichhati[.2]  
Yaṃ tu kiṃchi parākamate devānaṃ Priya-  
dasi<sup>76</sup> rājā ta savāṃ parātrikāya[.] kiṃti [?]  
sakale appaparīsrave asa[.] Esa tu 'parīsrave ya  
apumāṇaṃ<sup>77</sup>[.3] Dukaraṃ tu kho etaṃ chhudakena  
va jāvena usaṭena va añatra agena parākamena<sup>78</sup>  
savāṃ parichajitpā[.] Eta tu kho usatena  
dukaraṃ [4]

## Mansehra.

. . . [8] priye Pri . draśi raja yaso va kiṭi va  
n[a] mahābhāvahāṃ maṇṇati anata yaṃ pi ya[śo  
va] kiṭi va ichhati tadattaye<sup>83</sup> ayatiy[a]<sup>84</sup> cha jane  
dhramasuśruha su . [sha]tu me ti

<sup>67</sup> This may be read *ichale*.

<sup>68</sup> Possibly *etrake* or *etake* according to B., which also shows the *ma*.

<sup>69</sup> This is plain in B.

<sup>70</sup> The existence of this word, which is not found in the closely corresponding Mansehra version, is very doubtful.

<sup>71</sup> The lingual of *aṭham* is plain in the impression both here and in the next sentences.

<sup>72</sup> This may also be read *ihache loki cha* or *ihachalokike*.

<sup>73</sup> Read *nivaṭe-ti* and *atka*.

<sup>74</sup> Thus according to B.

<sup>75</sup> Read *prasavati*, as suggested by M. Senart.

<sup>76</sup> *Hida*, not *hidā*, is the distinct reading of the impression.

<sup>77</sup> *Tato*, not *tatā*, is the reading of the impression, though the *e*-stroke is short (compare Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi.)

<sup>78</sup> *Ubhaye* is distinct on the reverse, but the following omitted syllable is very doubtful. It looks most like an original *nam* or *nāṭ*. I would conjecture *ubhayesaṃ* in accordance with the Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi versions.

<sup>79</sup> *Hida*, not *hidā* is the reading of the impression.

## Kālsī.

Imaṃ ka[tha]m-iti [?] E-h  
ivale<sup>87</sup> magale saṃsāyikye-se [hoti]<sup>80</sup>[.]  
Siyā-va-taṃ aṭham<sup>81</sup> nivaṭeyā siyā-puṇā-no  
hidaloṭike-cha-vase[.] Iyaṃ-puṇā dhammamagale  
akālikye[.] Haṃche-pi taṃ-atham no-niṭe-ti  
hida aṭham<sup>81</sup> palata anantam-puṇā pavasati<sup>85</sup>[.]  
Haṃche-puṇā-taṃ aṭham nivate-ti hida<sup>86</sup> tato<sup>87</sup>  
ubhaye<sup>88</sup>[.26] [la]dhe hoti hida-chā<sup>89</sup> se-aṭhe  
palatā-chā anantam-puṇam pasavati  
tenā dhammamagalenā[.]

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Devana priye Priyadasi raya yaso va kiṭi va no  
mahābhāvaha maṇṇati añatra yo pi  
yaśo kiṭi va ichhati tadattaye<sup>75</sup> ayatiya cha [jan]e  
dhramasuśrasha<sup>75</sup> suśrushatu me ti dhammavu-  
taṃ cha anuvi[dhiyatu] [.] Etakaye devanaṃ priye  
Priyadasi raya yaso va kiṭi va [21] [ichha]ti[.]  
Yaṃ tu kiṭi parākramati devanaṃ priyo Priya-  
dasi raya taṃ savāṃ parātrikaye va [.] kiti [?]  
sa[kale]<sup>78</sup> aparīsrave siya ti[.] Eshe tu parīsrave  
yaṃ apuṇam[.] Dukaraṃ t[u] kho eshe khudra-  
kena vagrena usaṭena va añatra agrena parakramena  
savāṃ paritijitu[.] Etaṃ chu usaṭe<sup>80</sup>  
. . . . . [22].

## Kālsī

Devānaṃ-piye Priyadashā<sup>81</sup> lājā yasho-vā kiti-va  
no-mahābhāvā<sup>82</sup> maṇṇati anata yaṃ-pi yaso  
vā kiti-vā ichhati tadatvāye ayatiye-chā jane  
dhammasusushā susushātu-me-ti<sup>83</sup>

<sup>70</sup> The two Anusvāras are 1) robable, but not certain.

<sup>71</sup> Read *dhramamagalena*.

<sup>72</sup> The syllable *de* has been inserted between *si* and *rā* and the syllable *rā* between *rā* and *jā*.

<sup>73</sup> The apparent Anusvāra after *aru* is too irregular in shape to be read. It is probably due to a flaw in the rock.

<sup>74</sup> Regarding the sign see the remarks to the German edition. It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*.

<sup>75</sup> Read *dhramasuśrusha*.

<sup>76</sup> Restore *priyo* before *Priyadasi*.

<sup>77</sup> The Anusvāra is faintly visible on the impression.

<sup>78</sup> The *ka* has been added as a correction.

<sup>79</sup> Possibly *parākramena* to be read, as the top of the *ka* is slightly bent towards the right.

<sup>80</sup> The conclusion of the edict is missing and seems not to have been incised.

<sup>81</sup> Read *Priyadasi*.

<sup>82</sup> Possibly *mahābhāva* to be restored.

<sup>83</sup> It is, of course, possible to read *tadatmaye* or *tadatraye*.

<sup>84</sup> Possibly *ayatiye* is to be read.

<sup>85</sup> A Vedic imperative.

## Mansehra.

. . . [9] [taṃ] a[nu]vidhiyatu ti[.] Etakaye devana priye Priyadra[śi] raja yaśo va kiṭi va ichhati[.] [E tu] kichi parakrama . i devana priye Priya[dra]śi [raja taṃ]savraṃ para[tiikaye va] [.] [kiṭi] [?] . . . [10] [a]papisave siya ti ti<sup>91</sup>[.] Eshe tu parisave e[apu]ṇa[m] [.] Dukaraṃ chu [kho] eshe khudrakena va vagre[na usa]ṭena va a[ṇa]tra a[gre]na parakramena savraṃ pariti . tu[.] E. [tu kho] usatena va duka[ra] [.]

## Girnār.

Devānaṃ priyo Piyadasi rājā evaṃ āha [.] nāsti etārisaṃ dānaṃ yārisaṃ dhaṃmadānaṃ dhaṃmasaṃstavo vā dhaṃmasaṃvibhāgo vā dhaṃmasaṃbadho va [.] Tata idaṃ bhavati dāsabhatakaṃhi samyapratipati mātari pitari sādhu susrusā mitasastutañātikanāṃ bāmbhanasamanānaṃ sādhu dānaṃ [2] prāṇānaṃ anāraṃbho sādhu[.] Eta vatavyaṃ pitā va putrena va bhātā va mitasastutañātikena va āva pativesiyehi [.] idaṃ sādhu idaṃ katavyaṃ [3] So tathā<sup>97</sup> karu ilo'achasa āradho hoti parata cha ananātaṃ<sup>98</sup> puṇṇaṃ bhavati tena dhaṃmadānena [4]

## Mansehra.

. . . [pri]ye Priyadraśi raja evaṃ āha [.] nāsti . diśe dane adiśe dhramadane dhramasa . ve dhra]masa[m]vibhage<sup>6</sup> dhrama . . dhe [I.] Tatra eshe [.] dasa[bha]ṭa . sa sa[mya]sampaṭipati<sup>9</sup> matapitushu . . . [12] saṃstutāñātika-na śramaṇabramaṇana dane prāṇana anaraṃbhe[.] Eshe vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhatuna pi spamī . . pi mitrasaṃstutena ava pativesiyena . [13] iyaṃ sādhu iyaṃ krataviye [.] Se ta[tha] karaṃtaṃ hida . ka cha<sup>10</sup> aradhe . i . ratra cha . a . taṃ puṇaṃ prasavati . . [dhra]madanena [14]

<sup>86</sup> *Yasho*, not *yaso*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>87</sup> Read *ichhati*.

<sup>88</sup> Read *palakamati*.

<sup>89</sup> *Piyadashi*, not *osi*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>90</sup> Read *lājā*.

<sup>91</sup> *Siya ti ti* is also the reading of the Kālsī version. It stands for *iti*, which occasionally occurs also in Sanskrit.

<sup>92</sup> Read *apapalishave*; *shiyā*, not *siyā*, is the reading.

<sup>93</sup> *Eshe*, not *ese*, is the reading of the impression here and in the next sentence.

<sup>94</sup> The *u*-stroke is distinct.

<sup>95</sup> A short final is more probable than a long one.

<sup>96</sup> This looks like *pitūna*, with two *u*-strokes.

<sup>97</sup> The two apparent *ā*-strokes after *ta* are due to fissures in the rock.

<sup>98</sup> Probably *ananātaṃ*.

## Kālsī.

devānaṃ mavataṃ-vā anuvīdhiyatu-ti[.] Etakāye devānaṃ piye Piyadasi [27] lājā yasho-vā<sup>86</sup> kiṭi-vā ichha<sup>87</sup>[.] Am-chā-kiobhi-lakamati<sup>88</sup> devānaṃ-piye Piyadashi<sup>89</sup> lājā<sup>90</sup> ta shavaṃ pālātikyāye-vā [.] kiṭi [?] Sakale apapalāshave shiyā-ti-ti<sup>91</sup>[.] Eshe-chu-palisave<sup>92</sup> e-apuṇne[.] Dukale-chu-kho eshe khudakena-vā vāgena ushūṭena-vā<sup>93</sup> anat[a]<sup>94</sup> agenā palakamenā shavaṃ palitiditu[.] He[ta]-chu-kho [28] ushatena-vā dukale[.]

## EDICT XI.

## Shālbāzgarhī.

Devānaṃ priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṃ āha ti [.] nāsti ediśaṃ danaṃ yadiśaṃ dhramadanāṃ dhramasaṃstave dhramasaṃvibhago [dhra]masaṃbadho[.] Tatra etaṃ [.] dasabhāṭakanāṃ sammapratipati matapitushu sūsrusha mitrasaṃstutañātikanāṃ śramaṇabramaṇanaṃ [23] danaṃ prāṇanaṃ anaraṃbho [.] Etaṃ vatavo pituna<sup>95</sup> pi putrena pi bhratuna pi [sa]mikenā pi mitrasaṃstutena ava prativeśiyena [.] [i]maṃ sādhu imaṃ kaṭavo [.] So tatha karaṃtaṃ ialoka[rū]<sup>96</sup> cha aradheti paratra cha anataṃ puṇaṃ prasavati [24] [te]na dhramadanena [25]

## Kālsī.

Devānaṃ-piye Piyadashi lājā hevaṃ hā<sup>1</sup> [.] nathi heḍiśe dāne [ā]diśaṃ<sup>2</sup> dhaṃmadāne | dhaṃmashaṃvibhage<sup>3</sup> | dhaṃmashaṃbadhe<sup>4</sup> | [.] Tat[a] eshe [.] [dāshabhāṭakashi | shamyāpatipati mātāpitishu | shushushā | mitasamthutana [ti]kyānaṃ samanabambhanānaṃ dāne [29] pāānaṃ anāraṃbhe [.] Eshe vataviye pitinā-pi pute-pi<sup>7</sup> bhātina-pi [sh]avāmikeyena-pi<sup>8</sup> mitasamthutana<sup>9</sup> avā pativesiyena [.] iyaṃ sādhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye [.] Se tathā karaṃta hidalokikye cha karaṃ āladhe hoti palata-cha ananta<sup>11</sup> puṇṇa pasavati tenā dhaṃmadānenā [.]

<sup>99</sup> This may possibly be *hialoka*.

<sup>1</sup> Read *āhā*.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *adishaṃ* to be read.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhaṃmashaṃvibhage*, not *vibhāge*, is the distinct reading.

<sup>4</sup> The impression shows no Anusvara in *vādhē*.

<sup>5</sup> The Anusvara is uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly *samma*<sup>o</sup> is to be read.

<sup>7</sup> Read *putend-pi*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *shuvāmikeyend*.

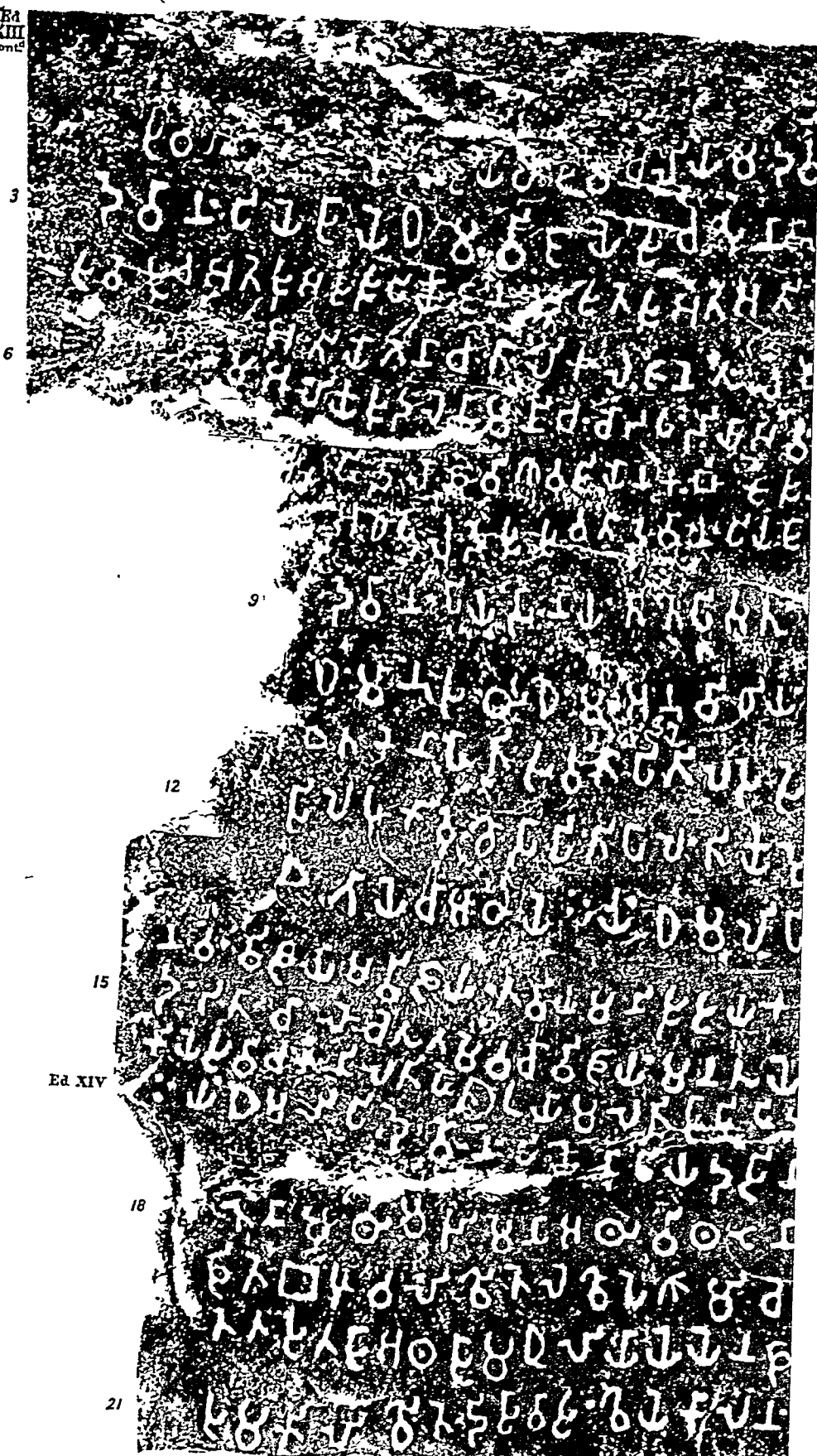
<sup>9</sup> Read *mitasamthutana*; the *ta* stands below the line. There is no *pi* after this word.

<sup>10</sup> Possibly a sign (*ku?*) may have stood between *cha* and *ananta*.

<sup>11</sup> Possibly *ananta* to be read



Ed XIII  
cont



Ed XIV

ASI AŚOKA INSCRIPTION,—(IV) ON EAST END OF THE STONE.



## EDICT XII.

## Girnār.

Devānaṃ piye Piyadasi rājā savapāsāmdāni  
cha<sup>11</sup> pavajitāni<sup>12</sup> cha gharastāni<sup>13</sup> cha pūjayati  
dānena cha vividhāya cha pūjāya pūjayati ne [1]  
Na tu tathā dānaṃ va pūjā va devānaṃ piyo  
maññate yathā kiti[?] sāravaḍḍhi asa savapāsā-  
mdānaṃ [.] Sāravaḍḍhi<sup>14</sup> tu bahuvīdhā [2] Tasa tasa<sup>15</sup>  
tu idaṃ mūlaṃ ya vachigutī [3] kiṃti [?] ātpa-  
pāsāmdapūjā va parapāsāmdagarahā<sup>17</sup> va no bhave  
apakaraṇaṃhi lahukā va asa [3] tamhi tamhi  
prakaraṇe[.] Pūjetayā<sup>19</sup> tu eva parapāsāmdā tena  
tana<sup>20</sup> prakaraṇena [.] Evaṃ karuṃ ātpapāsāmdānaṃ  
cha vadhayati parapāsāmdāsa cha  
upakaroti [4] Tadaññathā karoto ātpapāsāmdānaṃ  
cha chhayati parapāsāmdāsa cha pi apakaroti[.]  
Yo hi kocchi ātpapāsāmdānaṃ pūjayati parapāsāmdānaṃ  
vā garahati [5] savaṃ ātpapāsāmdābhatiyā [3]  
kiṃti [?] ātpapāsāmdānaṃ dipayama iti so cha  
puna tatha karāto<sup>22</sup> ātpapāsāmdānaṃ  
bādhatarāṃ upahanāti [.] Ta samavāyo  
eva sādhu [6] kiṃti [?] aññamaññasa dhammaṃ  
sruṇāru cha sususera cha [.] Evaṃ hi devānaṃ  
piyasa icchā [3] kiṃti<sup>24</sup> [?] savapāsāmdā bahusrutā  
cha asu kalāpāgamā cha asu [7] Ye cha tatra  
tate<sup>25</sup> prasanna tehi vatayvaṃ [.] devānaṃ piyo  
no tathā dānaṃ va pūjā va maññate yathā kiṃti[?] sāravaḍḍhi  
asa savapāsāmdānaṃ bahukā<sup>26</sup>  
cha [.] Etāya [8] athā vyāpatā dhammamahāmātā  
cha ithi jhakkhamahāmātā cha vachabbhūmikā cha añe  
cha<sup>27</sup> nikāya [.] Ayaṃ<sup>28</sup> cha etasa phala ya ātpapāsā-  
mdāvaḍḍhi cha hoti dhammasa cha dipanā [9]

## Mansehra.

Devana priye Priyadasi raja savra prasha-  
dani pravrajitani gahathani cha pujeti danena  
vividhaya<sup>25</sup> cha pujaya [.] No [chu] tatha  
dana va puja va [1] devanaṃ priye maññati  
atha kiti [?] salavaḍḍhi siya savrapashadana ti [.]

## Shāhbāzgarhi.

Devanaṃ priyo Priyadasi raya savra prashamḍani  
pravrajita<sup>14</sup> graha[ṭha]ni cha pujeti  
danena vividhaye cha pujaye [.]  
No chu tatha dana[m] va puja va [1] devanaṃ priyo  
maññati yatha kiti[?] salavaḍḍhi siya savraprasham-  
ḍana[m] [.] Salav[a]ḍḍhi tu bahuvīdhā [.] Tasa  
tu iyo mula yaṃ vachaguti [3] kiti[?] ata-  
prashamḍapuja va parapashamḍagarana<sup>18</sup> va no  
siya aprakaranasi [3] lahuka va siya tasi tasi  
prakara[n]e [.] Pujetaviya va chu paraprasham- [3]  
[ḍa] tena tena [a] karena<sup>21</sup> [.] Evaṃ kara[m] tam  
[a] taprashamḍaṃ vadheti paraprashamḍasa pi cha  
upakaroti [.] Tada aññatha ka[rata] cha taprasham-  
ḍam [4] chhayati paraprashamḍasa cha apakaroti [.]  
Yo hi k[oc]hi ataprashamḍaṃ pujeti paraprash[a]ḍa  
garahati savre ataprashamḍabhatiya va [3]  
kiti [?] 5] ataprashamḍaṃ dipayami ti [3] so cha  
puna tatha karantam so cha puna tatha karatam<sup>22</sup>  
bādhatarāṃ upahanti ataprashamḍaṃ [.] So sayamc  
vo sadhu [3] kiti[?] aññamaññasa dhramo [6]  
sruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti [.] Evaṃ hi devanaṃ  
priyasa icchā [3] kiti[?] savraprashamḍa bahusruta  
cha kala[n]a gamā cha siyasu [.] Ye cha tatra  
tatra [7] prasana tesam vatavo [3] Devanaṃ priyo  
na tatha danam va puja va maññati yatha kiti[?] sāravaḍḍhi  
siya ti savraprashadanaṃ babuka cha [.]  
Etaye a . . [8] vapaṭa [dhra] mama [ha] matra  
i[stidhi] yachhamahamatra vachabbhumika añe  
cha nikaye [.] Imamchaetisaphalam yaṃ ataprasha-  
ḍaḍḍhi [bhoti]. [9] dhramasa cha dipana [10]

## Kālsi

Devāna-piye-Piyadasi [30] lājā shavā pāsham-  
dani<sup>23</sup> pavajitāni gahathāni vā pujeti-dānena-  
vividhena<sup>24</sup>-cha-[pūjā]ye [.] No-chu-tathā<sup>25</sup>  
dāne-vā pūjā-vā devānaṃ-piye manati athā  
kita<sup>27</sup> [?] Sālavaḍḍhi siyā-ti savapāsāmdānaṃ<sup>28</sup> [.]

<sup>11</sup> Dele cha.<sup>12</sup> Possibly *pravajitāni* to be read.<sup>13</sup> Possibly *gharistāni* to be read.<sup>14</sup> *Pravrajita*, first read by M. Senart, stands according to a direct photograph above the line, just before *grahasthani*.<sup>15</sup> The apparent *ā*-stroke after *ra* is probably an accidental scratch or a *serif*.<sup>16</sup> The first *ta* and the second *sa* of *tasa tasa* have been obliterated, as the sense requires.<sup>17</sup> The syllable *saṃ* has been added as a correction.<sup>18</sup> Read *garaha*.<sup>19</sup> Probably a mistake for *pujetayā*.<sup>20</sup> Read *tena tena*.<sup>21</sup> Dr. Burgess' new *facsimile* shows more distinctly than the older materials this reading. My former reading *prakara-**neṇa* is impossible; so is M. Senart's *pakarena*.<sup>22</sup> Read *karoto*.<sup>23</sup> Dele the repeated words.<sup>24</sup> The syllable *ti* has been inverted as a correction.<sup>25</sup> Possibly the reading was *tatra tatra*.<sup>26</sup> Read *bahukā*.<sup>27</sup> The word *cha* has been added as a correction.<sup>28</sup> The letter *a* has been added as a correction.<sup>29</sup> Only the right half of the *anuvāra* is distinct.<sup>30</sup> Read *pāshamḍani*.<sup>31</sup> Meant for *vividhaye*.<sup>32</sup> Possibly *vividhaya* to be read.<sup>33</sup> *Chu*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.<sup>34</sup> Possibly *kiti* to be restored.<sup>35</sup> *Naṃ* stands, as a correction, above the line.

## Manshra.

Salavrudhi<sup>30</sup> tu bahuvidha[.] Tasa chu iyañ mule  
am vachaguti [; 2] kiti [?] ataprashada-  
puja va parapashadagaraha va no siva  
apakarapasi[.] lahuka va siya tasi [ta]si pakarapasi[.]  
Pujetaviya va chu paraprashada tena tena [3]  
akarena[.] Evam karatam atmapashada<sup>37</sup> badham  
vadhayati parapashadasa pi cha upakaroti[.]  
Tadaniatham karatam atmapashada cha chhapati  
parapashadasa pi cha[4] apakaroti[.] Ye hi kechi  
atmapashada pujeti parapashada va garahati[.]  
savre atmapashadabhatiya va [;] kiti [?]  
atmapashada dipay[a]ma<sup>40</sup> ti[.] . . puna tatha  
karatam [5] badhamtaram upaha[na]ti<sup>41</sup> atma-  
pashada[.] Se samavaye v[a] sadhu [;] kiti [?]  
anamañasa dhramam sruvey[u] cha suśrusheyu  
cha ti[.] E[v]am hi devana[m] priyasa ichha [;]  
kiti[?] savrapashada bahuśruta cha [6] kayanagama  
cha haveyu ti[.] E cha tatra tatra prasana  
tehi vataviye [;] devana priye n[ota]tha dana[m] va  
pujam va manati atha kiti [?] salavadhi siya  
savrapashada[na][7] [babu]ka cha[.] Etaye athraye  
vapuṣa dhramamamahamatra istri[h]achhamaha-  
matra<sup>44</sup> vrachabhumika aṇe cha nikaya[.] Iyañ  
cha etisa phale [8] yañ atmapashadavadhi cha bhoti  
dhramasa cha dipana[.]

## Kāśī.

Śalavadhi-nā bahuvidhā<sup>39</sup> [.] Tasa-chu iyañ-mule  
[a]-vachaguti [;] kiti [?] ta atapāsamde  
pujā<sup>41</sup> palapāsamde-galahā-va<sup>42</sup> no śayā<sup>43</sup> [31]  
apakalanāsi lahakā-vā<sup>44</sup> śiyā taśi-taśi-pakalanāsi<sup>45</sup>  
[.] Pujetaviya chu palapāśādā tena-tena  
akālana<sup>46</sup>[.] Hevañ kalata atapaśādā bādham  
vadhīyati palapāśada-pi-vā upakaleti[.]  
Tadā-nimathā<sup>48</sup> kalata atapaśada-cha chhanati  
palapaśada pi-vā apakaleti[.] Ye-hi kechha  
atapaśada punati<sup>49</sup> [32] palapāśada-vā [ga] [la] hati  
shave atapaśam[da] bhatiyā-vā[;] kiti [?]  
Atapāśamda | dipayema she-cha-punā tathā  
kalamtām | bādhitale | upahamti | ata-  
pāśamdashī | [.] Samavāye-va shādhu[;] kiti [?]  
anmananashādhamamam[shuneyu-chā]shushusheyu  
chā-ti | [.] Hevañ-hi devānam-piyashā-ichhā[;]  
kiti[?]33 Savapāśamda | bahushutā-chā kayānagā  
cha[44] huveyu-ti | [.] E-va-tata-tatā | pashamna | te-  
[hi] vataviye | [;] devānā-piye-no-tathā | dānam-vā  
pujā-vā | mannati | athā-kiṭi[;] śālavadhi śiyā  
shavapāśamdatim<sup>45</sup> | bahukā-chā | [.] Etāyāthāye  
viyāpātā dharmamahāmātā | ithiddiyakhamahā-  
mātā | vachabhumikyā[ane-vā-nikā][yā] [34] Iyañ  
cha-etishā | phale | yañ atapaśamda vadhi-chā | hoti  
dhamasha-chā-dipana[.]

## EDICT XIII.

## Girnār.

. . . . . dhe satasahasra-  
mātram tatā batam bahutāvatakam matam[.]  
Tatā pachhā adhanā<sup>46</sup> ladhesu Kalīngesu  
tivo dhammavāy[o] [1] . . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . vadho va maranam va apavāho va janasa[.]  
Ta[m]bādham vedanammatam cha g[u]rumatam  
cha devā[na]m . . [sa] [2] . . . . .

## Shahbāzgarhī.

A[stava]sha<sup>45</sup> abhisita[sa de]vana priasa Priadra-  
si[sa] rañ Ka[liga vijita.] [Diyadha]matre  
[pranāsata]hasre yetato apavudhe satasahasra-  
[ma]tre tatra hate bahu[tavatake] muṭe[. 1]  
Tato [pa]chha adhuna ladhesu [Kalīngeshu]  
tivre dhrama[pa]lanam<sup>47</sup> dhrama[ka]mata dhra-  
manuśasti cha devana pri[ya]sa[.] So asti anuso-  
chan[am] devana priyasa vijinit[u]<sup>48</sup> [Ka]līnga-  
[ni][. 2] Avijitam hi [viji]nāman[i ye]tatra  
vadh[o]<sup>49</sup> va [ma]raṇam va apava[ho] va jana-  
sa[.] Tam bādham vedaniyamamatam gurumatam  
cha devanam priyasa[.] Imañ pi chu<sup>50</sup> tato

<sup>39</sup> Read *tu* for *nā*. *Vi* stands above the line. In the next sentence *chu*, not *cha*, is the reading of the impression.

<sup>40</sup> Regarding the third sign of this word see the note to the German edition.

<sup>41</sup> Thus corrected by the scribe from *ta apāsamde-vā puja*; *de* first *ta* and change *de* to *da*.

<sup>42</sup> Thus corrected by the scribe from *vā tā nā anagalahā* cf.

<sup>43</sup> Read *śyā*.

<sup>44</sup> Read *lahukā*.

<sup>45</sup> The *śa* of the first *taśi* is imperfect

<sup>46</sup> Read *ākālena*.

<sup>47</sup> It is, of course, possible to read here and in the sequel instead of *atrā*<sup>48</sup>, *atā*<sup>49</sup> or *atta*<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> *Dā* stands above the line.

<sup>39</sup> Read *pujēti*.

<sup>40</sup> Possibly *dipayema* to be read, if it may be assumed that the *e*-stroke can stand at the top of *ya*.

<sup>41</sup> The *na* is a little indistinct and seems to be a correction as it has been put quite close to the following letter.

<sup>42</sup> Read *kayāndgamā*.

<sup>43</sup> Read *shavapāśamdatim*.

<sup>44</sup> Possibly *istrijachhā*<sup>45</sup> to be read; at all events the stroke denoting the aspiration is very faint and short.

<sup>45</sup> *Stā* is probable according to B.

<sup>46</sup> Read *adhunā*.

<sup>47</sup> The last three letters are not recognisable in B.

<sup>48</sup> Possibly *vijinitī* in B.

<sup>49</sup> Thus B. instead of *vadhē*

<sup>50</sup> Thus B. for *ima pi cha*.

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

gurumata. ram [deva]nam priyasa[.] Tatra h[i]  
[3] vasaṁti bramāna va śramaṇa va aṁṇe va  
praśaṁdā gra[ha]tha va yesu vibhī<sup>51</sup> eśha agra-  
bhū[ti]<sup>52</sup> sūśrūṣha matapitushu sūśrūṣha guru-  
naṁ sūśrūṣha [mitra]saṁstutasahaya-[4] ṇāti-  
keshu [da]sabha[ta]kanam, sammāpratipati  
dīdha[bhātita].[] Tesham tatra bhoṭi apagra-  
tha va vudho va abhiratana va nikramānam[.]  
Yesh. va pi saṁvihitanam [ne]ho aviprahino  
e[te]sha [mi]trasaṁstutasabuyāṇatika vasana  
[5] piapugati[.] Tatra tam pi tesha vo apagra-  
tha bhoṭi[.] Pratibhagam eha etaṁ savram  
manuṣanam<sup>53</sup> gurumatam cha devanam priya-  
sa[.] Nasti cha ekataraspi<sup>54</sup> pi<sup>55</sup> praśaṁdaspi  
na nama<sup>56</sup> prasado[.] So yamatro [jano]tada Kalige  
hato cha muṭ[o] cha apavudh[o]cha[ra]to [6] śa-  
tabhage<sup>57</sup> va sahasrabhagam va aja gurumatam  
vo devanam priyasa[.] Yo pi cha apakareya ti  
chhamitaviyamate vo devanam priyasa yam śako  
chhamanaye[.] Ya pi cha aṭavi devanam  
priyasa [vi]jite bhoṭi ta pi anuneti anuni[bi]jape  
ti[.] anutape pi cha p[ri]abhava devanam priyasa[.]  
Vuchati teshā[.] kiti[?] avatrapeyu na cha hāmīe-  
yasu[.] Ichhati bi devanam priyo savrabhutana  
achhati samyamam samachariyam rabhasiye[.]  
Eshe cha mu[kha]mūte<sup>58</sup> vijaye devanam priyasa  
yo dharmavijayo[.] so cha puna ladho devanam  
priyasa iha cha sa[re]shu cha amteshu [8] a  
shashu pi yojanaśa[te]shu yatra Amtiyoko nama  
Yonaraja param eha tena Amtiyokena chature 4  
rajani Turamaye nama Amtikini nama Maka  
nama Alikasudaro nama[.] nicha Choḍa Parṇa  
ava Tambaparniya evameva Hidaraja[.] Visha-  
Vajri-Yona-Kamboyeshu Nabhake Na[bhi]tina [9]  
Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Amdhra-Puli[de]shu savatra  
devanam priyasa dhramanuṣasti anuvāṇanti[.]  
Yatra pi devanam priyasa dūta na vrachanti te pi  
śru[tu] devanam priyasa dhramavutām vidhenam  
dhramanuṣasti dhramam [an]avidhiyamti anu-  
vidhiyīsamti cha[.] Yo [cha] ladhe etakena bhoṭi  
savatra vijayo sa[vatra] puna [10] vijayo pritiraso  
so[.] Ladha [bhoṭi] priti dhramavijayaspi[.]<sup>62</sup> La-  
huka tu kho sa priti[.] Paralrikameva mabaphala  
meṇati devanam priyo[.] Etaye cha āṇhaye ayo  
dhramadipi [di]pista[?] kiti[?] putra paputra me  
asu navam vijayam ma vijetavi[ya]m māṇishu [.]  
.ka . yo<sup>63</sup> vijaye [chham]ti cha lahudam[da].

" Not legible with certainty in D., where the first syllable looks like *spra*.

*Shāhbāzgarhī.*

tam<sup>65</sup> cha rochetu tam e[va] vija maña.<sup>66</sup> [11]  
yo dhramavijayo[.] So hidalokiko paralokiko[.]  
Savra cha nirati bhotu ya [s]ramarati[.] Sa hi hi-  
dalokika paralokika.[12]

*Mansehra.*

[Kaliga] ya  
pranāṣa  
[1]<sup>07</sup> pachha adhuna la[dbe]sbu Ka[ligē]shu  
ma[nuśa] cha  
[2]  
[a[pava]he va jana] Se  
vedaniyama  
[3] eṣha agraḥhu . suśrūsha  
matapishu [suśrūsha] guru-  
suśrūsha mi . s[amstu]  
[4] . va [abhi . naṁ] va vinikāmaṇe[.]  
Yesham va [pi] samvi naṁ sinehe avi-  
prabi[ne e]ta mitasam  
[5] savraṁ manuśanaṁ  
gurumate cha [deva]naṁ priyasa[.] Nasti cha se  
janapade ya[tra] nasti ime nikaya a . . yenesha  
[braṇaṇa cha ēra[ma]  
pi [jana . si] [6]  
no nama prasade [.] Se yavatake jane tada  
Kaligeshu [hate cha]  
[a]pavudhe cha [tata] śatabhage va sahasrabhage  
aja guruma . e . va . priyasa[.]  
ka . . mitavi [7]  
[Ya]pi cha aṭavi devanaṁ  
priyasa vijitasi [h]oti [ta] pi anunayati anu[n]i  
[jha]paye ti[.] anu[ta]pe pi cha prabhava deva-  
[naṁ] priyasa[.] Vuchati [teshaṁ]  
vanam pri[ye] [8] mute vijaye  
[de]vanam priyasa ye dhramavijaye[.] [se cha  
puna ladhe de] vanam priyasa hida cha savreshu cha

<sup>70</sup> Read *galushushushd*.

<sup>71</sup> The *ná* of *nálikya* stands above the line, and is indistinct.

⁂ Read *shatubhdge*.

71 Read *piyarchā*.

69 Read  $m\dot{A}t\dot{A}^0$ ,

## Kālsī.

[ateshu a shashu [p]i yojanashateshu at[a]<sup>74</sup> Atiyogē  
nāma Yona- . . . palam chā tenā [6]  
Am̐tiyogēnā . chatāli 4 lajāne<sup>75</sup> Tula-  
maye nāma Am̐tekinē<sup>76</sup> n[ā]ma Makā nā-[7] ma  
Alikashudale nāma[,] nicham Choda-Pam̐diyā avam̐  
Tam̐bapam̐niyāhevameva hevamevā<sup>77</sup> [8] [Hi]dalājā[.]  
Viśa-Vaji-Yona-Kam̐bojeshu Nābhake<sup>78</sup> Nābhapaṁ-  
tisbu Bhoja-Pitinikye[shu] [9] Adba-P.l[a]deshu  
shavatā devānam pi[ya]shā dhammānusbathi anuva-  
tānti[.] Y[a]ta<sup>80</sup> pi dutā [10] devānam piyasā no  
yamti te pi sutu devānam piyāmya<sup>81</sup> [dham]mavutam̐  
vidhanam̐ [11] dhammānusbathi dhammam̐ anuvīdhi-  
yamti anuvīdhiyamti chā[.] Ye se [la]dhe [12]  
etakenā hoti savatā [vija]ye<sup>82</sup> pitilase se[.] Gadhā  
sā hoti piti piti dhammavijaya-[13]shi[.] Lahukā vu  
kho'sā piti[.] Pālam̐tikyameve<sup>83</sup> mahaphalā mam̐nam̐[ti]  
devanam̐ pine<sup>84</sup> [14] Etāye chā aṭhāye iyaṁ dhamma-  
lipi-likhitā[.] kiti[?] putā pāpotā me a . <sup>85</sup>[15] navam̐  
vijaya ma vijayamtaviya manishu[.] Shay[a]kashi  
no<sup>86</sup> vijayashi khamti chā lahu-[16] dam̐dātāchā loche-  
tu tameva chā vijayam̐ manatu ye dhammavijaye[.]  
She hidalokikyapalalo-[17] ki.ye<sup>87</sup>[.] Shavā cha  
nilati hotu uyāmalati[.] Shā [h]i hidaloki[k]apalalo-  
kikyā[.] 18]

## Mansehra.

am̐teshu a shashu pi y . . . t . shu . . . yok .  
nama . na . . . [9] . . . . .  
[Maka nama]  
Alikasu[dare] nama[ni]cham̐ oba Choda-Pam̐diya  
a Tam̐bapam̐niya evameva . . . raja[.]  
Viśa-Vaj[ri]-Yona-K . . shu [Nabha]ke<sup>79</sup> [Na]-  
bhapaṁtisbu . oja-Pitini . shu Am̐dha-P . . . [10]  
[na priyasa] no  
y . ti te pi śrutu devanam̐ priyasa dhramavutam̐  
vidhanam̐ dhramanūṣṭi dhrammam̐ anuvīdhi-  
yamti anuvīdhi[yisamti cha] . Y . . .  
[takena [hoti vija.]  
[11]  
[priye[.] [Etaye] ath[ra]ye iyaṁ dhrama . .  
likhita [.] kiti[?] putra prapota me a . nava .  
[12]  
[lokike] . Savra cha nirati  
hotu ya[s]rama[rati] . Sa[hi]hida[lokika] paraloka-  
kika[.]

## EDICT XIV.

## Girnār.

Ayam̐ dhammalipī devānam̐ priyena Priyadasi-  
nā rāñā lekḥāpitā asti eva [1] sam̐khitena asti  
majhamena asti vistatana<sup>89</sup>[.] Na cha sar-  
vam̐ sarvata ghaṭitam̐ [2] Mahālake hi vijitam̐  
bahu cha likhitam̐ likḥāpayisam̐ cheva [.]  
Asti cha eta kam̐ [3] puna puna vutam̐ tasa  
tasa aṭhasa<sup>91</sup> mādḥurātāya [.] kim̐ti [?] jano tathā  
paṭipajetha[4] Tatra ekadā asam̐tām̐ likḥi-  
tām̐ asa desam̐ va sachhāya karanam̐ va[5]  
alochetpā lipikarāparadhena<sup>92</sup> va [6] .

## Shāhbāzgarhī.

Ayo<sup>93</sup> dhramadīpi devanam̐ priyena Priśina<sup>90</sup>  
rañā dipapito asti vo sam̐khitena asti  
yo vistritena[.] Na hi savratra  
[so] savre ghaṭiti[.] Mahālake hi vijite  
bahu cha likhite likḥapeśami cheva[.]  
Asti cha atra puna puna [la]pitam̐ tasa  
tasa [aṭha]sa madhuriyaye [y]e[na] ja[na] tatha  
[13] paṭipajeya ti[.] So siya va atra kichi asa-  
matam̐ likhitam̐ desam̐ va sam̐kḥaye karaṇa va  
alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena[.] 14]

## Kālsī.

Iyam̐ dhammalipi devānam̐ piyenā Piyadashinā lajinā likḥāpitā athi yevā sukhi-[19] tenā  
athi majhimenā athi vitḥaṇēnā[.] No hi savatā save ghaṭite<sup>94</sup>[.] Mahālake hi vi-[20] jite

<sup>74</sup> The apparent *e*-stroke in the second syllable is accidental.

<sup>75</sup> Read *lājāne*.

<sup>76</sup> The last syllable is perfectly distinct on the reverse.

<sup>77</sup> Dele *hevameva*.

<sup>78</sup> The last vowel is distinct on the reverse.

<sup>79</sup> The older impression reads [*Nabha*]ka.

<sup>80</sup> The apparent *d*-stroke in the first syllable is accidental.

<sup>81</sup> Read *piyasa*.

<sup>82</sup> *Vijaye* stands above the line, the *vi* is triangular, the *ja* badly formed.

<sup>83</sup> Read *meva*.

<sup>84</sup> Read *mam̐nati devānam̐ piye*.

<sup>85</sup> Restore *asu*.

<sup>86</sup> Probably *shayakashakashi yo* (i.e. [*e*]vo for *eva*) to be read.

<sup>87</sup> Probably *°kiky* to be read.

<sup>88</sup> *Ayo* according to B.

<sup>89</sup> Read *vistatena*.

<sup>90</sup> Read *Priyadrasin*.

<sup>91</sup> The syllable *sa* has been added as a correction.

<sup>92</sup> Probably a mistake for *lipikarāparadhena*.

<sup>93</sup> The syllable *fi* stands above the line.

*Kālsī.*

bahu cha likhite lekhāpēsāmi cheva nityam [...] Athi chā heta punāpuna lapi-[21] tē tashā  
 tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā [...] She shiyā<sup>21</sup> ata kichhi a-[22] samati  
 likhite dishā vā shamkheye kālanam vā alochayitu lipikalapalādhena vā [...] [23]

TRANSLATION OF THE SHĀHBAZGARHĪ VERSION.<sup>1</sup>

## EDICT I.

This religious edict has been incised by order of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods:—No animal may be slaughtered and offered here as a burnt-sacrifice; nor shall any festive assembly be held; for King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in festive assemblies. There are, however, also some *kinds of* festive assemblies considered most excellent by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.

Formerly many hundred thousand animals were slaughtered daily in the kitchen of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, in order to *prepare* curries. Now, when this religious edict is incised, only three animals are slain *daily*, two (2) peacocks *and* one (1) deer; the deer, however, not even regularly. But in future even these three animals will *no longer* be slaughtered.

## EDICT II.

Everywhere in the empire of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, as well as *among those nations and princes* that are *his* neighbours, such as the Choḍas, the Pāṇḍiyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputa, Tambapāṇṇī, the Yona king, called Aṁtiyoka as well as *among those* who are the vassal-kings of that Aṁtiyoka,—everywhere King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, has founded two (2) *kinds of* hospitals, both hospitals for men and hospitals for animals. Everywhere where herbs wholesome for men and wholesome for animals are not found, they have been imported and sown by *the king's* order. And wells have been dug by his order for the enjoyment of men and beasts.<sup>3</sup>

## EDICT III.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—*When I had been* anointed twelve years [this *following* order was given by me]:—“Everywhere in my empire both *my* loyal Rajukas\* and vassals shall go forth on a tour every five years,—the reason of this

<sup>21</sup> *Shi* stands above the line.

<sup>1</sup> The subjoined translation of Edicts I—X, XIV differs only slightly, as the text requires, from that given, *Arch. Survey, South Ind.*, vol. I, p. 121f. The translation of Edict XII has been taken over almost unaltered from the first volume of this Journal, p. 19f. The translation of Edict XIII is based on my German rendering in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLIII, p. 172f. The few notes given here mostly contain matter not given in my former articles on these inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> The Choḍas are the Cholas of Kāñchi; the Pāṇḍiyas are the Pāṇḍyas of the extreme south; the Satiyaputa is probably the king of the Satvats; the Keralaputa, the king of Kerala or Malabar. Tambapāṇṇī, or Tāmraparṇī, is Ceylon, the Yonas are the Yavanas or Greeks, and Aṁtiyoka is Antiochos II (see below Edict XIII).

<sup>3</sup> Two sentences had been left out, and the last has been mutilated (see the Dhauli version).

<sup>4</sup> *Rajuka*, in Pali *rajjuka*, literally, “rope-holder,” means “Revenue Settlement officer;”—see the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XLVII, p. 466f.



is the preaching the sacred law—as also for other business, (saying):—Meritorious is the obedience towards mother and father [meritorious is the liberality] towards friends, acquaintances, and relatives, towards Brahmans and ascetics; [meritorious is the abstention from killing living creatures], meritorious is the abstention from reviling heterodox *men*. Moreover, *the teachers and ascetics of all schools* will inculcate *what is* befitting at divine service, both according to the letter and according to the spirit.”

## EDICT IV.

A long period, many hundreds of years, have passed, *during which* the slaughter of animals, the cruel treatment of created beings, the unbecoming behaviour towards relatives *and* the unbecoming behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans have only increased. But now, in consequence of the fulfilment of the sacred law by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, the sound of drums,<sup>5</sup> or rather the sound of the law, *has been heard*, while the sight of cars of the gods,<sup>6</sup> elephants, and other heavenly spectacles were exhibited to the people. As has not happened formerly in many centuries, even so have grown now through the god-beloved King Priyadarśin's preaching of the law the non-destruction of animals, the good treatment of living creatures, the decorous behaviour towards relatives, the decorous behaviour towards ascetics and Brahmans, the obedience towards parents, *the obedience* towards the aged. Thus, and in many other ways, the fulfilment of the sacred law has grown, and King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow *still more*. Moreover, the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, will make this fulfilment of the sacred law grow until the end of time, *and* will preach the sacred law, abiding by the sacred law and by virtuous conduct; for that is the best work, *viz.* the preaching of the sacred law; but the fulfilment of the sacred law is not *possible* for a man destitute of virtuous conduct. The growth of this very matter and its non-diminution are meritorious. For this purpose, *viz. that* they may cause the growth of this matter and may not permit its diminution, this *edict* has been written. This *edict* has been written by King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, when he had been anointed twelve years.

## EDICT V.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—Good *works* are difficult of performance. He who is the originator<sup>7</sup> of good *works* does something difficult of performance. Now much good has been done by me. *If* then, my sons and my grandsons and those *among* my descendants who *may come* after them until the end of time, will thus follow *my example*, they will do *what is* meritorious. But he who will give up even a portion of these *virtuous acts* will commit sin, for sin is easily committed.

Now a long period has passed, *and* the *officials* called the Overseers of the Sacred Law have formerly not existed. Now, when I had been anointed thirteen years, I appointed Overseers of the Sacred Law. They are busy among all sects with watching over the sacred law, with the growth of the sacred law, and with the welfare and happiness of *my*

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Jātaka*, iv, 269-76: *dhammabherita charāpesti*.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Fa Hian's account (Beal, p. 106.) of religious processions at Patnā.

<sup>7</sup> The word *adikara*—*ādikaḥ* has been completely preserved in the Mañchra and Kālsī versions alone.

loyal subjects, as also among the Yonas, Kamboyas, Gamdhâras, Rastikas, Pitinikas,<sup>8</sup> and all other nations which are my neighbours. Among my hired servants, among Brahmans and Vaiśyas, among the unprotected and among the aged, they are busy with the welfare and happiness, with the removal of obstacles among my loyal ones. With the prevention of *unjust* imprisonment and of *unjust* corporal punishment, with the removal of obstacles and with loosening bonds, for these purposes they are busy, considering that there is a numerous progeny, or that the person concerned has been overwhelmed by misfortune, or that he is aged. Here, and in all the outlying towns, they are everywhere busy in all the harems of my brothers and sisters, and among my other relatives. These Overseers of the Sacred Law are busy with what concerns the Sacred Law, with watching over the Sacred Law, and with what is connected with pious gifts, in my whole loyal empire. This religious edict has been written for the following purposes, viz. that it may endure for a long time, and that my subjects may act accordingly.

#### EDICT VI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—A long period has elapsed, during which formerly the despatch of business and the hearing of the informers have not regularly taken place. Now I have made the following arrangement, that the informers may report to me the concerns of the people at any time, while I dine, in my harem, in my private rooms, in the latrine, in my carriages, and in my pleasure-garden and everywhere I despatch the business of the people. Moreover, if, with respect to anything which I order by word of mouth to be given or to be obeyed as a command, or which as a pressing matter is entrusted to my officials, a dispute or a fraud happens in the committee of any caste or sect, I have given orders that it shall be brought forthwith to my cognisance in any place and at any time; for I am never satisfied with my exertions and with the despatch of business. For I consider the welfare of all people as something for which I must work. But the root of that is exertion<sup>9</sup> and the despatch of business. There is no more important work than to secure the welfare of all. And what is the purpose of every effort which I make? It is that I may discharge the debt which I owe to the creatures, that I may make some happy in this world, and that they may gain heaven in the next. This religious edict has been written for the following purpose, that it may endure for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may thus exert themselves for the welfare of all men. But that is difficult to carry out without the utmost exertion.

#### EDICT VII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires that adherents of creeds of all kinds may dwell everywhere; for they all seek after self-control and purity of mind. But men possess various desires and various likings. They will put in practice either the whole or a part only of what they profess. But self-control, purity of mind, gratitude and firm attachment are laudable in a lowly man,<sup>10</sup> to whom even great liberality is impossible.

<sup>8</sup> The Rastikas I identify with the Ristikas, a southern nation. The Pitinikas, or Pitenikas, probably had their seats in the same districts.

<sup>9</sup> Compare *Mahābhārata*, XII. 56, 14 and 38, 14, where *utthāna* "exertion" is prescribed for kings and declared to be the root of all good government.

<sup>10</sup> The form *nichā* in the Girnār version instead of *niche*, may be explained as a contraction of *nichāya* i.e. *nichāya*; compare Pillar Edict iv, note on *nijhapayitā*.

## EDICT VIII.

A long period has elapsed, *during which* the beloved of the gods used to go forth on so-called pleasure-tours.<sup>11</sup> On such *occasions* the chase and other similar amusements used to be *pursued*. Now, when King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, had been anointed ten years, he went forth *in search* after true knowledge. Owing to this *event*, religious tours *have become a regular institution here in my empire*. On that *occasion* the following happens, *viz.* the reception of, and almsgiving to, Brahmans and ascetics, the reception of the aged, the distribution of gold, the reception of the people of the provinces, the preaching of the Sacred Law and inquiries concerning the Sacred Law. *It is thus that, in exchange for past pleasures*, King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, since then enjoys the pleasures *which these virtuous actions procure*.

## EDICT IX.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus :—The people performs various auspicious rites in misfortunes, at marriages of sons and daughters,<sup>12</sup> on the birth of sons, at the time of starting on a journey. On these and similar occasions the people perform many auspicious rites. But at such *times* the women perform many and various despicable and useless rites. Now, auspicious rites ought indeed to be performed. But rites of this description produce no results. But the following, the auspicious rite, *which consists in the fulfilment of the Sacred Law*, produces, indeed, great results.<sup>13</sup> That includes kindness towards slaves and servants, reverence towards venerable persons, self-control with respect to living creatures, liberality towards ascetics and Brahmans. These and other similar *virtuous actions* are called the auspicious rites of the Sacred Law. Now a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, ought to speak *as follows* :—“ This is meritorious ; this auspicious rite must be practised until the *desired* aim is attained.” To the success of which *auspicious rites* does this *refer* ? For every worldly auspicious rite is doubtful. It may be that it accomplishes the *desired* object ; but it may be that it remains even in this world. But that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law acts without reference to time. If it does not secure here the *desired* object, it yet produces endless merit in the next world. But, if it secures the *desired* object both are gained ; here that *desired* object, and endless merit is produced<sup>14</sup> in the next world through that auspicious rite of the Sacred Law.

## EDICT X.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, does not think that glory and fame bring much profit, except that he desires glory and fame *with the view* that at present and in the future the people may practise obedience to the Sacred Law, and that they observe the duties of the Sacred Law. For this *purpose* King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, desires glory and fame. But all the efforts of King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, are made with reference to the *results* for a future life. How so ? *It is his wish* that all may be free from danger. Now the danger is sin. But assuredly the thing is difficult

<sup>11</sup> The word *vihārayātrā* occurs in the sense of “ pleasure-tour ” in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacharita*, III, 3, and *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> For the use of *āvāho* and *vivāho* compare the *Ambattha Sutta* 2-1 ( *Dighanikāya*, vol. I, p. 29).

<sup>13</sup> Compare the beginning of the Jaina Daśarāikālika Sūtra, — *dhammo maṅgalam ukkaṭṭham*, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Compare *Jétakas*, IV, 239, 9, *maḥantaṃ puññaṃ parāramīti*.

to accomplish, whether for the low or for the great, except by the greatest exertion and by the renouncing everything. But it is [most difficult] for the great.

#### EDICT XI.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, speaks thus:—"There is no such gift as the almsgiving of the law, *nor anything like* the intimacy through the law, the charitable gift of the law *and* the connection through the law.<sup>16</sup> This *law* includes the good treatment of slaves and servants, obedience towards parents, liberality towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, ascetics and Brahmans, *and* the non-destruction of living creatures. *Therefore* a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, or a friend and acquaintance, or even a neighbour ought to give advice on this matter, *saying* :—"This is meritorious; this ought to be done." He who acts thus both gains this world and produces for himself endless merit in the next through this almsgiving of the sacred law.

#### EDICT XII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, honours men of all creeds, both ascetics and householders, by gifts and honours of various kinds. But the Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what?—that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds. But the increase of essentials *may happen* in various ways. But this is its root, *viz.* guarding one's speech—how so? "Honouring one's own creed and blaming other creeds shall not be in unimportant points, or it shall be moderate with respect to this or that important point." But other creeds must even be honoured for this or that reason. Acting thus, one exalts one's creed and benefits also the other creeds. Acting differently, one hurts one's own creed and injures the other creeds. How so? For he who honours his own creed and blames all other creeds out of reverence for his own creed *thinking* "I promote thereby the interests of my own creed," however, acting thus, injures his own creed exceedingly. Hence self-restraint<sup>17</sup> alone *is* commendable. How so? "They shall hear each other's law and love to hear it."<sup>18</sup> For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods. What?—"that men of all creeds shall have heard much and shall possess holy doctrines. And to those who adhere to this or that *faith* it must be said: "The Beloved of the gods thinks not so *much* of gifts and honours as of what?—"that an increase of essentials may take place among men of all creeds and a large one." For this end are working the Overseers of the Sacred Law, the Superintendents of women, the *Vachabhūmikas*<sup>19</sup> and other bodies of officials. And this is its result, *viz.* the exaltation of one's own creed and the promotion of the interests of the law.

#### EDICT XIII.

King Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, being anointed eight years, conquered the country of Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand souls were carried away thence, one

<sup>16</sup> Compare *Itivuttaka*, p. 98 (Windisch), where most of the terms used in this Edict occur, as well as the general views.

<sup>17</sup> The reading of the other three versions *samavāya* "concord, harmony" is better than *sayamo* "self-restraint," i.e. with respect to opponents.

<sup>17</sup> Or, possibly, [they shall obey (it as far as it is worthy to be obeyed).]

<sup>19</sup> As the Mansehra version offers *Vachabhūmika*, the term may mean either "Overseers of the latrines," or (*vraja-bhūmika*) "Overseers of cowpens," see *Kāmasāstra*, p. 290, l. 1 (Durgaprasāda).

hundred thousand were slain, *and* many times as many died. Afterwards, now that Kalinga has been conquered, *are found* with the Beloved of the gods a zealous protection of the Sacred Law, a *zealous* love for the Sacred Law, a *zealous* teaching of the Sacred Law. That is the repentance of the Beloved of the gods on account of his conquest of Kalinga; for when an unconquered country is being conquered<sup>19</sup> there *happens* both a slaying and a dying, and a carrying-off of the people. That appears very painful and regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. But the following appears to the Beloved of the gods still more regrettable than that; for there dwell Brahmans, or ascetics, or men of other creeds, or householders, among whom the following is practised, *viz.* obedience towards the first-born (?), obedience towards parents, obedience towards venerable persons, becoming behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, slaves and servants, and firm attachment. Such *men* suffer there injury or destruction, or forcible separation from their beloved ones. Or misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those who themselves are well protected, *but* whose affection is undiminished. Then even that misfortune becomes an injury just for those *unhurt ones*. All this *falls* severally on men, and appears regrettable to the Beloved of the gods. And *men* have faith not merely in a single creed.<sup>20</sup>

Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those men who were slain, died, or were carried off during the conquest of Kalinga, now appears to the Beloved of the gods *a matter* of deepest regret. Even, if *a man* does *him* an injury, the Beloved of the gods holds that all that can be borne should be borne. Even on *the inhabitants* of the forests, found in the empire of the Beloved of the gods he takes compassion, *if he is told* that he should destroy them successively,—and the Beloved of the gods possesses power to torment *them*. Unto them it is said—what? “Let them shun *doing evil*, and they shall not be killed;” for the Beloved of the gods desires for all beings freedom from injury, self-restraint, impartiality and joyfulness.

But this conquest the Beloved of the gods holds the *chietest*, *viz.* the conquest through the Sacred Law. And that conquest has been made by the Beloved of the gods both here *in his empire* and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where the King of the Yonas, called Am̐tiyoka *dwells*, and beyond this Am̐tiyoka, *where* the four (4) Kings *dwell*, *viz.*, he called Turamaya, he called Am̐tikini, he called Maka, and he called Alikasudara<sup>21</sup> *further* in the south, *where* the Chodas and Pam̐das *dwell* as far as Tambapam̐ni, likewise *where* the Hida-king *dwells*. Among the Viśas, Vajris,<sup>22</sup> Yonas, Kamboyas, in Nābhaka of the Nābhitis, among the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Am̐dhras, and Pulidas—everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods with respect to the Sacred Law. Even those to whom the messengers of the Beloved of the gods do not go, follow the Sacred Law, as soon as they have

<sup>19</sup> For the construction compare the reading of the MSS. A and B in the passage *Jātaka*, III, p. 276.—*Senako nān rajjam kārento Bodhisatto Sakkattam kāresi.*

<sup>20</sup> The King means to say that on the occasion of conquests many creeds suffer, as there is no country where the people are contented with one only. The Kālsī version, with which that of Gīrnār seems to have agreed, is more explicit, as it says: “And there is no country where there are not found these countless congregations into which these Brahmans and ascetics are divided. And there is nowhere a country where the people have faith in one creed alone.”

<sup>21</sup> According to Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Bd. II, p. 251 f. the five Yona or Greek kings named are Antiochos II., king of Syria (died 247 B.C.), Ptolemaios II., king of Egypt (died 246 B.C.), Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia (died 239 B.C.), Magas, king of Cyrene (died 259 B.C.), Alexander, king of Epirus (died between 202 and 258 B.C.).

<sup>22</sup> The Viśas are probably the Bais Rajputs, the Vajris the Vṛjīs of Eastern India.

heard of the orders of the Beloved of the gods, issued in accordance with the Sacred Law, and his teaching of the Sacred Law, and they will follow it in future.

And the conquest which thereby has been made everywhere—a conquest made everywhere—yields a feeling of joy. But this joy is indeed only *something* small. The Beloved of the gods esteems as precious only that which refers to the next world.

And this religious edict has been written for the following purpose. Why? “In order that my sons and grandsons *as many as* they may be, may not think a new conquest desirable, in order that on *the occasion of* a conquest, only possible by the sword,”<sup>23</sup> they may find pleasure in mildness and gentleness, and in order that they may deem a conquest through the sacred law alone a *real* conquest. That yields bliss in this world and in the next. All their joy be the joy in exertion; for, that yields bliss in this world and in the next.

#### EDICT XIV.

These religious edicts<sup>24</sup> have been written by order of King Priyadaśin, beloved of the gods, *under a form*, whether abridged, or expanded. For not everything is suitable in every place. For my empire is large, and much has been written, and I shall write *still more*. Certain *sentences* have been repeated over and over again because of the sweetness of their import. And for what purpose *has that been done?* *It is with the intention* that the people may act thus. But it may be that something has been written here incompletely, be it on account of the space, be it on account of some reason to be *especially* determined, or through a mistake of the writer.

### XXXVII.—A COLLECTION OF SANADS OF MOGHUL EMPERORS.

BY PAUL HORN, Ph.D., STRASSBURG.

Mr. H. Blochmann remarks in his translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* that the 19th chapter of the second book on the *Sayārghāls* is one of the most interesting in Abul Fazl's whole work. The collection of seventy *sanads* discussed here may therefore claim some interest<sup>1</sup> as almost all of them refer to the grant of such rent-free lands, and thus illustrate the formalities and usages of the institution in the most instructive manner, even if they fail to furnish much valuable historical information.

The general points concerning the granting of *Sayārghāls* being well known. I shall restrict myself, after a few short remarks as to the age and origin of the *sanads*, to hint at some details that arise from their study, giving as specimens the text of three of them with translation. They belong chiefly to the *pargana* of Batāla (spelt Batālah or Batālā, and perhaps in the oldest of the documents Watālah) in the Panjāb, only a small number being from other cities or districts as Akbarābād, Jalālābād, Biāh, Chamāri, Dābhāwāla, and Patihāibatpūr. Occasionally we find mention of such villages as Bhagwānpūr, Faizuddīnpūr, Harpūr, Kartārpūr, Rahīmābād, Rasūlpūr

<sup>23</sup> The translation gives a free rendering of the Gīrnār reading, *saravake eva*, literally “only possible by arrows.”

<sup>24</sup> The word *dhamadipi* or *dhammalipi* has here to be taken in a collective sense; compare the use of *Smṛiti*, *Sruti* and similar terms in Sanskrit.

<sup>1</sup> These *sanads* were obtained by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, of the Archaeological Survey in the Panjāb, and by the Government of India were ordered to be distributed among the British, Calcutta, Lahore and Lakhnau Museums.

and Shâhjahânpûr, belonging to the *pargana* of Batâla, or Pâdishâhpûr *alias* Kalânkhurdpûr, belonging to Patihabtpûr, or with localities in Batâla as the *masjid-i-jâmi'-i kalân* 'the large jâmi-mosque' and the *maḥalla-i qâzî Isma'il Muhammad* 'the quarter of judge Ism'ail Muhammad.' The sanads were written under the rule of the Emperors Bâbar, Jahângîr, Shâhjahân, Aurangzêb, Shâh 'Âlam, Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Shâh, Ahmad Shâh, and Tîmûr Shâh.

Among all the names of the persons on whom lands were conferred through these papers only a very few belong to important men. They are almost all small people, mostly women who scarcely would be found in the chronicles, not even the Shaikhs and Qâzîs that sometimes appear. No assignation of grounds to one person reaches a hundred *big'has*, an allowance that Badâuni (vol. III, p. 205) states as too mean for a learned man, and in most cases the grants vary between 10 and 12 big'has or something more, except rare grants of 40, 60 or 70 to Shaikhs, or once to a wife of such a pious man. The *big'ha* is defined as a *jarîb-i shastgâzî*, i.e. 60 gaz long and by 60 broad;<sup>2</sup> if fractions of *big'has* occur we find *biswas*, but no *biswânsas*. It was not customary, as appears from these sanads generally to execute a separate document for every single little allotment, but to take together several persons in one party. Sometimes an order extends even to several parties, the amounts of the property of individuals not being specified in the text. But the statements in question are given on the back, written in *siyâqat*-characters. Also, the individual members of each party are not enumerated in the text, but only one as a representative followed by the words *wa ghairuhu*, *wa ghairuhâ*, or seldom *wa jamâ'atuhu*, with or without the added *shurakâ-i* (for men and women), viz., *sharikahâ-i farmân*. A farmân, e.g., generally concerns *musammât Maulânâ Khâtîb wa ghairuhu*, and afterwards we learn that these others were Maulânâ Hâmid, Maulânâ Ahmad, and Maulânâ Ya'qûb; or it is about *musammât Daulat Khâtûn wa ghairuhâ*, and on the back we find the other names Rahmat Khâtûn, Bibî Aima, Bibî Fâtima, and Maryam Khâtûn, all written without diacritical points and in very cursive characters, the representative person pointed at only by a *mushâr ilaihi*. A farmân of a first grant of lands naturally always prescribes the measurement and boundaries (*paimûdan u chak bastan*) of the new territory, a superfluous business if the grounds were already in the possession of somebody and if therefore the matter was only a re-investment. In this case in the beginning the date of the first grant is always mentioned. We seldom read that the donations took place at different times (*batawârikh u sanîn-i mukhtalifa*).

For a rent-free fee the Chagatai word *sayûrghâl* is only once used, viz., in the oldest sanad of Bâbar's time, and the Arabic *aima* seldom occurs; generally the Arabic-Persian *madad-i-ma'âsh* is used. If an owner has died it can be transferred to his heir, and so we find grounds that have been for some centuries in the possession of the same family. Likewise the heir succeeds to the testator in case of the latter undertaking at an advanced age the pilgrimage to Makka and Madîna. Once the grant is renewed because one of two parties has died, the other being alive. In the new *farmân* therefore the dead person is replaced by his heirs and the lands are granted anew to those and the old surviving possessors, quite on the former conditions. A *sanad* of Shâhjahân's reign mentions

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Col. H. S. Jarrett's note in his translation of the *Âin-i-Akbarî*, vol. II, p. 61, and the 10th chapter, p. 62. We learn from Badâuni (vol. II, p. 206) that the salary of a commander of twenty, lowest rank of an officer in the Moghul army, was equivalent to the revenues of a thousand *big'has*.

an order that restricted the right of the heirs in the *Sūba* of Lāhōr to part of the property of the testators in *sayūrghāl*-land, viz., to 58 *big'has* 8 *biswas*; in one case the number of 107 *big'has* 8 *biswas* is diminished therefore by 49 *big'has* that were again made domain lands (*khālīṣa sharīfa*), and the rest was handed to the heirs. This may be one of the many tricks invented by the *śadrs* and *qāzis*—who, as Abul Fazl says, wear a turban (as a sign of respectability), but are bad at heart, and who wear long sleeves, but fall short in sense—in order to injure people if they did not prefer even open force.

If a person gets a fee for the first time, it is always stated that he was a worthy one and could not gain his livelihood by other means, the latter formula also occurring in the re-instatement of a former possessor or on the succession of his heir. The former owners of these sanads therefore must be reckoned amongst the third class of men that lands were bestowed upon (*Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 198)—I may mention here that *sayūrghāls* are conferred on certain persons even in the so-called '*Institutes of Amīr Timūr*,' (see Davy-White's edition pp. 235, 305). Besides, it was to be proved by credible witnesses that the people in question were alive, a function mostly performed by two Shaikhs, at Batāla often by the *mudarras* of the *jāmi'*-mosque and the *mufti*. Before the sanad could be written a memorandum or a *yāddāsht-i wāq'i'a* was to be presented, and such papers are sometimes specially mentioned.

It is often said that the owners of a rent-free fee are to be 'assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire.' This was also the common benevolent phrase for persons that were discharged from the service in the Moghul empire (conf. '*Ālamgīr-nāma*, p. 594).

In Akbar's time the rule followed in conferring land was, that all *sayūrghāl*-lands should consist of one-half of tilled land and one-half capable of cultivation; in these sanads only land of the latter kind is granted (*zamīn-i uftāda-i lā'iq-i-zirā'at*) and sometimes *banjar*-land, i.e., such as has been uncultivated for five years or more (*Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I., p. 297).

Of course a certain order is observed in putting the seals on these *farmānhā-i thabti*—such were issued for conferring *sayūrghāls* according to the *Āin-i Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 194—as in all Muhammadan public documents; naturally with some differences under various kings. The sanad of Bābar's time renewing the grant of a village with a revenue of 5,000 copper tankas (i.e., 250 rupees) to Qāzi Jalāl, judge of Batāla, in A.H. 933, has been signed only with the emperor's own seal—round the middle field bearing the words *Zahīruddīn Muhammad Bābar* and the date 928, in five panels the names of his ancestors to Amīr Timūr have been inscribed. Likewise the documents bestowing a first *sayūrghāl*, besides the *tughrā*, bear only the seals of the emperors, viz., Jahāngīr—a square, round the centre the names of his forefathers inscribed in circles, and in the four extreme corners four names of Allāh; 'Ālamgīr—a square exactly like that of Jahāngīr's, only larger; and one with the seal of prince Aurangzēb before his accession to the throne, dated the 6th *Jumādī'l auwal* 1069 (30th January 1659), the *julūs* being on the 24th *Ramazān* (the 15th June) of the same year. The seal of the king's son is a round one and contains the words *Muhammad Aurangzēb Bahādur Ghāzī thānī-i Šāhib-qirān thānī*.<sup>3</sup> These sanads are all on paper about 33 inches by 17 (but the margins are

<sup>3</sup> See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II., p. 147, note 23.—A drawing of Aurangzēb's imperial seal is to be found in Sir Thomas Roe's account of his residence at the court of the Great Moghul (cf. *Histoire générale des voyages Paris 1746 seq.* vol. xi, p. 57.)



now all more or less cut and torn off), and are handsomely written in fair *ta'liq*, except Bâbar's one (that measures 13 by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and is in very cursive characters). In Akbar's and Jahângîr's time we find the *Ilâhî* era exclusively used, while later it is seldom mentioned, but that of the Hijra is employed.

There are also some sanads granting *sayûrghâls* sealed only by officials, and not by the emperor himself, whose name however is read on the seals of the latter.\* The size of these sanads is considerably smaller than that of the monarch's; it varies between 16 to 20 inches by about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches; the writing generally is very irregular. Sometimes the *Šadr ul-šudûr* commands the performance of an imperial *farmân* and gives orders for the assigned lands to be surveyed; such sanads in 'Âlamgîr's time bear only the seal of the functionary named, whereas under Jahângîr and Shâh 'Âlam the seals also of the *Diwân* or of the *Khân Khânân* were affixed. In Farrukh Siyar's reign in these cases the Qâzi's seal takes the first place accompanied by those of different lower officials and private people. If the matter is a re-investment, as in most cases, we always find two seals.

There occur as sealing *Šadr ul-šudûr*'s:

Rizawî Bukhârî, 24th year of 'Âlamgîr (who died in the same year,—conf. *Ma'âthir-i 'Âlamgîrî*, p. (207) and *Ma'âthir ul-Umarâ*, vol. II, pp. 308, 309);

Sharîf Khân, 25th year of 'Âlamgîr (who was elevated to this dignity in the same year,—conf. *Ma'âthir-i 'Âlamgîrî*, p. 219);

Asad Khân, 15th and 32nd years of 'Âlamgîr (with the dates 1081, 14 and 1088, 20 on his seals), i.e., Âsâf uddaula Jumlat ul-Mulk Asad Khân. He is styled *Tarkhân* in another *farmân* (16th year); and

Amjad Khân *Šadr Jahân*, 49th year of Shâh 'Âlam.

Not bearing the title of *Šadr ul-šudûr* on their seals, as also Asad Khân does not, but in that function, appear:

Siyâdat Khân, 38th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the date 1096, 28 on his seal, in which year he, Sayyid Oghlan, received this title, cf. *Ma'âthir ul-Umarâ*, vol. II, p. 495);

Amîn Khân Bahâdur, 47th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the date 1113, 46 on his seal); and

Amîr ul-Umarâ, 48th year of 'Âlamgîr (with the date 1113, 45 on his seal).

In the re-investment-documents we find two seals: that of the *Diwân* (*-i qul*) and that of the *Šadr*, but generally without titles. That one of them must belong to the *Diwân* is (besides *Âin-i-Akbarî*, vol. I, p. 195, line 6 *et seq.*) shown in a sanad of the 50th year of 'Âlamgîr which bears Hâfiz Khân's seal, who in that year became *Diwân* of Lâhôr,—till then having been in the service of Gauharârâi Bêgum, younger sister of the emperor (*Ma'âthir-i 'Âlamgîrî*, p. 513). The same document has also the seal of Mir Khwâja Shâh, who is here exceptionally styled *Šadr*. The dates of the entries of the sanads in the registers of the *šadârat* and the *diwân* (*-i sa'âdat*) are always noted, the latter falling one or more weeks later than the first. The *šadr*'s seal is placed outside the text in the vertical fold on the right, that of the *Diwân* is a little higher up, above the text itself and under a single line containing the name of the reigning

The same was also the case during the Sassanian period (cf. *Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Heft IV, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, herausgegeben von Paul Horn und Georg Steindorff, Berlin, 1891, p. 28.) The Sassanian high functionaries did not seal with the portrait of the king, but often with his name.

king (on the margin the monarch who had first granted the fee is shortly mentioned with his *post-mortem*-title). The following *Diwāns* and *Sādrs* appear together :

Śābir 'Alī and Sayyid Ahmad, 11th and 13th years of Jahāngīr,

Diyānat Khān and Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādirī, 23rd year of 'Ālamgīr (the first with the date 1084, 17 on his seal);<sup>6</sup>

'Abd Ilāhyārul-Husainī and Aslam Khānazād, 33rd year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 1089, 21, *viz.*, 1093, 27 on the seals);

Mīr Ahmad Khān and Aslam Khānazād, 37th year of 'Ālamgīr (the latter with the date 1094, 27 on his seal);

Abū (?) Kāzim and 'Abd ul-Bāqī, 44th year of 'Ālamgīr (with the dates 32, *viz.*, 1110, 42 on the seals);

Sa'adatmand Khān and Sayyid Ashraf Khān, 3rd year of Shāh 'Ālam (with the dates 1120, *viz.*, 1119, 1 on the seals);

Sa'adatmand Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 2nd year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the engraved 'first year' on his seal, as also in the following case);

Fazl 'Alī Khān and Khwāja Futūh, 4th and 5th years of Farrukh Siyar;

Ziyāuddīn Muhammad Khān and Futūh Khān, 7th year of Farrukh Siyar (the latter with the date 'third year' on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhammad Śālih, 5th and 8th years of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1133, *viz.*, 1134 and 1135 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid 'Azīz Khān, 10th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.* 1139, 9 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Mīrakshāh Khān, 14th year of Muhammad Shāh (the latter with the date 1142, 12 on his seal);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Sayyid Sultān Husain Khān Mausawī, 15th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the date 1138, *viz.*, 1145, 15 on the seals);

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Mīr Muhyi'ddīn Mausawī, 18th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.* 1148 on the seals); and

Sayyid Shahāmat Khān and Khwāja Islāh Khān, 19th year of Muhammad Shāh (with the dates 1138, *viz.*, 1149, 19 on the seals).

With one seal only (on the right) the same documents have been sealed in the 25th year of Muhammad Shāh (Sayyid Mīrak Khān, 1153, 22), in the 2nd year of Ahmad Shāh (Shamshêrbêg Khān Khānazād, 1161, 1), and in the first year of Timūr Shāh (Dāwar Khān Śadr ul-śudūr). Except the farmāns sealed with the personal seals of the emperors a *tughrā* has but seldom been added the drawing of which is then always very poor and artless.

Even the higher functionaries did not employ a new seal every year, that is to say, they did not alter the date. We often find seals therefore with years that considerably differ from those of the sanads themselves.

On some signets the possessors are styled *murīd* or *murīd-i pādishāh*, a title introduced by Akbar.

<sup>6</sup> Nizāmuddīn Hasan Qādirī occurs as *Sadr ul-śudūr* also in the text of some sanads from 'Ālamgīr's 22nd year. The Qādirīs were a darwesh order. Nineteen principles of theirs are enumerated in the Berlin Persian manuscript, *Petermann, No. 721*, (*cf.* Pertsch, *Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, No. 233, 2, p. 276).—Khānazāds were a sort of pages educated at the imperial court (*cf.* *Ma'āthir ul-Umarā*, vol. 1, p. 797).

There are also some private documents in this collection of sanads, the most interesting of which concern the sale and purchase of lands. We learn from them the value of arable lands in the *pargana* of Batála, viz., 251 rupees for 100 *big'has*, 20 rupees for 5 *big'has*, 42 rupees for 15 *big'has* 17 *biswas*, 122 rupees 8 annas for 35 *big'has banjar*-land, and 60 rupees for 20 *big'has zamín-i dárání*, the price of the *big'ha* varying therefore between  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 rupees. The sales took place under the rule of Muhammad and Ahmad Sháh, the rupees and the annas being specified as '*álamgírí*. In Sháh 'Álam's time once *Buhlúlís* or *Dám-i 'álámgírí's* are mentioned. One-half of the fixed amount is always paid on account. As is customary in Christian countries by illiterates to draw a cross instead of the signature, we find a circle once adopted for this purpose by a woman obliged to sign the document about the sale of her grounds. These papers bear the seal of the *Qâzî* as of the competent official and the signatures and seals of a number of witnesses. Judges of Batála were according to our sanads:—

Qâzî Arjumand in the year 1115 (2), the seal with the date 1112; Qâzî 'Atâ Ulláh, son of 'Azim Ulláh, 1139, on the seal 1120; Qâzî Ahliyat Ulláh, 1141, on the seal 1138; Qâzî Mir Muhammad, 1141, 1147, and 1161, and

Walî Muhammad, son of the dismissed Qâzî Hibat Ulláh, 'who, as his father extended the hand of oppression and tyranny over the inhabitants,' and for this reason, in the second year of Sháh 'Álam's reign, the citizens presented a petition that he should be deposed and be replaced by their former just Qâzî Ghulám Muhammad, whose seal with the date 48 appears on documents from 'Álamgír's 49th year. I am not sure if this request was entirely successful, at all events in A. H. 1120, 1125, and 1126 the desired Ghulám Muhammad was not judge, but Muhammad Walî Ulláh, who is perhaps identical with the unjust Walî Muhammad.

In the 16th year of Muhammad Sháh Mîr Muhammad, son of Mîr Muhammad Qâim, was appointed judge of Batála, as successor of Amânat Ulláh, and he was confirmed in this office after Ahmad Sháh's accession to the throne. The documents bear the seals of Mîr Muhy'iddin Khânazâd, 1118, and Shamshehbêg Khân Khânazâd, 1161. That Jalâl was Qâzî of Batála in A.H. 933 has already been mentioned.

Finally there are a few other sanads, e.g., one concerning the grant of a daily allowance of 12 annas to Shaikh Nûr Muhammad and his companions in Patihai-batpûr, to be paid by the *fautadâr* of that town, or regarding the lease of the village of Pâdishâhpûr *alias* Kalânkhardpûr in the *pargana* of Patihai-batpûr, amounting to 550 rupees a year and being to be delivered to the *fautakhâna*, which need not to be further described.

I now give as a specimen the text<sup>6</sup> of three *sayûrghâl-sanads*, together with their English translations:—

درینوقت میمنت غفران فرمان و الاشان واجب الانعان صادر شد که چهل بیگه زمین افتاده لائق زراعت  
خارج جمع از پرکنه چماري مضاف بصوبه پنجاب در رجه مدد معاش مسلمات راج بی بی غیرها حسب الضمن  
مقرر باشد که حاصل آنرا صرف مایحتاج نموده بدعای بقای دولت ابدطراز مراظبت نمایند باید که حکام و عمال  
و جاگیرداران و کورریان حال و استقبال اراضی مزبور را پیمرده و چک بسته بتصرف آنها بازگذارند و اصلاً و مطلقاً

<sup>6</sup> I have spelt the Persian words more correctly than they appear sometimes in the originals.

تغییر و تبدیل بدان راه ندهند و بعثت مال رجهات و اخراجات مثل قتلغه و پیشکش و جربانه و مضابطانه و محصلانه و مهرانه و داروگانه و پیکار و شکار و مقدمی و قانونگری و ضبط هرساله بعد تشخیص چک و تکرار زراعت و کل مطالبات سلطانی و تکالیف دیرانی مزاحم نشوند و اندرین باب هر سال سند مچّد نطلبند و اگر در محل دیگر چیزی داشته باشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند بیست و نهم شوال سال چهل از جلوس والا نوشته شد<sup>۷</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

"In this happy time the high order which is necessary to be heard came forth that 40 *bīg'has* of fallow land, capable of cultivation, allodial to the *pargana* of Chamāri that belongs to the *sūba* of the Panjāb, according to the endorsement were bestowed as a rent-free fee upon P. P. Rāj Bibi and companions. They may spend the revenues of it for their needs, being assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the enduring empire. The present and future magistrates, tax-gatherers, *jāgīr*-holders and *krōrīs* having surveyed the stated lands and marked their boundaries<sup>8</sup> should give them into their possession, and by no means allow any alteration or change. After the settlement of the boundaries and the new cultivation one should not trouble them for any demands of the Government and the levies of the court in the shape of quit-rent, taxes, and tributes, as *qutlugha*, presents, the rates of *jarībāna*,<sup>9</sup> *zābīlāna*, *muhāssīlāna*, *mahrāna*, *dārōghagāna*, for war and chase, the *muqaddimī* and *qānūngōyī*, and the annual sequestrations. Regarding this no new order should be yearly expected and other eventual existing appointments not considered.<sup>10</sup> Written on the 29th Shawwāl of the 40th year since the sublime accession to the throne (*viz.*, of 'Ālamgīr)."

On the back the text of the *yād-hāsh-i wāqī'a*, dated Monday, the 13th Rabi II, of the 39th year (21st November, 1695) is given, and besides the dates of entry in the registers the names of Rāj Bibi's companions, *viz.*, Nūr Bibi, Šāhib Khātūn, and Sharifa Bānū, each of them getting 10 *bīg'has*.

Another sanad concerning a re-investment runs:

حضرت محمد شاه پادشاه غازی خد ملکه ابد

خلد منزل

گماشتهای جاگیرداران و کروربان حال و استقبال پرگنه بنالا مضاف صوبه پنجاب بداند چون بموجب فرمانعالیشان حضرت مرقوم بتاریخ ۲ شعبان سنه ۳ موزی پنجاب و نه بیگنه زمین از پرگنه مذکور در وجه مدد معاش مسماة نورخاتون و غیرها شرکایی فرمان و عبدالغنی و غیره ورث محمد عاقل و غیره بتجویز مدور سابق مقرر است درینرا بتصدیق ثقات بوضوح پیوست که مشار الیهم حی و قائم و اراضی مزبوره را قابض و متصرف اند و از صمر دیگر رجه معیشت ندارند بنابر آن بتصدق فرق مبارک بندگان حضرت خدیو جهان خداوند زمان باعث امن و امان ظل ظلیل ایزد متعال نائب نبیل دادار بیهمال مظهر اتم پروردگار رحمت اعم آفریدگار مقنن قوانین جهانداري مبدء مهاک کرم گستری خلافت پناه ظل اراضی مرقومه<sup>10</sup> از محلقدیم بدستور سابق بشرط فیض و تصرف حسب الضمن مقرر و مسلم داشته شد می باید که زمین مسطره را در تصرف آنها و گذاشته اصلاً و مطلقاً متعرض

<sup>7</sup> In other sanads the *Chaudharis* (I cannot understand for what reason Blochmann has banished this spelling into the notes of his *Ām-i Akbari*-edition,—*fec.* vol. I, p. 198, line 15, instead of putting it into the text), *Qānūngōis*, *Muqaddums* and *Maliks* are said to have taken part and consented to this act.

<sup>8</sup> These technical terms are all fully explained in the dictionaries.

<sup>9</sup> I know that this last phrase also could be translated 'if they should have possessed something in another place (*besider the above sayūrghāi*) it should not be taken notice of,' but I have preferred the above translation as more harmonizing with the contents.

<sup>10</sup> Corrected from *marqīma-rā* according to other sanads.

نشرند تا حاصلات آنرا فصل بفصل و سال بسال صرف مایحتاج خردها ساخته بدعای درام دولت ابدطراز مواظبت  
مینمرد باشند و اگر در محلی دیگر چیزی داشته باشند آنرا اعتبار نکنند شرح تحریر فی التاریخ دریم شهر جمادی الاول  
سنه ۱۸ جارس متعلی مطابق سنه ۱۱۴۸ هجری المقدس شد

## TRANSLATION.

"Shâh 'Âlam."—His Majesty Muhammad Shâh-i Ghâzî, may God perpetuate his reign for ever!

"The present and future representatives of the *Jâgîr*-holders and *Krôris* of the *pargana* of Batâla, belonging to the *śûba* of the Panjâb, may know: According to the high order of His Majesty, dated the 2nd Sha'bân of the third year (*i.e.*, of Shâh 'Âlam), 59 *bîg'has* of the land of the *pargana* stated have been bestowed as a rent-free fee, by former *Sadrs* upon P. P. Nûr Khâtûn and companions, partners of the *farmân*, and upon P. P. 'Abd ul-Ghânî and companions, heir of Muhammad 'Âqil and companions. It now being evidenced through trustworthy testimony that the above-named are alive, really own and possess the stated lands, and do not get their livelihood otherwise, on that account as an alms of the blessed head of the slave (*of God*), His Majesty the sovereign of the world, the master of the time, the author of safety and security, the covering shadow of the sublime God, the excellent viceregent of the peerless distributor of justice, the most perfect manifestation of the all-nourisher, the universal pity of the creator, the founder of the institutions of the world-possessing, who lays the foundation of the carpet of graciousness, the asylum of the khalifate,—the possession of the stated lands, in the former place and on the former conditions, according to the endorsement has been graciously ratified and intrusted. One ought to restore the described grounds into their possession, hindering them not at all, and absolutely not from spending the revenues from season to season and year to year for their own needs and to be assiduous in prayer for the perpetuity of the everlasting empire. If there should exist any appointment, otherwise<sup>11</sup> it is not to be taken notice of. Written on the 2nd *Jumâdî'l awwal* of the 18th year since the sublime accession to the throne (*i.e.*, of Muhammad Shâh), corresponding to the year 1148 of the holy flight (*the 20th September, 1735*)."

On the back the endorsement of Shâh 'Âlam is written, as always in these cases. The names of Nûr Khâtûn's partners were 'Aziz Khâtûn, daughter of Shaikh Muhammad, 'Âmila, Shams Khâtûn, daughter of Ilyâs, Hayât Bânû, those of 'Abdul Ghani's Jân Bibî, Sâliha Bânû, etc.

Bâbar's sanad runs—<sup>12</sup>

عز الغالب

فرمان ظہیر الدین محمد بابر غازی

درین وقت فرمان جهان مطاع واجب الاتباع شرف نفاذ یافت که چون مریض منکھراکل بهرری از پرگنه  
وتلاه که جمع رقمی ان مبلغ پنجهزار تنکہ سیاه است برسم سیورغال تعلق بقاضی جلال قاضی پرگنه مذکور است

<sup>11</sup> *Rhuld-manzil* was Shâh 'Âlam's *post-mortem*-name.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. note 9.

<sup>13</sup> This *farmân* is very difficult to decipher. The characters want almost all diacritical dots; they are indeed not more fluently written than those of the other sanads, but the tenor is different, so that it cannot be understood by the help of the others. I am indebted for a very few hints to Mr. Jamî Khân Ghôri at Berlin, who has seen the document, but notwithstanding there remain some doubtful words. My transcript of the name of the village is quite tentative.

میداشته حالا بر همانستور بدر متعلق شش سنه و بعثت مال رجهات و سایر مترجہات مزاحم و متعرض مشارالیه نشوند و بعرض شد و حوالی تزیید می آمد کہ برین مرجع معزم [؟] خاصه بتصریم شد و ہرسالہ بفرمان و پیرانچہ مچدد محتاج ندانند در زمان [؟] بقصر ہما تحریر شد فی شہر ذی قعدہ سنہ ۹۳۳

## TRANSLATION.

"He (*God*) is the conqueror!

"*Farmân* of *Zahîr-uddîn Muhammad Bâbar-i-Ghâzî*.

"Now the order to be obeyed by all the world and necessary to be respected has the honour of setting forth that the village of Manchharâkal, belonging to *pargana* Watâla, the total register of which amounts to 5,000 copper-tankas (250 *Rupees*) and which as a *Sayûrghâl* has been bestowed upon Qâzî Jalâl, judge of the city named, is now granted to him on the same conditions for six years. No one should molest nor trouble the aforesaid for quit-rents, *jihât* and *sâir mutawajjihât*.<sup>14</sup> On request it was further enjoined that the imperial seal has been affixed for evidence, and every year a new farmân or order shall not be thought necessary. Written at . . . . . in the castle 'Phoenix,' in the month *Zî Qa'da*, 933 (*began the 30th July, 1527*)."

On the back the following words are written:—

"Order of the chief wazîr of the cities of faithful mankind, Shaikh....."

Unfortunately the name of the Shaikh is not legible and his seal is also very indistinct.

## XXXVIII.—FURTHER PÂBHOSÂ INSCRIPTIONS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In addition to the three larger inscriptions, published by Dr. Führer (*ante*, p. 240ff), the Pâbhosâ cave contains a number of small and difficult ones, regarding which I offer some remarks at the request of the Editor, though I am unable to give in every case certain and complete readings or satisfactory explanations. All of them are somewhat carelessly incised on the hermit's bed and seem to belong to a period, when the cave was no longer occupied by the original donee or donees. The characters show the types of the seventh or eighth century A.D. The language is incorrect Sanskrit, occasionally, it would seem mixed with Prakrit.

## No. I.

## TRANSCRIPT.

L. 1. Śrī-Prayagāṃ var[e ?]uttam(?)[p ?]odhaki(?)h

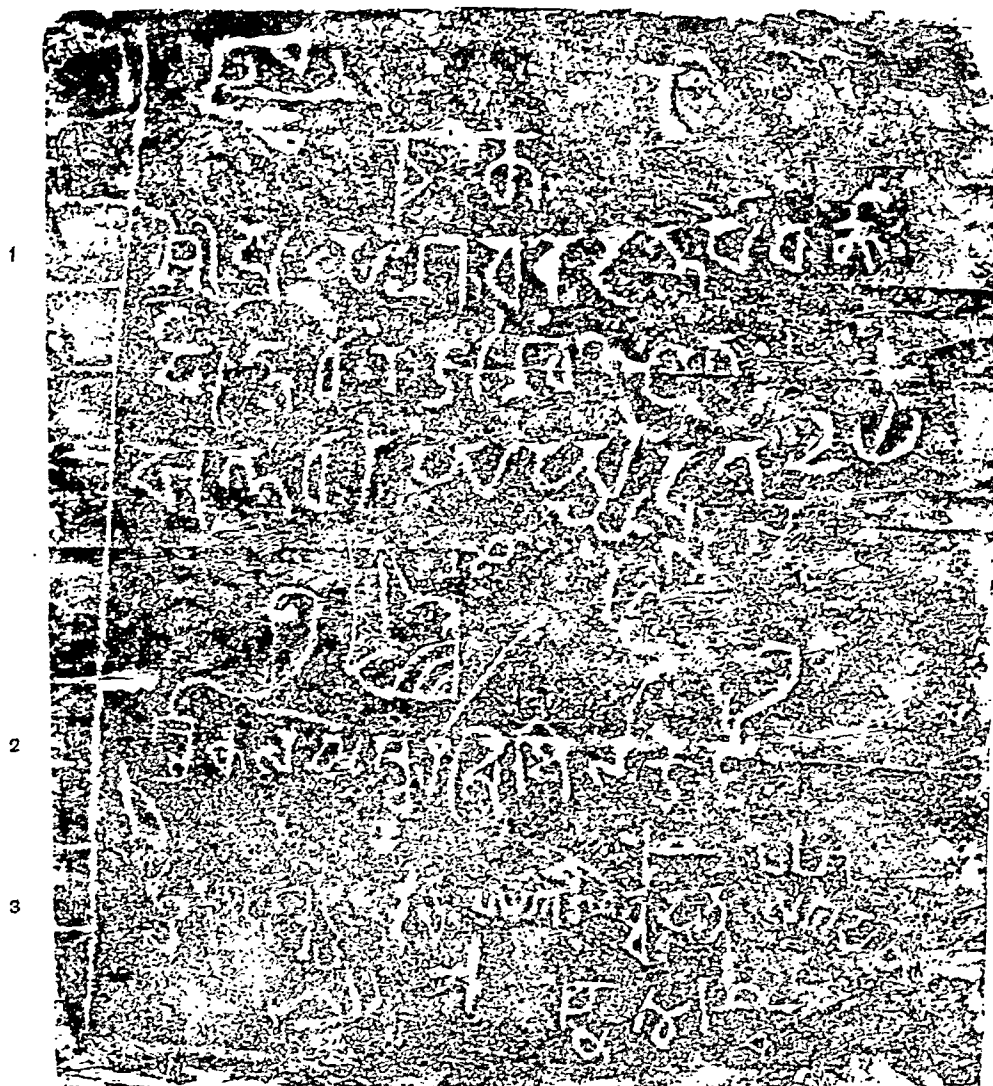
L. 2. Suttadhār[a ?] akhamṇdatah

L. 3. Suttadhār[a ?] yayyo p[a ?] ubha, p, dayā [|| \*]

Above l. 1 stands high up in the left hand corner a large sign, which may be intended for *jñā*, and lower above the middle of the line two letters, the second of which

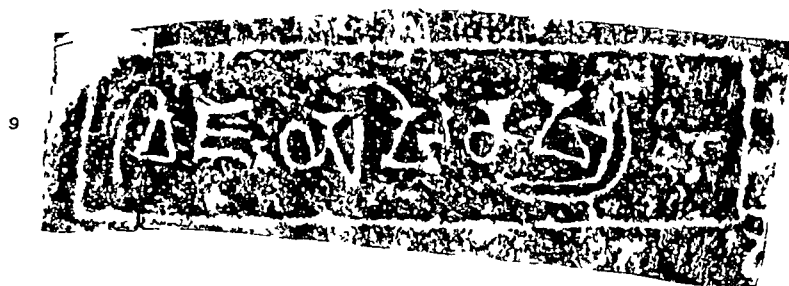
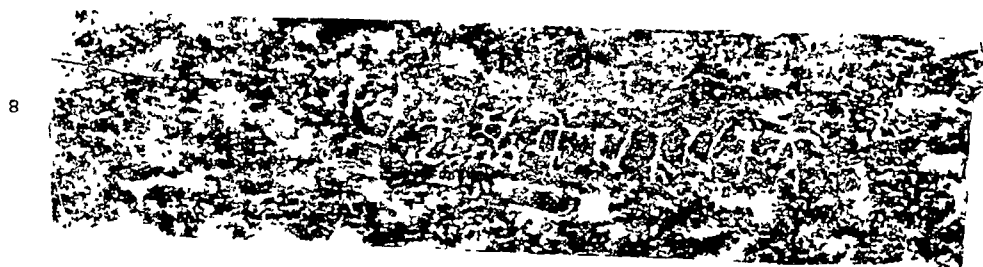
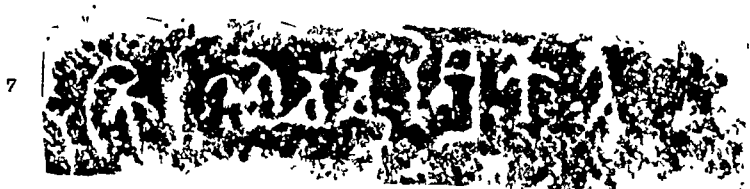
<sup>14</sup> Otherwise *sâir jihât*.

PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS: ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.



# PABHOSA INSCRIPTIONS.

ON THE HERMIT'S BED INSIDE THE CAVE.



ON THE WEST WALL, INSIDE THE CAVE.



Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$  of originals.



is *ka*. Below l. 3 there is the representation of a conch-shell and to the right three rudely scratched illegible letters.

As regards the interpretation, the only certain facts are (1) the occurrence of the name of "glorious Pray[â\*]ga" and (2) the mention of two *sūtradhāra* or masons. Possibly the whole may be intended for: *Śrī-Prayāg[ād Varaputtro Modhakī [or Podhakī], sūtradhāro' khaṇḍitaḥ sūtradhāro Yayya ubha[yoh\*] deyam* || or in English "From glorious Prayāga, the unblamed mason Modhakin (or Podhakin) son of Vara, (and) the mason Yayya (*Jajja*),—the gift of both these." If this is correct, the inscription probably records repairs of the cave, done by the two persons mentioned.

No. II.

TRANSCRIPT.

Śrī-Kalase[śe\*]śvarādiśi(?)lā kuṭṭi ||

The reading of the seventh and eighth consonants is uncertain; *kuṭṭi* is probably a mistake for *kuṭṭi*, the two dots, which I have taken for stops, may, of course, denote the *Visarga*, which however would be wrong. The translation is: "The *cella* (or temple) of glorious Kalāśeśvara and the rest." *Kalāśa* is the name of a *Nāga*, and the inscription probably refers to the legend, which makes the cave the home of an enormous *Nāga*, (see *ante*, p. 241).

No. III.

The only signs readable with any certainty are: *rvadatta* towards the end of the line.

No. IV.

[Nanda]dattaprasādo lolī . . . . .

No. V.

Deva . . . . .

No. VI.

TRANSCRIPT.

Om Ke[Ki\*]raṇe[śv]arīt(?)ilā(?)kedali(?)va . . . sya [ṇ\*]

The inscription seems to refer to a deity called *Kiraṇeśvari*, which seems to occur again in No. VII.

No. VII.

TRANSCRIPT.

Kiraṇe[śva]rīśr[ī\*]ka[r\*]ttā [ṇ\*]

If the restoration is correct, the translation will be, "The maker of (*the statue of*) glorious *Kiraṇeśvari*" and the inscription may refer to one of the masons, mentioned in No. I, see also No. VIII.

## No. VIII.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Śri-Kṛishṇagopīrūpakarttā [1]

The second *ta* of °*karttā* looks like *va*. The translation is, "The maker of the statues of glorious Kṛishṇa and of the milkmaids." The inscription probably refers to one of the masons in No. I.

## Nos. IX AND X.

## TRANSCRIPT.

Vijayasenasyah[ya\*] ।

Kiraṇabhōjak[a?]

These two pieces may belong together and may possibly mean, "Of Vijayasena, the temple-priest of Kiraṇa (i.e. *Kiraṇeśvari*)." If this interpretation is correct, the two notes may indicate that Vijayasena visited the cave when the two masons, named in No. I, repaired it. The contents of the whole series may perhaps be connected as follows:— "Some time in the seventh or eighth century the Pābhosā cave was gratuitously restored by two masons of Prayāga and dedicated by Vijayasena, the *Bhōjaka* of Kiraṇeśvari, to the *Nāga* Kalaśa and other deities." This would account for the existence of the legend mentioned by Dr. Führer, according to which the cave is inhabited by an enormous Nāga.

## XXXIX.—AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE BAIJNĀTH PRĀSASTIS.

By G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

During the Christmas vacation of 1892 Dr. M. A. Stein, the energetic and learned Principal of the Oriental College at Lahore, visited the Kāngrā district and spent some days at Kīragrāma, where he studied the Baijnāth *Prāsastis* on the spot and made enquiries regarding various facts they mention. After a certain show of resistance the temple-priests became communicative, no doubt, as Dr. Stein thinks, because they wanted to learn what their inscribed tablets contained. And the results of his enquiries are so valuable for the interpretation of the inscriptions that I am sure I shall render a service to the readers of the *Epigraphia Indica* if I publish here a translation of the portion of his letter, which contains them. Writing from Lahore on February 6th, 1893, he says:—

"Navagrāma, mentioned in the inscription [I, 33] is probably identical with the village of Nāur,<sup>1</sup> where the temple still owns  $2\frac{1}{3}$  *halas* of land. Nāur lies about 3 miles west from Kīragrāma and belongs to the ancient pargana of Palam, which latter word I would identify with the name of the village of Pralamba, of which the inscription speaks [II, 31]. About thirty years ago, when the introduction of tea-planting induced many Europeans to settle in Kāngrā, Palam<sup>2</sup> was turned into Palampur.

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit prototype of Nāur would be *Navapura*, which probably was another name of *Navagrāma*.—[G. B.]

<sup>2</sup> The *Kāngrā Gazetteer* still mentions *Palam*.

"In the bazar of Kīragrāma I was shown the spot where, so late as two generations ago, stood a shop, belonging to the temple and where the two pious Banians, whom the local traditions too know as the founders of the temple, are said to have lived. This is clearly the *panyasāla* mentioned in the *Prasasti* II, 34. Regarding the oil-mill which Manyuka and Āhuka dedicated I could not hear anything; and the god has long lost the income from the *maṇḍapikā*. But there was formerly a custom-house on the frontier of the territory of Mandī which passes close to the village. On the rocky hill which rises near the village and is now occupied by the Dāk bungalow, the Rāne family is said to have had a fort. I do not dare to decide if these *Rānes*, whose descendants are still Rajput zamīndārs in the parganā of Baijnāth, are identical with the *Rājānakas* of Kīragrāma.<sup>3</sup>

"But in illustration of what you have said on p. 102, vol. I, of the *Epigraphia* regarding the intermarriage of this Rajput family of Kīragrām with the Rājās of Traigarta, I may mention that the Rājā of Kapurthala quite lately married a girl from the house of a bitterly poor Rajput of the Gulherian Miān clan, who lives as zamīndār not far from Baijnāth. Though the man is so poor that his daughter, the present Rānī, used to work for wages in the tea plantations, his countrymen have not yet pardoned him that he contracted the alliance with the Rājā.

"Your proposed identification of Susarmapura with Koṭ is fully confirmed by the local traditions.

"The temple [of Baijnāth] is well preserved, and in my opinion it has not undergone such very great alterations as the earlier describers state.<sup>4</sup> Thus, big statues of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, which clearly belong to the time of the inscription, are found on the gateway pillars of the *Purī*, exactly as Rāma describes them in the *Prasasti*, I. 29, and his other detailed statements regarding the building fully agree with the actualities. Only the roof seems to me modern; according to the statements of the Purohitas it was renovated about one hundred years ago by Rājā Samsārchand."<sup>5</sup>

## XL.—A NOTE ON THE PRĀKRIT GRANT OF THE PALLAVA KING ŚIVASKANDAVARMAN (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10)

BY ERNST LEUMANN, PH.D., STRASSBURG.

Prākṛit inscriptions always present particular difficulties. Dr. Bühler, with his usual sagacity, has removed most of those connected with Śivaskandavarman's grant, Some others of the same inscription can only be mastered when further documents of a similar type turn up. A few, however, may perhaps be dealt with now. We have

<sup>3</sup> I consider the identity of the *Rāne* family with the *Rājānakas* to be very probable. *Rājānaka* is also the parent of the title *Rānā*.—[G. B.]

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. V., p. 179 f.

<sup>5</sup> I take this opportunity to note that Professor Kielhorn has published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XX, pp. 114 ff, certain emendations of my readings of the two *Prasastis* in accordance with rubbings made by Sir A. Cunningham. The following among Professor Kielhorn's proposals appear to me acceptable:—I. 6, *sureṣu nḍsthān aparesu kureatām*; I. 29, *bhaktitruṣallobhamalena tena*; I. 37, *śāstradr̥ṣṭīm anusṛitya*; II. 2, *sa pātu vo Mahādeva Brahmādyā bhaktim āsthitāḥ*; and II. 9, *Kṛitārthau*. In addition, I would mention that I now translate *astrijano* in I. 13a by "archers" instead of by "heroes," as *astirī* is clearly the nominative of *astir*; note 64 must be altered accordingly.

to correct the following passages in Dr. Bühler's transcript (on pages 5—7 of volume I) :—

1. 1, Read *aggiṭṭhoma*. The irregular combination *ṭṭh* (for *ṭṭh*) is a mistake of the engraver which has crept in on account of the similarity of the signs for *ṭh* and *ṭh*.

1. 3, Separate *visaye savattha*, i.e. *vishaye sarvatra* 'everywhere in our (*amham*) country.'

1. 4, Read *māḍabika* and restore it to *māḍambika*. This word, which means 'chief of a *maḍamba* district' is often found in the older Jain literature; its base *maḍamba* occurs in the same texts and beside in some *Niryuktis* and *Bhāṣhyas*.

1. 5, Read *ārakkhādhikate*, which stands for *ārakkhādhikate* and is equivalent with *ārakkhiya* 'guard' of the Jain literature; literally it means 'employed as a guard (*ārakṣā'dhikṛita*). As to the sign *khā*, cf. lines 27 and 38.

1. 7, Read *e* instead of *cha* and cf. the sign for *e* in lines 27, 30, 34. The word *ettha* (*atra* 'here') opens of course a new phrase, and we need not follow Dr. Bühler in inserting a second verb; *vitaraṃa* is indeed the verb wanted and closes well the preceding phrase. The first verb (*āṇaveti*), however, is certainly well supplied by Dr. Bühler; only we think its place is not before *amham* (in 1. 3), but after *ppayutte* (in 1. 6). At any rate we are not to combine in irregular co-ordination the accusatives of lines 3—6 with the genitive *saṃcharan-taka-ḍhaḍa-manusāna*.

I would then translate the whole passage thus: . . . . . "Śivaskandavarman informs (*āṇaveti*) in our country everywhere the royal princes, generals, rulers of larger and smaller districts (*raṭṭhikas* and *māḍambikas*), local prefects and others, the freeholders of various villages, *vullavas*, *govallavas*, ministers, guards, captains<sup>2</sup> *tūthikas*, *neyikas* and all others employed in our service: We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *saṃcharantakas*, soldiers or other persons.<sup>3</sup>

1. 44, Read *vasudhādhīpataye* (acc. pl. from *°pati*).

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in the *Aupapātika sūtra*, *Paryuṣaṇākalpa* ('*Kalpasūtra*'), etc.

<sup>2</sup> The corrected reading *drakkhādhikate* (in 1. 5) makes it very probable that the word immediately following (*gumika*) is also a military term.

<sup>3</sup> In reply to Dr. Bühler's appended notes, I may remark that the persons favoured by the grant are undoubtedly "the Brahmins, who are the freeholders of the settlement (*koḍunka*) called Chhillareka." The gift is therefore a *Brahmana parihāra*, i.e. 'an immunity granted to Brahmins. Honorary allowance, as Dr. Bühler proposes, does not change the sense, but is less appropriate, *koḍunka* is apparently a contracted form of *koḍumbaka* (Sans. *kautumbaka*): in the same way *naigyoka* seems to me to stand for *naigyogika*, which would be a synonym of the term *ābhīyogika* 'servant'—of the Jaina literature. The term *kumāra parihāra* similarly denotes an immunity presented to a prince; the Jātaka phrase adduced by Dr. Bühler means— "When, afterwards they noticed that he was a prince, they no longer gave him any work to do, but spared him, so to say, by a princely immunity."

The inscription, of course, mentions, also, the persons who are to respect the grant, i.e. who are not allowed in any way to trouble the above-named Brahmins (by levying taxes, etc.). So the two cognate Pallava plates clearly state: *Sarvāyuktakāḥ sarva-naigyokāḥ rājavallabhāḥ saṃcharantakāḥ cha tat-sīmaṃ sarva-parihārāḥ pariharantu parihārāyaṇā cha ayuttu sarva-parihārāḥ pariharantu parihārāyaṇa (ku cha)*. "The persons of the king's service and party must spare and cause to spare the territory (*described* before) by all the (eighteen) kinds of exemption. "In face of these parallel passages, the words—*saṃcharantaka-ḍhaḍamanusāna... parihāraṃ vitarāma*, can only have the sense which I have given them, without pretending, however, that my translation reflects accurately the grammatical construction. This latter can only be made clear when the three syllables before *parihāraṃ* are deciphered.

That *saṃcharantakas* are a nuisance to people, we learn, e.g. from the description of a model town given in the *Nemicharita*, I. 14 (on Hemachandra's *Bhāvabhūṭanā*, v. 5): in that town no *saṃcharantakas* are allowed to stroll about (... *saṃcharanteṣāṃ tīrai na tattha bhāmīn...*). Another Prakrit word of the Pallava Inscription (which however occurs also elsewhere) is *ḍappa* 'father': this is found in *Daśavaikālikasūtra* vii, 18,—See *Zeitsch. d. Dent. Morgenl.-Gesellsch.* vol. XLVI. pp. 628.

1. 45, Read *mejálāye*, i.e. *mejjátāye*. In Jaina Prākṛit *maryādā* becomes *mejjā*, the last two syllables being contracted. The Sanskrit sounds *arya* in Prākṛit generally are changed to *cra*, sometimes to *ejja* or *ariya* or *ajja*.

1. 46, Separate *cha si*. The word *si* refers to *mejátāye*, and therefore represents a singular case like *tasyāḥ*; it is indeed a short form for the anaphoric pronoun *se* that is often met with in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas* of the Jain literature. The function and origin of *se* has been well discussed by Professor Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* (vol. XXIV, p. 600). Though *se* and *si* refer to *ail genedrs and numbers* we find occasionally in the *Niryuktis* and *Bhāshyas* a special plural form *sim* which, by the addition of the Anusvāra, has been formed after the fashion of plural genitives like *tesim* (*teshām*), etc.

What remains to be said is of less importance; we are probably to read *vāḍaka* for *vaṭaka* (in lines 12 and 30); misprints are apparently *hiroga* for *hirogo* (10), *pātibhāgo* for *patībhāgo* (12), *patībhāgo* for *pattībh-* (21), *ṭṭivas°* for *ṭṭīvās°* (36), *pīlā* for *pīlā* (40), *dattā* for *datā* (48), *kada* for *kaḍa* (51), *brāhmaṇa* for *brahmaṇa*. and *lekhakha* for *lekhaka* (52).

### SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE GRANT OF ŚIVASKANDA- VARMAN. (VOLUME I, pp. 2—10.)

The corrections of my reading and rendering of Śivaskandavarman's grant, which Professor E. Leumann has proposed above, make, I think, a few further remarks from me desirable.

(Line 1.) Professor Leumann's statement that the plates have *aggiṭthoma*, not *aggiṭthoma*, is correct. I should say that the nonsensical form has been caused by a confusion between the two possible forms with *ṭṭha* and *ttha*. Both in literary and in epigraphic Pali, Sanskrit *ṣṭha* or *ṣṭha* is represented occasionally by the dental *tenuis* and the *tenuis aspirata*. Thus, we have in literary works for *kroṣṭṭi* 'a jackal,' both *koṭṭhuka* and *kotthuka*, or even *kutthu*, as well as forms in *ttha* for various past participles in *ṣṭha*. And the Sanchi votive inscriptions offer *sethi* and *seṭhi* for *śreṣṭhin*; Aśoka's New Edicts both *vivutha* and *vyutha* for *vyuṣṭha*. In such words the Pali *ttha* probably goes back to originals with *sta*, similar to those in the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Rock Edicts, where we find *sresta* for *śreṣṭha*, *dipista* (3rd pers. sing. aor. Âtm.) equivalent to a Sanskrit form *adipishṭa*.

(L. 3.) Professor Leumann is right in separating *visaye savattha*, but the correction has already been given by me in the Addenda and Corrigenda to vol. I, p. 479.

(L. 4.) The plates have not *māḍabika*, as Professor Leumann asserts. The last sign is mutilated, the crossbar of the *ka* on the right having been omitted by mistake. The sign, which has thus come out, can only be read *nu*. Professor Leumann's restoration *māḍambika* "governors of Maḍambas," instead of *māṃḍabika* "custom-house officers," is possible, though, owing to the rarity of the word *maḍamba* (except in Jaina works), somewhat doubtful. I add an explanation of the term *maḍamba*, which Professor Jacobi has kindly furnished to me from the Jaina commentaries: *maḍambāni sarvato'rḍha yojanāt parato'vasthitagrāmāni*.

(Ll. 5-7.) Professor Leumann's readings *ārakhādhikate* and *ettha* for my *āraṇadhikate* and *chattha* are certainly correct. His translation of lines 6-7, "We grant an exemption from (any taxes that might be levied by or for) *Samcharantakas* (soldiers) and other persons" cannot stand, for *°bhaḍamanusāṇa* is separated from *parihāram* by a not now readable word ending in *o*, and in all probability the two expressions do not belong together. Even supposing that *samcharamtakabhaḍamanusāṇa parihāram vitarāma* had to be taken together, the meaning could only be, "We grant an exemption to *Samcharantakas*, etc;"<sup>3</sup> it is against the custom observed in the grants to name first an exemption and afterwards the object granted. I must add that my translation of *parihāra* by "an immunity" ought to be changed to 'a honorific grant.' Of late I have found in the *Jātakas* several passages where *parihāra* has a concrete meaning and is used for "appanage, honorific allowance, special grant." In several stories it is narrated how queens receive or are deprived of their *parihāra*, and there is the compound *kumāra-parihāra* "an allowance suitable for a prince."

(L. 40.) The correct reading is *pilā* (not *pilā*, as Professor Leumann says), the short *i* being expressed, as is done very often, by a complete circle.

(L. 45.) *Majātāye* is the reading of the plates, not, as Professor Leumann holds, *mejātāye*. The little stroke above the *ma* has been caused by a slip of the engraver's punch. A real *me* looks very different (see lines 1, 29, 41)

(L. 46.) As *śim* is permissible for *tesim*, *etesim* and *esim*, according to Hemachandra *Prākṛita Vyākaraṇa* III, 81, and occurs, as Professor Leumann says, in Jaina works, I agree with him that its equivalent *si* in *cha si* should be written separate. *Si* refers, however, not, as Professor Leumann thinks, to *majātāye*, but to the grantees. Compare the corresponding passages in the Sanskrit grants, e.g. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V. p. 196, l. 6; p. 207, l. 9; p. 212, l. 25; vol. XI, p. 113, l. 43; p. 159, l. 50.

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## TABLES FOR CALCULATING HINDU DATES IN TRUE LOCAL TIME.

BY HERMANN JACOBI, PH.D., SANSKRIT PROFESSOR, BONN.

In my paper on the computation of Hindu dates, etc. (vol. I, page 403 ff.), I have given rules for calculating, according to the curiously inaccurate Hindu method, the corrections which must be applied to a date, computed for mean sunrise, in order to obtain the same for true sunrise at any given place in India. As this calculation is rather tiresome, I have computed the following tables, which will make the process easy without detracting from the accuracy of the results. As the problem, to solve which these tables serve, is somewhat complicated, a few remarks on the theory of true and mean time may not be amiss.

1. Suppose the sun to move with an equal motion on the equator (instead of on the ecliptic); then this equatorial sun will exactly regulate mean time. His rising will occur at 6 o'clock for every place on the earth the whole year round, marking the mean beginning of day. The interval between his risings at two distant places will be the time-difference between these places (*see* vol. I, Table XXV).

2. Now assume a second sun to move with the same equable motion on the ecliptic. This supposed sun is meant when the "mean sun" is spoken of. It is obvious that this mean sun and the first will not rise at the same time, except when they coincide at the two points of intersection of the equinoctial and the ecliptic. At every other time the second will, in places in north latitude, rise earlier than the first, when he is in the northern half of the ecliptic; and later, when he is in the southern half. Table XXVII, A-F, gives the interval in *ghatikās* and *vinādīs* between the risings of both supposed suns,<sup>1</sup> for every degree of the ecliptic as entered in the vertical index to the left and right of each table, and for all degrees of north latitude from 10°—35° as entered in the horizontal index at the top of each table. At the intersection of the horizontal and vertical columns is given the interval of rising for the tropical longitude of the mean sun and for the terrestrial latitude in question; *e.g.*, in Table XXVII-B, we find that for 44° trop. Long. ☉ and 20° terr. Lat. the difference in rising is 1gh. 22v. If the trop. Long. ☉ is entered in the index to the *left*, the ecliptical mean sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; if on the index to the *right*, it rises after the mean beginning of the day.

3. We thus find the time of rising of the *mean* sun (moving on the ecliptic), but what is really wanted is the time of rising of the *true* sun. The true sun only twice in the year coincides with the mean sun; at every other time he either precedes or lags behind the mean sun. Their difference in longitude is the equation of the sun's centre, the amount of which in degrees, minutes, and seconds is furnished by Table XXIV-B. If the equation has the sign —, the true longitude of the sun is greater than his mean one, and consequently the true sun rises *later* than the mean one; if the equation in Table XXIV has the sign +, the true sun rises *before* the mean one; always by the time corresponding to the sun's equation of the centre. In order to compute the equivalent in time for the sun's equation of the centre, we must know how much time is occupied in rising by one degree of the ecliptic at the place where the sun is at the moment in question in a given latitude. The amount in *vinādīs* is furnished by the entries immediately below the degrees of terrestrial latitude in Table XXVII. Though continually changing, it is considered by Hindu astronomers to be constant throughout each single

<sup>1</sup> Or between the risings of a point on the equator and one on the ecliptic, which have the same distances from the equinox.

sign, and equal to the mean.<sup>2</sup> As the different parts of Table XXVII represent the tropical signs, one entry serves for the whole part. Thus we find in Part B that on the 20th parallel one degree of the ecliptic (between 30° and 60° trop. Long.) takes up 8·79 *vinādīs* in rising. Knowing the time taken up in rising by one degree, we can easily calculate the time corresponding to any given value of the equation of the sun's centre.

4. Table XXVII refers to tropical longitude, while the other tables yield sidereal longitude. The former is found by adding to the latter the *ayanāmsās* (or amount of the precession of the equinox) for the year in question.

The rule for calculating the *ayanāmsās* is given in section 39 of the former paper (page 421); to find them without calculation is the object of Tables XXVIII and XXIX, e.g., we find by Table XXVIII that in K. Y. 4683 the *ayanāmsās* were—

$$\begin{aligned} 16^{\circ} 14' 42'', \text{ viz. K.Y. 4600} &= 15^{\circ} 0' 6'' \\ 80 \text{ years} &= 1^{\circ} 12' 0'' \\ 3 \text{ „} &= 0^{\circ} 2' 42'' \\ \text{Ayanāmsā} &= 16^{\circ} 14' 42'' \end{aligned}$$

Table XXIX serves for the *Brahma Siddhānta* and *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, Table XXVIII, for the other *Siddhāntas*.

5. I shall now illustrate by examples the working of these tables in connection with the Special Tables; for when such accuracy is wanted, that the difference between mean and true time comes into consideration, the calculation must be made by means of the Special Tables.<sup>3</sup>

*1st Example.*—Let it be proposed to calculate the true *Tithi* for true sunrise on the 7th (solar) *Jyaishṭha* K.Y. 4128 at Aligarh, whose latitude is 27° 53' (or roundly 28°) and time difference + 14 vin. We use for this and the following examples the tables for the *Sūrya Siddhānta*:—

(a) We calculate the elements: Distance ☾—☉ etc., for the year and day in question, viz.—

	Dist ☾—☉	☾'s An	☉'s An.	Corr
4100 years . . .	69° 48' 0"	217° 8' 30"	252° 44' 16"	+ 20 gh. 54 v
28 „ . . .	117° 47' 3"	58° 35' 37"	... ..	— 14 gh. 43 v.
7th Jyai. . .	66° 40' 34"	97° 16' 26"	34° 29' 46"	
	254° 15' 37"	13° 3' 33"	317° 13' 52"	+ 6 gh. 11 v.

(b) Add the time difference, with the sign changed, for the place in question, to the Corr. (+ 6 gh. 11 v. — 14 v. = + 5 gh. 57 v.) and find by Table XXII the corresponding increase of the elements, distance, etc.—

5 gh. =	1° 0' 57"	1° 5' 19"	4' 56"
57 v. =	11' 35"	12' 25"	56"
5 gh. 57 v. =	+ 1° 12' 32"	+ 1° 17' 44"	+ 5' 52"

(c) Add (or subtract, according to the sign) the increase from the first result.—

254° 15' 37"	13° 3' 33"	317° 13' 52"
+ 1° 12' 32"	1° 17' 44"	5' 52"
255° 28' 9"	14° 21' 17"	317° 19' 44"

(d) Find the equations for the anomalies of the moon and sun by Table XXIV—

An. ☾	14° 21' ..	Eq. ☾ =	— 1° 15' 32"
An. ☉	317° 20' ..	Eq. ☉ =	— 1° 29' 12"
Sum of eq's		=	— 2° 44' 44"

<sup>2</sup> The same inaccuracy pervades all Hindu calculations of true sunrise, and makes all figures in Table XXVI wrong when compared with the true values. However, we do not require the latter, but those which the Hindus assume in their calculations.

<sup>3</sup> I shall indicate below §7, how these tables may be used in connection with the general tables for an estimate of the difference between mean and true local time



(e) Add the sum of equations to the distance; the result is the true distance at mean sunrise for the place in question, *viz.*  $255^{\circ} 28' 9'' - 2^{\circ} 44' 44'' = 252^{\circ} 43' 25''$ .

(f) Find the sidereal longitude of the sun by subtracting from the above the  $\odot$ 's an., the same for beginning of the century. (Table XIII.)

$$\begin{array}{r} 317^{\circ} \ 19' \ 44'' \\ - \ 282^{\circ} \ 44' \ 16'' \\ \hline \text{Sid. Long. } \odot = 34^{\circ} \ 35' \ 28'' \end{array}$$

(g) Find the *ayanāmsas* for the year in question, by Table XXVIII—

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{K.Y. 4100} \quad = 7^{\circ} \ 30' \ 0'' \\ \quad 28 \text{ years} = \quad \quad 25 \ 12'' \\ \hline \text{K.Y. 4128} \quad = 7^{\circ} \ 55' \ 12'' \end{array}$$

(h) Add the *ayanāmsas* thus found to the sidereal longitude of the sun, the result is the tropical longitude of the sun.—

$$\begin{array}{r} 34^{\circ} \ 35' \ 28'' \\ \quad 7^{\circ} \ 55' \ 12'' \\ \hline \text{Trop. Long. } \odot = 42^{\circ} \ 30' \ 40'' \end{array}$$

(i) Look out in Table XXVII the “interval of rising” of the degree of trop. Long.  $\odot$  now found for the latitude of the given place.

If the left-hand index ( $0 - 180$ ) is used, the amount is subtractive; if the index to the right ( $180^{\circ} - 360^{\circ}$ ) the amount is additive.

In this case we get, for trop. Long.  $42^{\circ}$  on the 28th parallel, — *1gh. 46v.*

(k) Take, from the same part of the Table just used, the time required by one degree in rising, as given there immediately below the degree of latitude in question, and calculate the equivalent in time for the sun's equation. If the equation has the sign +, the amount is subtractive; if —, it is additive.

In the present case:  $1^{\circ}$  takes up  $8.24 \text{ vinādīs}$ , consequently  $1^{\circ} 29'$  will take up  $12v$ . The equation being negative, the amount is additive. We put it down as +  $12v$ .

(l) Add (or subtract according to the sign) the *vinādīs* in (k) to the result in (i); find the increase of Dist.  $\alpha - \odot$  for the sum, in Table XXII; add the increase (or subtract according to the sign of the sum) to the true Dist.  $\alpha - \odot$  (found in e). The result is the true Dist.  $\alpha - \odot$  for true sunrise at the place in question. Here — *1gh. 46v. + 12v. = — 1gh. 34v.*

$$\begin{array}{r} 1gh. = \quad 12' \ 11'' \\ 34v. = \quad \quad 6' \ 54'' \\ \hline - \ 1gh. \ 34v. = -19' \ 5'' \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{This, added to the result in (e), } viz., 252^{\circ} 4 \\ \text{52'', makes } 252^{\circ} 24' 20''. \end{array}$$

(m) This result is not quite correct, because we have made use of the mean increase (or decrease) of Dist.  $\alpha - \odot$  instead of the true, as the Hindus do. However, we may rest satisfied with this approximation when the true distance comes out larger or smaller, by 4 minutes or more, than an entire number of degrees marking the end of a *Tithi*. This is the case in the present example:  $252^{\circ}$  mark the end of the 21st *tithi* or the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight; but as we found the true distance to be  $252^{\circ} 24' 20''$ , which is more than  $4'$  above the end of the *Tithi*, *viz.*  $252^{\circ}$ , the final result is not affected by the slightly incorrect calculation.

In rare cases where the strictest accuracy is required, proceed as follows:—

Add the increase (or decrease) of the distance, etc., for the sum found in (l) to the

result in (e); again, find the equations of  $\alpha$  and  $\odot$ , as in (d), and add their sum to the distance, as in (e). The result is the true distance. In this case — 1gh. 34v. :—

	Dist. $\alpha - \odot$	$\alpha$ 's An.	$\odot$ 's An.
1 gh. . . . .	0° 12' 11"	0° 13' 4"	0' 59"
34 v. . . . .	6 54	7 24	34
— 1 gh. 34 v. . . . .	19 5	20 28	+ 1 33
subtracted from . . . . .	255 28 9	14 21 17	317 19 44
makes . . . . .	255 9' 4"	14 0' 49"	317 18' 11"
An. $\alpha$ 14° 1' eq. = —	1° 13' 49"		
An. $\odot$ 317° 18' eq. = —	1 30 8		
Sum of eq's. = —	2 43 57		
Dist. $\alpha - \odot$ +	255 9 4		
True dist.	252° 25' 7"		

This then is the strictly accurate *true* distance  $\alpha - \odot$ . The error in the preceding method was — 47".

It may be borne in mind, however, that it is a waste of time to attempt this degree of accuracy, unless we know the *Hindu* value of the latitude and longitude of the place for which the date is to be calculated. This uncertainty is enhanced when we have to deal with dates in inscriptions; for we never know for what place the almanac was calculated, from which the date recorded in the inscription was taken, though in most cases we shall probably be right in assuming that the almanac referred to the capital of the kingdom.

The following examples will be understood without further comment. I use the same letters as in the first example to indicate the operations to be gone through :—

*Ex. 2.*—K. Y. 4128, 4th Bhâdrapada; place: Ratnagiri, 17° Lat. and time difference — 34 vin.

	$\alpha - \odot$	$\alpha$ 's An.	$\odot$ 's An.	Cor.	An.
(a) 4100 years . 69° 48' 0"	217° 8' 30'	232° 44' 16"		+ 20 gh. 54 v'	
28 „ 117 47 3	58 38 37	...		— 14 43	
4th Bhâdra . 96 2 4	216 11 10	124 11 9		+ 6 11	
283 37 7	131 58 17	46 55 25		(b) + 34	
				+ 6 45	
(c) + 6 gh. . 1 13 9	1 18 23	5 55			
45 v. . 9 9	9 48	44			
284 59 25	133 26 28	47 2 4		(d) eq. $\alpha$ = — 3° 43' 44"	
(e) . . . — 2 7 39				eq. $\odot$ = + 1 36 5	
282 51 46				Sum = — 2 7 39	

(f) 407° 2' 4" (an.  $\odot$  + 360°). (g) 4128 K. Y., *ayanamsa* as above 7° 55' 12"

— 282 44 16

124 17 48 (sid. Long.  $\odot$ )

(h) + 7 55 12

132 13 . (trop. Long.  $\odot$ )

(i) trop. Long.  $\odot$  = 132°, on 17° Lat., Interval . = — 32 vin.

(k) Eq.  $\odot$  = + 1° 36' (1° = 10 97 vin.), time of rising . = — 18 vin.

(l) 282° 51' 46"

— 10 9

Sum = — 50 vin. = — 10' 9" ... (l)

282 41 37 . Result.

*Ex. 3.*—K. Y. 4325, 4th Mârgaśīra. Śrinagar, Lat. 34° 6', time difference — 8 vin.

(a) 4300 years . 345° 24' 0"	276° 1' 30"	282° 43' 55"	— 24 gh. 10v.
25 „ . 79 27 0	142 21 38	...	— 28 8
4th Mârg. . 137 35 2	338 9 48	214 51 41	
202 26 2	296 32 56	137 35 34	— 52 18
			(b) + 8
			— 52 10

(c) 52 gh. . =	10° 33' 55"	11° 19' 23"	0° 51' 15"	
10 v. . =	2	2 11	10	
52 gh. 10 v. =	-10 35 57	-11 21 34	-51 25	(d) eq. ☉ = + 4° 55' 16"
	202 26 2	296 32 56	137 35 34	eq. ☉ = + 1 31 7
makes .	191 50 5	285 11 22	136 44 9	Sum = + 6° 26' 23"
Sum of eq. . +	6 26 23			
(e)	198 16 28			
(f) 496° 44' 9" (an. ☉ + 360°)			(g) 4300 <i>ayanāṁśa</i> .	= 10° 30' 0"
- 282 43 53			25 years	= 22 30
214 0 16 (sid. Long. ☉)			4325 K. Y. <i>ayanāṁśa</i> .	= 10° 52' 30"
(h) + 10 52 30				
224 52 46 (trop. Long. ☉)				
(i) trop. Long. ☉ = 225° on 34° Lat. Interval .				= + 1 gh. 32 v.
(k) Eq. " ☉ = + 1° 31' (1° = 12. 18), time of rising				= 18
				Sum = + 1 gh. 14 v.
(l) 1 gh. . . . =	12' 11"			
14 v. . . . =	2 51			
+ 1 gh. 14 v. . . . =	15 2 (added to e)			
	198 16 23			
makes . . . .	198° 31' 30" Result.			

6. In §62 of my former paper I have said: "In the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi Golādhyāya*" IV, 20, Bhāskara states that the ancient astronomers 'assumed that at Lankā (or on the Equator) the zodiacal signs rise in the same time with 30 degrees of the equinoctial, while in fact they do not. The tables give the interval according to Bhāskara's theory. If the value without Bhāskara's correction is wanted, it may be elicited from the tables. For that purpose the column 0° has been added; in it are given what Bhāskara calls the *udayāntara*. They must be added to, or subtracted from (according to the sign), the value in the table. Under this supposition, we shall get in (i) of the first example above 1gh. 24v. instead of 1gh. 46v., and in (k) we find 8·27 *vin.* instead of 8·23 as the time taken up in rising 1 degree; the latter correction does not, in this case, sensibly affect the final result, while the former will.

In calculating dates anterior to Bhāskara (K. Y. 4231) the value of the "interval" given in the table should be corrected in the way just explained.

7. The present tables may be used roughly to estimate the difference between mean Indian and true local time, as in the following example.

In §24 of my first paper we found that in K. Y. 4682 the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 46 ghatikas after mean sunrise in Lankā on the 18th Vaiśākha of the Tables. What is the corresponding local time at Purniya (26° N. Lat. and + 1gh. 58 *vin.* time difference) ?

First add the time difference to the given Lankā time: 46gh. + 1gh. 58v. = 47gh. 58 *vin.* Then look out in Table VIII the sidereal Long. ☉ on the 18th Vaiśākha: 16° 40'; add the *ayanāṁśa* for K. Y. 4682, *viz.* 16° 15'; the sum is the trop. Long. ☉, 16° 40' + 16° 15' = 32° 55' (or nearly 33°). Now look out in Table XXVII, Part B, the interval between the mean beginning of the day and sunrise on the 26th parallel and for trop. Long. ☉ = 33'; *viz.* 1gh. 25v. The left hand index being used, the true sun rises before the mean beginning of the day; accordingly we must add the interval to mean time. 47gh. 58v. + 1gh. 25v. = 49 gh. 23 v. This is the required true local time for the end of the 11th tithi in Purniya.

\* Our text of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* III, 43, 44, is in accordance with Bhāskara's theory, and must therefore be later. From the error in the position of the Moon's node relative to that of the Sun, I am persuaded that the present text of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* was fixed not before the 13th century A.D. The *bija* is a still later addition

TABLE XXVII. (PART A.—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot=0^{\circ}-29^{\circ}$ ,  $360^{\circ}-331^{\circ}$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
<i>Fin.</i>	8-58	8-51	8-43	8-37	8-29	8-21	8-15	8-07	7-99	7-92	7-84	7-76	7-68	7-60	
Long.	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	Long.
0°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	360°
1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	359
2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	358
3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 7	357
4	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	356
5	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	355
6	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	354
7	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	353
8	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	352
9	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	351
10	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	350
11	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 26	349
12	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	348
13	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	347
14	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	346
15	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 24	0 26	0 27	0 29	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 36	345
16	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	344
17	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 41	343
18	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 42	0 43	342
19	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	341
20	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 41	0 43	0 45	0 46	0 48	340
21	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 43	0 45	0 47	0 49	0 50	339
22	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 49	0 51	0 53	338
23	0 33	0 34	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 53	0 55	337
24	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	336
25	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 45	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	335
26	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	334
27	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	333
28	0 40	0 42	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 7	332
29	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 47	0 50	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 10	331

## PART A,—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0	
<i>Fin.</i>	7-52	7-43	7-34	7-26	7-17	7-08	6-98	6-89	6-80	6-69	6-59	6-49	+0-72	
Long.	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	Long.
0°	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	360°
1	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 1	359
2	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 1	358
3	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 2	357
4	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 3	356
5	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 14	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 17	0 18	0 4	355
6	0 15	0 15	0 16	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 4	354
7	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 19	0 20	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 5	353
8	0 20	0 21	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 6	352
9	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 25	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 7	351
10	0 25	0 26	0 27	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 7	350
11	0 27	0 28	0 29	0 30	0 31	0 32	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 36	0 38	0 39	0 8	349
12	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 33	0 34	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 9	348
13	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 39	0 40	0 42	0 43	0 44	0 46	0 10	347
14	0 35	0 36	0 37	0 38	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 46	0 48	0 49	0 10	346
15	0 37	0 39	0 40	0 41	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 11	345
16	0 40	0 41	0 43	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 56	0 12	344
17	0 42	0 44	0 45	0 47	0 48	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	0 13	343
18	0 45	0 46	0 49	0 49	0 51	0 53	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 1	1 3	0 13	342
19	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 52	0 54	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	0 14	341
20	0 50	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 57	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 8	1 10	0 15	340
21	0 52	0 54	0 56	0 58	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 14	0 16	339
22	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 6	1 8	1 10	1 13	1 15	1 17	0 16	338
23	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 5	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 16	1 18	1 21	0 17	337
24	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 6	1 8	1 10	1 12	1 15	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 24	0 18	336
25	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 8	1 11	1 13	1 15	1 18	1 20	1 23	1 25	1 28	0 18	335
26	1 4	1 7	1 9	1 11	1 14	1 16	1 18	1 21	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 31	0 19	334
27	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 16	1 19	1 21	1 24	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 35	0 20	333
28	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 24	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 35	1 38	0 21	332
29	1 12	1 15	1 17	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	42	0 21	331

TABLE XXVII. (PART B.—Trop. Long.  $\odot = 30^\circ - 59^\circ, 330^\circ - 301^\circ$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
n.	9-4	9-34	9-29	9-22	9-17	9-11	9-04	8-98	8-92	8-85	8-79	8-72	8-66	8-59	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
30°	0 43	0 45	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	330°
31	0 43	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 6	1 9	1 11	1 13	329
32	0 44	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 14	328
33	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	327
34	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 52	0 55	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 12	1 15	1 17	326
35	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 16	1 19	325
36	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 20	324
37	0 47	0 49	0 52	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	323
38	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	322
39	0 48	0 51	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 22	1 25	321
40	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	320
41	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 18	1 21	1 24	1 27	319
42	0 50	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 26	1 29	318
43	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 27	1 30	317
44	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 32	316
45	0 52	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 7	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 30	1 33	315
46	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 31	1 35	314
47	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 32	1 36	313
48	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 37	312
49	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 35	1 39	311
50	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 18	1 22	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 40	310
51	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	309
52	0 56	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	308
53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 40	1 44	307
54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 22	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 42	1 46	306
55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	305
56	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 41	1 44	1 49	304
57	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 26	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 50	303
58	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 43	1 47	1 51	302
59	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 12	1 15	1 20	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 53	301

## PART B,—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Fin.	8-52	8-45	8-38	8-31	8-24	8-16	8-08	8-00	7-91	7-84	7-76	7-67	+0 08	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
30°	1 14	1 17	1 20	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	-0 22	330°
31	1 16	1 19	1 21	1 24	1 27	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 45	1 48	0 22	329
32	1 17	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 47	1 50	0 22	328
33	1 19	1 22	1 25	1 27	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 52	0 22	327
34	1 20	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 35	1 38	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	0 22	326
35	1 22	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 40	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	-0 22	325
36	1 23	1 26	1 29	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 45	1 49	1 52	1 56	1 59	0 22	324
37	1 25	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 58	2 2	0 22	323
38	1 26	1 30	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 0	2 4	0 22	322
39	1 28	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 2	2 6	0 22	321
40	1 29	1 33	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	-0 22	320
41	1 31	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	0 22	319
42	1 32	1 36	1 39	1 43	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 13	0 22	318
43	1 34	1 37	1 41	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	0 22	317
44	1 35	1 39	1 42	1 46	1 50	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 18	0 22	316
45	1 37	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	-0 22	315
46	1 38	1 42	1 46	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	0 22	314
47	1 40	1 43	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 16	2 20	2 25	0 22	313
48	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 5	2 9	2 14	2 18	2 23	2 27	0 22	312
49	1 42	1 47	1 51	1 54	1 58	2 3	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 20	2 25	2 30	0 22	311
50	1 44	1 48	1 52	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 27	2 32	-0 22	310
51	1 46	1 50	1 54	1 58	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 29	2 34	0 22	309
52	1 47	1 51	1 55	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 37	0 22	308
53	1 48	1 53	1 57	2 1	2 6	2 10	2 15	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 34	2 39	0 22	307
54	1 50	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 36	2 41	0 22	306
55	1 51	1 56	2 0	2 4	2 9	2 14	2 19	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 38	2 44	-0 22	305
56	1 53	1 57	2 2	2 6	2 11	2 15	2 20	2 25	2 30	2 35	2 41	2 46	0 22	304
57	1 54	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 22	2 27	2 32	2 38	2 43	2 48	0 22	303
58	1 56	2 1	2 5	2 10	2 14	2 19	2 24	2 29	2 35	2 40	2 45	2 51	0 22	302
59	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 11	2 16	2 21	2 26	2 31	2 37	2 42	2 47	2 53	0 22	301

TABLE XXVII. (PART C.—Trop. Long.  $\odot = 60^{\circ} - 89^{\circ}, 300^{\circ} - 127^{\circ}$ )

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Fin.	10-52	10-50	10-47	10-45	10-42	10-40	10-37	10-35	10-32	10-29	10-27	10-24	10-22	10-18	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	
60°	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 37	1 41	1 46	1 49	1 54	300°
61	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	299
62	0 59	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 45	1 49	1 54	298
63	0 59	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	297
64	0 58	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 40	1 45	1 48	1 54	296
65	0 58	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 44	1 48	1 53	295
66	0 57	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 48	1 53	294
67	0 57	1 0	1 5	1 11	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	293
68	0 56	1 0	1 5	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 47	1 53	292
69	0 56	0 59	1 4	1 10	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 53	291
70	0 55	0 59	1 4	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 53	290
71	0 55	0 58	1 3	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 47	1 52	289
72	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 8	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 46	1 52	288
73	0 54	0 57	1 2	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 46	1 52	287
74	0 53	0 57	1 2	1 8	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 52	286
75	0 53	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 46	1 52	285
76	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 7	1 10	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 45	1 51	284
77	0 52	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 42	1 45	1 51	283
78	0 51	0 55	1 0	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	282
79	0 51	0 54	1 0	1 5	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	281
80	0 50	0 54	0 59	1 5	1 8	1 12	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	280
81	0 50	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	1 44	1 50	279
82	0 49	0 53	0 58	1 4	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	278
83	0 49	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	277
84	0 48	0 52	0 57	1 3	1 6	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 44	1 50	276
85	0 48	0 51	0 57	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 40	1 43	1 50	275
86	0 47	0 51	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 50	274
87	0 47	0 50	0 56	1 2	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	273
88	0 46	0 50	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	272
89	0 46	0 49	0 55	1 1	1 4	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 39	1 43	1 49	271

## PART C.—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Fin.	10-16	10-13	10-10	10-07	10-04	10-00	9-97	9-94	9-91	9-87	9-83	9-79	-0-75	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long
60°	1 59	2 4	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 39	2 44	2 49	2 55	0 22	300°
61	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 39	2 44	2 50	2 55	0 22	299
62	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 33	2 39	2 44	2 50	2 56	0 21	298
63	1 59	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	0 20	297
64	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	0 19	296
65	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	-0 19	295
66	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 56	0 18	294
67	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 13	2 18	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 57	0 17	293
68	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 50	2 57	0 16	292
69	1 58	2 3	2 8	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 39	2 45	2 51	2 57	0 16	291
70	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 45	2 51	2 57	-0 15	290
71	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 57	0 14	289
72	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	0 13	288
73	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	0 13	287
74	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	0 12	286
75	1 57	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 28	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 51	2 58	-0 11	285
76	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 52	2 59	0 10	284
77	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 52	2 59	0 10	283
78	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 47	2 52	2 59	0 9	282
79	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 47	2 52	2 59	0 8	281
80	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 34	2 40	2 47	2 52	2 59	-0 7	280
81	1 56	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 7	279
82	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 6	278
83	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 5	277
84	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	0 4	276
85	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 47	2 53	3 0	-0 4	275
86	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 53	3 1	0 3	274
87	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	0 2	273
88	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	0 1	272
89	1 54	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	0 1	271

TABLE XXVII. (PART D.—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot = 90^\circ - 119^\circ, 270^\circ - 241^\circ$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Fin.	10-98	11-01	11-03	11-05	11-08	11-10	11-13	11-15	11-18	11-21	11-23	11-26	11-28	11-32	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
90°	0 45	0 49	0 54	1 0	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 42	1 49	270°
91	0 44	0 48	0 53	0 59	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 17	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 48	269
92	0 43	0 47	0 52	0 58	1 1	1 6	1 11	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 47	268
93	0 42	0 46	0 51	0 57	1 0	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 45	267
94	0 41	0 45	0 50	0 56	0 59	1 4	1 8	1 14	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 34	1 38	1 43	266
95	0 40	0 44	0 49	0 55	0 58	1 3	1 7	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 42	265
96	0 39	0 43	0 48	0 54	0 57	1 2	1 6	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 41	264
97	0 38	0 42	0 47	0 53	0 56	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 39	263
98	0 37	0 41	0 46	0 52	0 55	1 0	1 3	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 38	262
99	0 36	0 40	0 45	0 51	0 54	0 58	1 2	1 8	1 13	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 31	1 37	261
100	0 35	0 39	0 44	0 50	0 53	0 57	1 1	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	260
101	0 34	0 38	0 43	0 49	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 6	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	259
102	0 33	0 37	0 42	0 48	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 5	1 9	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 33	258
103	0 32	0 36	0 41	0 47	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 8	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	257
104	0 31	0 35	0 40	0 46	0 48	0 53	0 57	1 2	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	256
105	0 30	0 34	0 39	0 44	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 6	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	255
106	0 29	0 33	0 38	0 43	0 46	0 51	0 54	1 0	1 5	1 9	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	254
107	0 28	0 32	0 37	0 42	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 59	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 17	1 21	1 26	253
108	0 27	0 31	0 36	0 41	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 58	1 2	1 7	1 11	1 16	1 20	1 25	252
109	0 26	0 30	0 35	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 57	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 15	1 18	1 24	251
110	0 25	0 29	0 34	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 55	1 0	1 4	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	250
111	0 24	0 28	0 32	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 54	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 12	1 16	1 21	249
112	0 23	0 27	0 31	0 37	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 53	0 58	1 2	1 6	1 11	1 15	1 20	248
113	0 22	0 26	0 30	0 36	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 5	1 10	1 13	1 18	247
114	0 21	0 25	0 29	0 35	0 38	0 42	0 45	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 4	1 9	1 12	1 17	246
115	0 20	0 24	0 28	0 34	0 37	0 41	0 44	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 16	245
116	0 19	0 23	0 27	0 33	0 36	0 39	0 43	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 1	1 6	1 10	1 14	244
117	0 18	0 22	0 26	0 32	0 35	0 38	0 42	0 47	0 52	0 56	1 0	1 5	1 8	1 13	243
118	0 17	0 21	0 25	0 31	0 34	0 37	0 41	0 46	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 3	1 7	1 12	242
119	0 16	0 20	0 24	0 29	0 33	0 36	0 40	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 58	1 2	1 6	1 10	241

## PART D,—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
Fin.	11-34	11-37	11-40	11-43	11-46	11-50	11-53	11-56	11-60	11-63	11-67	11-71	-0-75	
Long.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	gh. v.	Long.
90°	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 16	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 41	2 48	2 54	3 1	+0 0	270°
91	1 53	1 59	2 4	2 10	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 34	2 40	2 46	2 54	3 0	0 1	269
92	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	2 38	2 45	2 53	2 58	0 1	268
93	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 37	2 43	2 51	2 56	0 2	267
94	1 50	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 42	2 50	2 55	0 3	266
95	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 33	2 40	2 48	2 53	+0 4	265
96	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	2 38	2 46	2 51	0 4	264
97	1 46	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 37	2 45	2 49	0 5	263
98	1 44	1 49	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	2 35	2 43	2 48	0 6	262
99	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 33	2 41	2 46	0 7	261
100	1 42	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 13	2 19	2 26	2 32	2 40	2 44	+0 7	260
101	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 30	2 38	2 43	0 8	259
102	1 39	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 10	2 16	2 22	2 29	2 37	2 41	0 9	258
103	1 38	1 42	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 21	2 27	2 35	2 39	0 10	257
104	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 56	2 2	2 7	2 13	2 19	2 25	2 33	2 38	0 10	256
105	1 35	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	2 31	2 36	+0 11	255
106	1 34	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 59	2 4	2 10	2 16	2 22	2 28	2 34	0 12	254
107	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 3	2 9	2 14	2 20	2 26	2 32	0 13	253
108	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 13	2 19	2 25	2 31	0 13	252
109	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 49	1 54	2 0	2 5	2 11	2 17	2 23	2 29	0 14	251
110	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 10	2 15	2 21	2 27	+0 15	250
111	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	2 20	2 26	0 16	249
112	1 26	1 30	1 34	1 39	1 44	1 50	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 12	2 18	2 24	0 16	248
113	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 5	2 11	2 16	2 22	0 17	247
114	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 58	2 3	2 9	2 15	2 20	0 18	246
115	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	2 7	2 13	2 18	+0 19	245
116	1 19	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 44	1 49	1 55	2 0	2 6	2 11	2 17	0 19	244
117	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 42	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 4	2 10	2 15	0 20	243
118	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 46	1 51	1 57	2 2	2 8	2 14	0 21	242
119	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 1	2 6	2 12	0 22	241

TABLE XXVII. (PART E—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot=120^{\circ}-149^{\circ}; 240^{\circ}-211^{\circ}$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
<i>Fin.</i>	10-54	10-60	10-66	10-71	10-78	10-84	10-91	10-97	11-03	11-09	11-16	11-22	11-29	11-36	
Long.	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	Long.
120°	0 15	0 19	0 23	0 29	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	1 1	1 4	1 9	240°
121	0 15	0 18	0 22	0 28	0 30	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 55	0 59	1 3	1 8	239
122	0 15	0 17	0 22	0 27	0 29	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 1	1 7	238
123	0 14	0 17	0 21	0 27	0 28	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 5	237
124	0 13	0 16	0 20	0 26	0 28	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 56	0 59	1 4	236
125	0 13	0 15	0 20	0 25	0 27	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 43	0 46	0 50	0 54	0 58	1 3	235
126	0 12	0 15	0 19	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 42	0 45	0 49	0 53	0 56	1 1	234
127	0 12	0 14	0 19	0 24	0 26	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 41	0 44	0 48	0 52	0 55	1 0	233
128	0 11	0 14	0 18	0 23	0 25	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 51	0 54	0 59	232
129	0 11	0 13	0 17	0 22	0 24	0 28	0 31	0 35	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 50	0 52	0 57	231
130	0 10	0 12	0 17	0 21	0 23	0 27	0 30	0 34	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 48	0 51	0 56	230
131	0 9	0 12	0 16	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 40	0 43	0 47	0 50	0 54	229
132	0 9	0 11	0 15	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 39	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 53	228
133	0 8	0 11	0 15	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 28	0 31	0 35	0 38	0 41	0 45	0 47	0 52	227
134	0 8	0 10	0 14	0 19	0 20	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 37	0 40	0 43	0 46	0 50	226
135	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 18	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 36	0 39	0 42	0 45	0 49	225
136	0 7	0 9	0 13	0 17	0 19	0 22	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 48	224
137	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 17	0 18	0 21	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 36	0 40	0 42	0 46	223
138	0 6	0 8	0 12	0 16	0 17	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 35	0 39	0 41	0 45	222
139	0 5	0 7	0 11	0 15	0 16	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 37	0 40	0 44	221
140	0 5	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 15	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 27	0 30	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 42	220
141	0 4	0 6	0 10	0 14	0 15	0 18	0 20	0 23	0 26	0 29	0 32	0 35	0 37	0 41	219
142	0 4	0 5	0 9	0 13	0 14	0 17	0 20	0 23	0 25	0 28	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 40	218
143	0 3	0 5	0 8	0 12	0 14	0 16	0 19	0 22	0 24	0 27	0 29	0 32	0 34	0 38	217
144	0 2	0 4	0 8	0 12	0 13	0 15	0 18	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	0 31	0 33	0 37	216
145	0 2	0 3	0 7	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	0 30	0 31	0 35	215
146	0 1	0 3	0 6	0 10	0 11	0 14	0 16	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 26	0 29	0 30	0 34	214
147	0 1	0 2	0 6	0 10	0 10	0 13	0 15	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 24	0 28	0 29	0 33	213
148	0 0	0 2	0 5	0 9	0 9	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	0 31	212
149	0 0	0 1	0 4	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	0 30	211

PART E<sub>1</sub>—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°	
<i>Fin.</i>	11-43	11-50	11-57	11-63	11-71	11-78	11-86	11-95	12-03	12-11	12-18	12-27	+0 03	
Long.	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	<i>gh. v.</i>	Long.
120°	1 14	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 43	1 48	1 54	1 59	2 4	2 10	+0 22	240°
121	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 47	1 52	1 57	2 2	2 8	0 22	239
122	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 45	1 50	1 55	2 0	2 6	0 22	238
123	1 10	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 37	1 43	1 48	1 53	1 58	2 3	0 22	237
124	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 26	1 31	1 36	1 41	1 45	1 51	1 56	2 1	0 22	236
125	1 7	1 12	1 15	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 34	1 39	1 43	1 49	1 54	1 59	+0 22	235
126	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 22	1 27	1 32	1 37	1 41	1 47	1 51	1 56	0 22	234
127	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 39	1 45	1 49	1 54	0 22	233
128	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 24	1 28	1 33	1 37	1 42	1 47	1 52	0 22	232
129	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 26	1 31	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50	0 22	231
130	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 20	1 24	1 29	1 33	1 38	1 43	1 47	+0 22	230
131	0 59	1 3	1 6	1 10	1 14	1 18	1 23	1 27	1 31	1 36	1 40	1 45	0 22	229
132	0 57	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 16	1 21	1 25	1 29	1 34	1 38	1 43	0 22	228
133	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	1 36	1 41	0 22	227
134	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 17	1 22	1 25	1 30	1 34	1 38	0 22	226
135	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 11	1 15	1 20	1 23	1 28	1 32	1 36	+0 22	225
136	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 13	1 18	1 21	1 26	1 30	1 34	0 22	224
137	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	1 32	0 22	223
138	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 14	1 17	1 21	1 25	1 29	0 22	222
139	0 47	0 51	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 12	1 15	1 19	1 23	1 27	0 22	221
140	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 10	1 13	1 17	1 21	1 25	+0 22	220
141	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 8	1 11	1 15	1 19	1 22	0 22	219
142	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	1 13	1 16	1 20	0 22	218
143	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 57	1 0	1 4	1 7	1 11	1 14	1 18	0 22	217
144	0 40	0 43	0 45	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 2	1 5	1 9	1 12	1 16	0 22	216
145	0 39	0 42	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	1 0	1 3	1 7	1 10	1 13	+0 22	215
146	0 37	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	1 8	1 11	0 22	214
147	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	1 6	1 9	0 22	213
148	0 34	0 37	0 39	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 54	0 57	1 0	1 3	1 7	0 22	212
149	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	1 1	1 4	0 22	211



TABLE XXVII. (PART F.—*Trop. Long.*  $\odot = 150^\circ - 180^\circ, 210^\circ - 180^\circ$ .)

Lat.	10°	11°	12°	13°	14°	15°	16°	17°	18°	19°	20°	21°	22°	23°	
Fin.	10-00	10-05	10-12	10-19	10-27	10-34	10-41	10-49	10-57	10-64	10-72	10-80	10-88	10-96	
Long.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	Long.
150°	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 24	0 26	0 29	210°
151	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 26	0 28	209
152	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 25	0 27	208
153	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 16	0 17	0 19	0 22	0 24	0 26	207
154	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 12	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 25	206
155	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 24	205
156	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 8	0 10	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 23	204
157	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 20	0 22	203
158	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 11	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 19	0 21	202
159	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 4	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 20	201
160	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 4	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 18	0 19	200
161	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 8	0 9	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 17	0 18	199
162	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 16	0 17	198
163	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 16	197
164	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	196
165	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	195
166	0 0	0 0	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	194
167	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	193
168	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	192
169	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	191
170	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	0 10	190
171	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	189
172	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 8	188
173	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 7	187
174	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 6	186
175	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	185
176	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	184
177	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	183
178	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	182
179	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	181
180	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	180

## PART F.—continued.

Lat.	24°	25°	26°	27°	28°	29°	30°	31°	32°	33°	34°	35°	0°		
Fin.	11-04	11-13	11-21	11-30	11-39	11-48	11-57	11-66	11-76	11-87	11-97	12-07	+0-73		
Long.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	g.h.	e.	Long.
150°	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 59	1 2	+0 22	210°	
151	0 30	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 46	0 48	0 51	0 54	0 57	1 0	0 21	209	
152	0 29	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 46	0 49	0 52	0 55	0 58	0 21	208	
153	0 28	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 48	0 50	0 53	0 56	0 20	207	
154	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 49	0 51	0 54	0 19	206	
155	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 44	0 47	0 49	0 52	+0 18	205	
156	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 42	0 45	0 47	0 50	0 18	204	
157	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 36	0 38	0 40	0 43	0 45	0 48	0 17	203	
158	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 46	0 16	202	
159	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 29	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	0 43	0 16	201	
160	0 21	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	0 33	0 35	0 37	0 39	0 41	+0 15	200	
161	0 19	0 21	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 36	0 37	0 39	0 14	199	
162	0 18	0 20	0 22	0 23	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 34	0 35	0 37	0 13	198	
163	0 17	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 35	0 13	197	
164	0 16	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 27	0 28	0 30	0 32	0 33	0 12	196	
165	0 15	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 30	0 31	+0 11	195	
166	0 14	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 25	0 26	0 28	0 29	0 10	194	
167	0 13	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 22	0 23	0 24	0 26	0 27	0 10	193	
168	0 12	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	0 22	0 24	0 25	0 9	192	
169	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 21	0 22	0 23	0 8	191	
170	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 20	0 21	+0 7	190	
171	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 18	0 19	0 7	189	
172	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 13	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 16	0 17	0 6	188	
173	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 10	0 10	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 13	0 14	0 15	0 5	187	
174	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 11	0 11	0 12	0 12	0 4	186	
175	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 9	0 9	0 10	0 10	+0 4	185	
176	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 7	0 7	0 7	0 8	0 8	0 3	184	
177	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 5	0 5	0 5	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 2	183	
178	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 3	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 4	0 1	182	
179	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 1	181	
180	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0	180	

TABLE XXVIII.—*The Ayandśśa for centuries of the Kali Yuga and for odd years.\**

K.Y.	Ayanāśśa.	Years.	Ayanāśśa.
3600	0° 0'	1	0° 0' 54"
3700	1 30	2	0 0 1 48
3800	3 0	3	0 0 2 42
3900	4 30	4	0 0 3 36
		5	0 0 4 30
4000	6 0	6	0 0 5 24
4100	7 30	7	0 0 6 18
4200	9 0	8	0 0 7 12
4300	10 30	9	0 0 8 6
4400	12 0	10	0 0 9 0
4500	13 30	20	0 18 0
4600	15 0	30	0 27 0
4700	16 30	40	0 36 0
4800	18 0	50	0 45 0
4900	19 30	60	0 54 0
		70	1 3 0
5000	21 0	80	1 12 0
...	...	90	1 21 0

TABLE XXIX.—*The Ayandśśa according to the Siddhānta Śiromani.*

K.Y.	Ayanāśśa.	Years.	Ayanāśśa.
3628	0° 0' 0"	1	0° 1' 0"
3700	1 11 32	2	0 2 0
3800	2 51 22	3	0 3 0
3900	4 31 12	4	0 4 0
		5	0 5 0
4000	6 11 2	6	0 5 59
4100	7 50 52	7	0 6 59
4200	9 30 42	8	0 7 59
4300	11 10 32	9	0 8 59
4400	12 50 22	10	0 9 59
4500	14 30 12	20	0 19 58
4600	16 10 2	30	0 29 57
4700	17 49 52	40	0 39 56
4800	19 29 42	50	0 49 55
4900	21 9 32	60	0 59 54
		70	1 9 53
5000	22 49 22	80	1 19 52
...	...	90	1 29 51

\* Before K.Y. 3600 the Ayandśśa are negative; but they were probably not yet known at that time.

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## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

- Page 2, line 16, and page 7, line 16.—See page 298 note 7.
- „ 7, l. 31—*for* Tohwan *read* Tolman.
- „ 10, l. 3—*read* inscription.
- „ 15, in note 73,—*read* Śrī.
- „ 17, l. 25—*for* Tohwan *read* Tolman.
- „ 1. 35—*read* Vrahmādi.
- „ 19, l. 5 fr. bot. *for* Aditya *read* Āditya.
- „ 25, ll. 1, 2—*for* Haradā-jī *read* Haradāsa-jī.
- „ 13, l. 2—*from* bottom, *for* Dev 4-karaṇa *read* Devakarana.
- „ 35, foot-note, *prefix* 2.
- „ 81, l. 27—*for* n a y a r a *read* n a g a r a.
- „ 87, l. 6—*for* twenty, *read* nearly seventy (68).
- „ „ 1. 9—*for* hundred *read* hundred.
- „ „ 2nd foot-note, *prefix* 2.
- „ 94, l. 5—*for* Dhamā- *read* Dhamasiva.
- „ 126, l. 7, and p. 127, l. 1.—As suggested by Prof. Aufrecht in his *Catal. Catalogorum* the word Śūra of the original should be taken to be a proper name, and the two passages should therefore be translated: 'The following is a verse of Śūra's,' and 'This is (a verse of) Śūra's.'
- „ 128, l. 41—*before* which *add* of.
- „ 131, l. 18—*for* the pardoned deceased son of, *read* son of the deceased pardoned.
- „ 133, foot-note, *prefix* 5.
- „ 134, l. 1—*for* ابن ابراهيم *read* ابن ابراهيم and l. 8, *read* Ism'ail, son of Rāib.
- „ 134, ll. 24 and 28, *delete* "and."
- „ 135, l. 18—*for* درگاه *we may read* درگاه i.e. Durgah Mall.
- „ 136, l. 11—*from* bottom, *delete* of *before* the renowned.
- „ 148, l. 13, *from* bottom—*read* ابن شيخ يوسف الفغير حبر خانيسف i.e. (l. 6, *from* bottom) "The poor, wretched Khān Yūsuf Āghā, son of Shaikh Yūsuf.
- „ 150, l. 20—*for* تندر كحضرت *read* بند كحضرت i.e., (l. 29) his Solomon-like majesty.
- „ 154, lines 25, 26, 27, *for* Bohm *read* Bohar.
- „ 157, l. 6—*for* غامي *read* عاري
- „ 160, l. 12, *delete* the sign of punctuation after Asiatic.
- „ 161—*prefix* 2 to the first note.

- Page 162, l. 13—*read* दत्ताय°.
- „ „ 1. 27— „ °मिषिषिषा°.
- „ 175, l. 29— „ °रुना°.
- „ „ in note 7—*read* been मू.
- „ 176, l. 32—*read* °दुषिष.
- „ 180, l. 28— „ vāshpāmbhaḥḥaṇa.
- „ 185, l. 23— „ वेकखः.
- „ „ 1. 25— „ सेनानी°.
- „ 192, note 72 *add* :—As pointed out to me by Prof. Buhler, this verse evidently contains a reference to the towns of Kalyāṇa, Āśāvalli and Ayodhyā; but I cannot give yet an entirely satisfactory translation.
- „ 212, last foot note,—*prefix* 1, and *add* :—Dr. Fleet informs me, that these copper-plates now belong to Ganpatsingh bin Nārāyaṇsingh Patṭewālā, of Saṅgamner. He also informs me that the Garuḍa of the seal is represented as a man, squatting, with his hands joined palm to palm, and with a high tiara on his head; and that his wings are depicted in much the same way as on the Paiṭhan and other Rāshtrakūṭa seals.
- „ 217, note 18 *add* :—Dr. Fleet, after cleaning the original plates, has kindly furnished the following notes on the printed text :—In line 16 the inserted letters (compare note 29) are syākyā; the anusvāra is omitted—In line 29 the reading is °madana-mādyan-mānini°.—In line 30 *read* iha hi narendro.—In line 31 for [nanu] *read* atha.—In line 31 for [tale] *read* bhrito.—In line 38 the bracketed aksharas ra and vā are quite clear.—In line 40 *read* yen=d°.
- „ 219, l. 51—*read* निषदन°.
- „ 223, l. 6— „ °मयच्छ.
- „ „ 1. 42— „ anvitaḥ.
- „ 226, l. 3— „ °चितः.
- „ „ 1. 24— „ कसुरिका°.
- „ 229, l. 41— „ Śūrya-siddhānta.
- „ 230, l. 30— „ °पुञ्जराज°.
- „ 238, l. 32— „ व्यावर्ण°.
- „ 240, note 3—*for* Lakshmaṇa *read* Lakshmaṇa.
- „ 255, l. 31—*for* ' *read* (f).
- „ 265, l. 10— „ Posaha *read* Posatha.
- „ 287, l. 21—*for* P a ṭ h *read* F a ṭ h.
- „ 297, in note 3—*read* Lanman.

Page 307, l. 24—read °लक्ष्मि°.

„ 334, l. 15—add the sign of *visarga* opposite the figure 8.

„ 335, l. 4—read °हृत्ते.

„ „ l. 11— „ °दीप्ति°.

„ 338, l. 31—put a comma after *vas*.

„ 339, l. 13—put a comma at the end of the line.

„ 343, l. 9—for which read *which*.

„ 345, l. 6—read मोर्गो°.

„ „ l. 21— „ कैलासः.

„ 361, note <sup>36</sup>—for *Kielhern* read *Kielhorn*.

„ 366, note <sup>2</sup>, last line—for *See place read* *See plate*.

„ 367, l. 16 (2nd col.)—for *odâtâ*—read *odâtâ*—[4.]

Page 411, l. 7—read सहीसुव°.

„ „ note <sup>14</sup>— „ जात्यैवेयु.

„ 412, l. 10— „ रो न.

„ „ l. 19— „ वैमनी°.

„ 413, l. 17— „ विषिष्टगृह°.

„ „ l. 32— „ दमलची.

„ 415, l. 34— „ राशयोस.

„ 416, l. 16— „ °तसृष°.

„ 420, l. 23— „ घटस्र.

„ 421, l. 23—add a comma at the end of the line.

„ 422, l. 24—read *Râmakirti* and *Jayakirti*.

„ „ l. 25 for a read any.

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